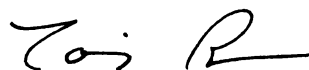


To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Amy Dellinger Page entitled "Behind the Blue Line: Investigating Police Officers' Attitudes Toward Women and Rape." I have examined the final paper copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in Sociology.

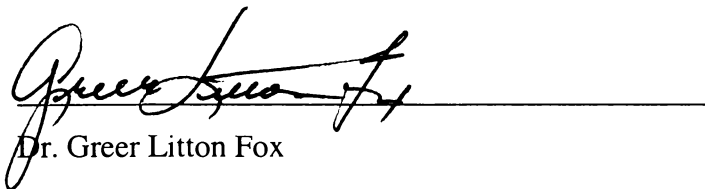


Dr. Lois Presser, Major Professor

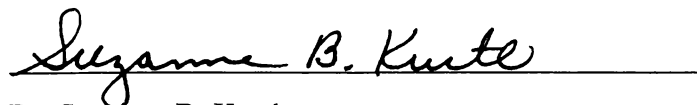
We have read this dissertation and recommend its acceptance:



Dr. James A. Black

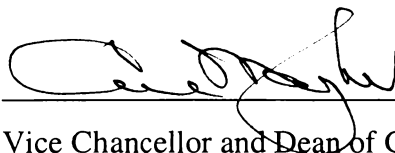


Dr. Greer Litton Fox



Dr. Suzanne B. Kurth

Accepted for the Council:



Vice Chancellor and Dean of Graduate Studies

BEHIND THE BLUE LINE:
INVESTIGATING POLICE OFFICERS' ATTITUDES
TOWARD WOMEN AND RAPE

A Dissertation
Presented for the
Doctor of Philosophy
Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Amy Dellinger Page
May 2004

Thesis
2004b
.P25

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Any project as large and cumbersome as a dissertation is not something to be taken on lightly or without support. This experience represents the culmination of a life-long dream and goal, which could never have been accomplished without the love and support of family and friends. I would first like to thank my dissertation committee, Drs. Lois Presser, James Black, Greer Litton Fox and Suzanne Kurth for their support, encouragement and valuable suggestions and advice. I would especially like to thank my Chair, Lois Presser. I cannot imagine going through this process with anyone else. Your unyielding support, advice, insight and guidance have been invaluable and appreciated more than I can express. Dr. Robert Jones also provided indispensable advice and support for this dissertation and I offer my sincere appreciation.

This dissertation would not have been possible without the cooperation of eleven police departments. Thank you for allowing the disruption of your schedules and for your continued cooperation.

I would also like to thank my friends and colleagues: Erin Pearl, Lisa Anne Zilney, Julie Schluterman, Regina Russell, Anne Carroll and Aaron Routhe. I could not have gone through this program without you. Your support was always present. You entertained my constant questions, floundering with sociological ideas and principles, complaints about the general state of the world and listened to the drones about the trials and tribulations of graduate school.

To my parents, Dean and Sheila Dellinger, I love you so much. You have always supported me, especially my educational goals. You have always been there to provide

encouragement, financial support and literally a helping hand. To my second parents, Johnny and Fran Pope, you have been a constant presence since I can remember. You, too, have supported me in so many ways and this journey has been easier because of you. I would also like to thank Pete and Sarah Page, who have never really seemed like in-laws. You have supported my goals and ambitions as if I was your child.

Finally, I would like to thank my partner in life and love, Andy. You are my rock. There are so many things I could not have gotten through without your love and support. Thank you for all the times you encouraged me, lifted my spirit, hugged me and made me laugh.

ABSTRACT

Little is known about the factors police officers use when assessing the merits of a rape case. Police officers, like other members of the criminal justice system, employ discretion in their decision-making processes. They decide which cases merit an investigation and how diligently to pursue investigations. Since police officers are often the victim's first point of contact within the criminal justice system, it is important to assess what factors affect their use of discretion. Police officers are socialized into their gender roles in the same manner that any individual in our patriarchal system is socialized.

Rape is a form of gendered violence, as its victims are typically female and its offenders typically male. It is therefore relevant to assess how attitudes toward women relate to attitudes toward rape, especially among police officers. The current study contributes to what is known about police officers' attitudes toward women and rape. A survey was administered to 891 sworn police officers in two states in the southeastern United States. The surveys were designed to assess police officers' acceptance of rape myths, as well as their attitudes toward women. It was hypothesized that police officers who endorse sexist attitudes toward women would also be more accepting of rape myths. Both attitudes toward women *and* attitudes toward rape were expected to vary according to educational attainment and experience with rape investigations, such that higher levels of education and more experience with rape investigations would be associated with more positive attitudes toward women and rejection of rape myths.

Police officers' attitudes toward women and rape varied significantly with the highest levels of educational attainment and experience with rape investigations. Police officers who accept more rape myths were less likely to believe hypothetical victims who did not adhere to the stereotypical "genuine" victim. This research has implications for police work assignments. For example, perhaps only the most highly educated police officers with extensive experience working rape investigations should be assigned to specialized sexual assault units. This research also has implications for assessing the effectiveness of rape law reforms, inasmuch as these reforms are conveyed through police work.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	1
Theoretical Framework	1
Rape Law Reform and the Criminal Justice System.....	5
Dissertation Overview	10
 CHAPTER 2: ATTITUDES TOWARD WOMEN AND RAPE	 13
Gender and Sexuality Socialization	13
Attitudes Toward Women	17
Attitudes Toward Rape.....	18
Police Culture as Masculinity	21
 CHAPTER 3: RAPE LAW REFORM.....	 25
A Brief History of Rape Laws in the United States	25
Rape Law Reforms.....	29
Assessment of Rape Law Reforms.....	32
Prosecuting Rape: Legal and Extralegal Factors.....	36
Assessing the Effects of Rape Law Reforms	41
 CHAPTER 4: ATTITUDES AMONG POLICE OFFICERS	 45
Police Officers' Attitudes Toward Rape	45
Police Culture and Acculturation	57
 CHAPTER 5: RESEARCH METHODS	 63
Pre-Test	63
Population.....	64
Procedures	65
Survey Instrument	66

Factor Analysis.....	67
Hypotheses	72
Limitations of the Measures	74
 CHAPTER 6: FINDINGS	 77
Population Descriptives.....	77
Item Analysis.....	79
Analytic Techniques.....	86
Attitudes Toward Women	87
Relationship Between Attitudes Toward Women and Rape.....	88
Attitudes Toward Rape.....	90
Victim Credibility	91
Gender Differences Among Police Officers	93
Training and Policing of Rape Cases	95
 CHAPTER 7: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS	 99
In Their Own Words	102
Shaping Police Culture.....	104
Implications for Policy, Education and Training	106
Assessing the Reforms	111
 REFERENCES	 113
 APPENDIX	 127
 VITA	 139

LIST OF TABLES

Table

1. Items Deleted from Burt's RMA Scale.....	67
2. Items Developed to Measure Rape Myth Acceptance	68
3. Items Developed to Measure Perceived Victim Credibility	70
4. Items Comprising the Old-Fashioned Sexism Scale.....	70
5. Items Comprising the Modern Sexism Scale.....	71
6. Items Comprising the Non-Genuine Victim Scale	71
7. Experience with Rape Investigations by Gender	79
8. Highest Level of Educational Attainment by Gender	80
9. Police Officers' Attitudes Toward Women and Rape: Descriptive Statistics	81
10. Item Percentages for the Old-Fashioned Sexism Scale	81
11. Item Percentages for the Modern Sexism Scale	82
12. Item Percentages for the Rape Myth Acceptance Scale-Revised	84
13. Item Percentages for the Victim Credibility Scale	85
14. Item Percentages for the Non-Genuine Victim Scale	85
15. Police Officers' Opinions About False Reports of Rape	93
16. Scale Score Differences by Gender	94
17. Item Percentages for Discretion in Decision-Making.....	96
18. Item Percentages for Other Influences on Decision-Making.....	96

Chapter 1
INTRODUCTION

How do police officers view victims of rape? How do they think about women? Are their attitudes toward women and rape related to each other? Are these attitudes influenced by education and investigative experience? My dissertation research addresses these questions.

Rape laws underwent significant reform in the United States beginning in 1975. Changes included expanding the legal definition of rape, limiting the corroboration requirement and enacting rape shield laws: that is, limiting the admissibility of the victim's¹ sexual history. Although we have some knowledge of police officers' attitudes toward rape prior to these rape law reforms, recent studies have not revised survey items to reflect newer conceptions of rape. Therefore, it is unclear whether reforms have affected police officer attitudes or behavior. Studies of prosecutors' use of legal and extralegal factors in the prosecution of rape cases indicate little change in attitudes or behavior. This dissertation research provides an additional and important assessment of the effects of the reforms, as evidenced by police officers' attitudes.

Theoretical Framework

Feminist theory highlights the differences in expectations and attitudes of men and women living in a patriarchal society, like the United States. Since we are all raised

¹ The term victim is not regarded as appropriate in some feminist literature. Rather, the term survivor is preferred. I have chosen to use the term victim in my dissertation because it involves attitudes of agents of the criminal justice system toward the crime of rape. I thought using the term *survivor* rather than *victim* would be confusing to police officers since they generally refer to crime *victims*.

within the same general social structure, it is important to understand how this structure influences our attitudes. Feminist theory can illuminate this understanding.

Very generally, feminist theories make five core claims (Anselmi and Law, 1998). First, gender is a social and not strictly a biological phenomenon. Gender is a complex structure that derives from social, historical, cultural and biological influences. Second, gender informs and orders social life and social institutions. Third, gender relations and ideas of masculinity and femininity are structured by social and political-economic systems. In contemporary Western societies, a patriarchal system prevails. Hegemonic masculinity in such a system pertains to attributes associated with appropriate male behavior and expression, such as independence, strength and virility. Hegemonic femininity in such a system pertains to attributes assigned to appropriately female behavior such as, passivity, dependence and sensitivity. Fourth, knowledge reflects men's (specifically class-privileged white men's) views of the world. That is, knowledge is "gendered." Finally, women should be viewed as equals of men and thus their perspectives and experiences should be at the center of theory and inquiry (Smith, 1987; Daly and Chesney-Lind, 1988: 504).

My framework implicitly assumes that individual attitudes are vehicles of sexist oppression. Liberal feminists, as opposed to other feminist thinkers, focus on the individual level of attitudes, roles and opportunities. Liberal feminism frames gender inequality in terms of gender roles and opportunities (Mill, 1970). Women's access to economic, social and educational opportunities has been limited, thus generally relegating them to the margins of society (Ehrenreich and English, 1978). Gender role socialization

produces a gender order that shapes the way men and women think and behave in various social situations.

Liberal feminists argue that the sexist stereotypes resulting from a particular gender socialization are pervasive in social institutions, especially in Western industrialized societies (Ehrenreich and English, 1978; Smith, 1987). Such stereotypes serve patriarchy. For example, women continue to be responsible for well over half of the household labor and child care responsibilities despite the rise of two-income families (Biernat and Wortman, 1991). This social fact is grounded in a patriarchal gender order. It is assumed that women are better able to care for children because they are more nurturing, yet men who exercise the opportunity can be just as nurturing.

Male domination has been accomplished through pornography, prostitution, rape and other forms of sexual exploitation, which foster the acceptance and perpetuation of gender role stereotypes, thus keeping women in a subservient position (Brownmiller, 1975; Oliver and Chambers, 1993). Brownmiller (1975) theorizes that the fear of rape, rather than a natural proclivity for monogamy and motherhood, has led to the subjugation and domestication of women through marriage. Thus, women were obligated to practice chastity and monogamy in order to receive protection from rape. Historically, women were not viewed as independent, but rather attached to their husbands as property. Thus, rape could not be (traditionally) defined as a crime of man against woman. Rather, the law defined rape as a property crime of man against man (Brownmiller, 1975; Clarke and Lewis, 1977).

Masculinity theory also informs this dissertation by clarifying the masculine culture that is characteristic of police work. Although the majority of social and scientific research has been conducted using male subjects, the study of and theoretical vantage on men as gendered individuals is relatively new (Morgan, 1981). Focused on men's power over women, masculinity theory draws attention to the multifaceted aspects of male dominance, including men's power relations with other males (Connell, 1987). Research on masculinity has revealed diversity among men, including contradictory experiences of male power (Kaufman, 1993). Profeminist masculinity theorists examine the effects of being socialized in a culture where men are dominant over women, yet the ideal of masculinity is not attainable (Coltrane, 1998; Messerschmidt, 2000).

Pleck (1976) found that many men experience the same negative consequences as women as a result of gender socialization. They suffer low self-esteem because they fall short of the prescribed ideal. They also suffer emotionally from little contact with their children and distanced relationships with family and friends as a result of conforming to the masculine ideal. Specifically, police officers are under increased pressure to "do" masculinity and fulfill the expectations of their occupation.

The prevalent view of men as hypersexual beings and of women as sexual objects amounts to an endorsement of sexual violence in our culture (Box, 1984). Kimmel (2000) relates the example of the gang rape of a mentally retarded girl in Glen Ridge, New Jersey by a number of "high-status" male athletes. Bernard Lefkowitz (1997) states, "[f]or a lot of boys, acting abusively toward women is regarded as a rite of passage. It's woven into our culture" (cited in Kimmel, 2000: 256). Although the normalization of sexual and physical violence against women has not resulted in every man being violent

against every woman, it does create a culture in which violence against women is minimized, considered acceptable if it occurs and thus promoted.

Rape Law Reform and the Criminal Justice System

Insofar as rape is gendered action, it is difficult, if not impossible, to discuss attitudes toward rape without discussing attitudes about gender, including one's own gender socialization. Gender and gendered relationships are constructed in ways that reflect the social organization of life and are rooted in a culture's history, economy, and political and social ideologies (Wade and Tavris, 1998). Decisions about what attributes and behaviors are considered "masculine" and "feminine" are established by the dominant group(s) in a society (Fortier, 1975). Within a patriarchal culture, like that of the contemporary United States, males in the aggregate dominate females. Gendered constructions, which are characteristically discussed in polar opposite terminology, serve male interests. For instance, appropriate masculine characteristics are intelligence, aggressiveness and virility, while valued feminine characteristics reflect subjugation, docility, passivity and naïveté (Johnson, 1997).

From television shows, radio commentary and advertising, it is evident that women remain responsible for their bodies and victimization, while men are excused from inappropriate sexual behavior due to psychological pathology, uncontrollable urges and evolutionary biology. The tendency to view men as compelled naturally to sexual excess perpetuates the acceptance of sexual violence in our culture. The dichotomization of acceptable male and female behaviors complicates the perception of rape and rape victims in our culture.

Women's expression of sexuality is relevant to how a rape victim is perceived by the criminal justice system and the general public. For instance, women who adhere closely to their gender stereotype are seen as more credible than those who deviate from the accepted expectations. A woman's demeanor, sexual expression and sexual history become particularly salient when allegations of sexual violence are levied against men.

Prior to the rape law reforms beginning in the mid-1970s, laws in most states defined rape as the carnal knowledge of a woman forcibly and against her will. Interpretation and enforcement of such laws was limited to cases involving penile-vaginal penetration, the use of physical force and tangible evidence of the absence of the victim's consent. This limited definition made rape difficult to prosecute and also made it less likely that rape victims would report rape to the police, inasmuch as they feared dismissal of their case or did not view their experience as rape under this stringent definition. Reformers of the early 1970s hoped to alter the traditional definition of rape and to improve the treatment of victims within the criminal justice system. They wanted to include other victims of sexual assault under the umbrella of the law, namely men and spouses (Berger, Neuman and Searles, 1991). Reformers argued that changes in the definition of rape and the treatment of victims would increase reporting, prosecution and conviction of rape (Spohn and Horney, 1992; Spohn, 1999).

There is no general consensus, however, on what constitutes *success* of the rape law reforms. One could argue that a decrease in reported rapes indicates that the reforms had a deterrent effect. If, due to the reforms, more cases are investigated and subsequently prosecuted, and more offenders serve prison sentences, in time, this would produce a deterrent effect for the crime of rape, thereby reducing the number of reported

rapes. Alternatively, one could argue, however, that an increase in the number of reported rapes would also demonstrate success of the reforms. The reforms affect individuals' and especially rape victims' perceptions of the criminal justice system. This could result in an increased comfort level in reporting, thereby increasing the number of reported rapes.

Regardless of the success (or failure) of the reforms in affecting offender and victim behavior, changes must also occur in the attitudes of agents of the criminal justice system. Changes have been made to the written law, but the criminal justice system is wrought with discretionary power. The gap between the law as written and the law as implemented is well established in the criminological literature (Chambliss and Seidman, 1982; Michalowski, 1985). Because of their discretion, it is easy for police, prosecutors, judges and juries to ignore rape reforms (Berger, Neuman and Searles, 1994).

In an effort to evaluate the effectiveness of reforms by looking closely at one level of the criminal justice system, Spohn and Horney (1993, 1996) and Spears and Spohn (1996) have produced an important body of research assessing prosecutors' use of discretion in rape cases. They have clarified the legal and extralegal factors that affect the decision to prosecute a case and the charges prosecutors levy against the defendant. Police officers also have a tremendous amount of discretion and act as the gatekeepers to the criminal justice system. Police officers are typically the first point of contact within the criminal justice system for a rape victim. They decide whether a case merits an investigation, how to classify the investigation and, in some jurisdictions, the charges that will result from the investigation. Police attitudes and beliefs about women and rape may shape the use of discretion and the decision-making process.

The existing research on police officers shows that they tend to hold rape victims to a higher standard of evidence and decorum than they do other victims of crime (Galton, 1975; Hazelwood and Burgess, 1995). Like prosecutors, police officers apparently rely on legal as well as extralegal factors when assessing rape complaints. Hazelwood and Burgess (1995) found that police officers have an image of an ideal rape and an ideal victim of rape. All rapes and victims are compared to this ideal. They stated that when assessing a rape complainant's story, police officers look for quality, consistency and the existence of corroborating evidence. Galton (1975) found that police officers expect more consistency in a rape complainant's report than they do from victims of any other crime.

Police officers also consider specific details of the victim's background and behavior to be important. In Hazelwood and Burgess' (1995) study, a case where the victim was forced into a situation or location was seen as a stronger case than one where the victim went freely, even if she was unaware of the impending danger at the time. Hazelwood and Burgess (1995) further found that the existence of a relationship between the victim and offender affects police attitudes about the merits of a case. Police officers defined a strong rape case as one in which the victim and offender had no prior relationship and where an age difference existed. Offender characteristics, such as a prior criminal record, were important to police officers, although arguably not as important as victim characteristics (Hazelwood and Burgess, 1995). Although a prior criminal record would seem to be important, this information is not always admissible in court for subsequent offenses and thus, a rape victim's background and characteristics become increasingly relevant.

Field (1978) used a survey to measure police officers' attitudes toward rape and compared their attitudes with those of rape crisis counselors, citizens and rapists. He found police officers' attitudes toward rape to be more similar to rapists' attitudes than to the attitudes of citizens or rape crisis counselors. Personal acquaintance with a raped woman, contact with and interviews with rape victims were not significantly correlated with attitudes toward rape. Police officers who had not participated in rape training programs were more likely than those who had participated to see resistance as one of the victim's primary responsibilities. Field's (1978) research was one of the earliest studies of rape attitudes, especially comparing police officers' attitudes to those of other groups (e.g., counselors, citizens and rapists). If police officers are similar to rapists in their attitudes toward rape, it is unlikely that rape victims receive impartial and objective treatment by these agents of the criminal justice system.

The current research contributes to the literature by employing a larger and more geographically diverse sample than was characteristic of previous research in this area, thereby extending the potential generalizability of findings. With the exception of LeDoux and Hazelwood (1985), prior studies have focused on one police department in one city or county. Additionally, this study measures the acceptance of rape myths with a scale that incorporates targets of rape law reforms, including attitudes concerning male rape and spousal rape. Hence, it taps police officer thinking on those whose rape victimization was, institutionally, *not* possible only decades ago.

Further, the current dissertation research examines the relationship between attitudes toward women and rape. Fielding (1994) noted that police culture is hegemonically masculine. Hegemonic masculinity centers on male dominance, the

denigration of women and glorifying violence (Brown and Campbell, 1994). Thus, one would expect that in a masculine subculture, negative attitudes toward women and rape would remain prevalent. One cannot take for granted, however, that attitudes toward women and rape are still related in the same way(s) as when previously measured. It is possible that attitudes toward women have become more egalitarian while the acceptance of rape myths has remained constant. Therefore, it is important to determine the direction and strength of this relationship as it pertains to police officers. This dissertation will also test whether police officers are responding to systemic constructions of rape (i.e., rape law reforms) and whether the officers are sexist in their approach to rape and rape victims.

Overall, this study is intended to broaden our understanding of (1) how police officers view the crime of rape and the culpability of rape victims; and (2) how these attitudes are related to attitudes toward women. By clarifying police officers' attitudes toward rape, we will be better able to determine whether and how the reforms have influenced police officers' attitudes and how these attitudes influence investigatory decision-making.

Dissertation Overview

This dissertation is divided into seven chapters: Introduction (Chapter 1), Attitudes Toward Rape (Chapter 2), Rape Law Reform (Chapter 3), Attitudes Among Police Officers (Chapter 4), Research Methods (Chapter 5), Findings (Chapter 6) and Discussion and Conclusions (Chapter 7). In the next chapter, Chapter 2, I extend the discussion of gender socialization and attitudes toward women and rape. The more

rigidly one adheres to the culturally accepted ideals of masculinity and femininity, the more likely s/he is to rely on stereotypical depictions of masculinity and femininity when assessing the behavior of others. This stereotyped assessment becomes particularly relevant when police officers are determining the credibility of a rape victims' statement.

In Chapter 3, I outline the goals of the reformers of rape laws and review research literature assessing the effectiveness of the reforms. I also review literature pertaining to prosecutors' use of legal and extralegal factors when determining whether and how to proceed with a case. This review suggests the need to investigate police officers in a similar fashion.

Chapter 4 discusses past research on police officers' attitudes toward women and rape and highlights gaps that exist in the current literature. I also address the discretion involved in police work and how attitudes inform discretion.

Chapter 5 reviews my methods for assessing the relationship between police officers' attitudes toward women and rape. I review the scales used in the survey instrument and outline the research hypotheses for the dissertation.

In Chapter 6, I reveal the results of the dissertation and report on the findings in terms of the hypotheses outlined in the earlier chapters. Chapter 7 offers more in-depth discussion of the findings and considers implications for future research.

Chapter 2

ATTITUDES TOWARD WOMEN AND RAPE

Differential expectations about acceptable behavior for males and females influence our thoughts, behaviors and career choices as well as our expression and evaluation of gender and sexuality. This chapter will establish a framework for understanding (1) how men and women are socialized to hold gendered expectations about sexuality and (2) how these differential expectations inform attitudes toward rape. Police officers are invariably influenced by their socialization, as is anyone raised within a particular society, hence it is important to reflect on this process.

Gender and Sexuality Socialization

Gender is a social institution, one that organizes and stratifies many aspects of day-to-day life (Bem, 1981; Lorber, 2003). Gender norms and attributions influence allowable emotions, types of occupational status and even personality characteristics. As gender typically (but not always) corresponds with one's biological sex, differences between men and women and the ways in which they experience life are seen as natural rather than socially constructed (Beall, 1993; Lorber, 2003). Men and women are evaluated and rated in terms of their respective, expected levels of masculinity and femininity rather than recognizing that each gender embodies aspects of both masculinity and femininity.

Masculine and feminine attributions are made early in an individual's life (Schwartz and Rutter, 1998). Once a distinction has been made between male and

female, a child is labeled with certain attributes; sweet and pretty (or not) for a girl, strong and independent (or not) for a boy. The individual's behaviors and experiences are seen through the lens of gender (Goffman, 1977; Butler, 1990; Lorber, 2003). Thus, the same behavior may be interpreted in different ways depending on the sex of the child. A child's sex is denoted by the use of gender markers, such as names and the use of gender-appropriate colors and clothes (Lorber, 2003). Toys may also be used as gender markers, as little boys are often instructed not to play with dolls or dresses and little girls and told not to play with guns. This stereotypical representation helps to maintain the existing gender order.

Ideals of masculinity and femininity derive from *gender schemas*, which define what it means to be male and female (Devor, 1989). *Schemas* are cognitive aids for quickly and efficiently processing incoming information. They are expectations or ideas that permeate a culture and typically rely on stereotypic information. Gender schemas assist individuals in organizing information: that is, they aid in classifying social behavior as male or female (Bem, 1981). Despite the fact that males and females often display more within-group variability than between-group variability, people tend to observe greater between-group variability (Beall, 1993). Perceived gender differences serve to preserve existing patriarchal structures, where men are dominant and control the resources of society.

Though intimately intertwined, the concepts of gender and sexuality are separate constructs. Sexuality is broadly defined by the expression of behaviors and thoughts that have erotic meaning (Anselmi and Law, 1998). Gender, however, relates to the expression of emotions, thoughts and behaviors that are thought to coincide with one's

physical sex, but are not erotic in nature. The socialization of gender and sexuality creates generalized understandings about how people will behave in erotic situations (Blumstein and Schwartz, 1998). This socialization provides individuals with *scripts*, that is, a set of specific directives for situational behavior. While schemas represent broad categorizations, scripts provide roadmaps for behavior in concrete situations. Sexual scripts greatly influence the sexual socialization and expression of men and women in American society. In particular, sexual scripts dictate how men and women will behave and even what each will feel and say in a sexual situation (Tiefer and Kring, 1998). Scripts and schemas aid us in adhering to acceptable expressions of gender and sexuality. They also influence how we interpret and evaluate the expression of gender and sexuality by others.

Men in contemporary American society are raised to be active in the expression of their sexuality. Masturbation is deemed acceptable male behavior. Men may engage in sexual acts with as many women as they wish (within reason) to “prove” their masculinity to other men (Elias, 2003). They are raised to emotionally separate from women and intimacy, as this can be deemed “girlie” behavior (Kilmartin, 1999; Kimmel, 2003). Further, men are expected to “know” what to do in sexual situations and to take the initiative, guiding inexperienced women in their path to sexual expression (Kilmartin, 1999).

Women are raised with little expectation of having open expression of their sexuality. They should be passive during sex, letting male partners take the lead. Although some level of sexual initiation may be seen as situationally sexy, openly sexual women are deemed dangerous or even evil (Schwartz and Rutter, 1998; Crawford,

Kippax and Waldby, 1999). Explicit displays of sexuality by women may be threatening to men who are socialized to be sexually dominant. Masturbation is discouraged by messages indicating “real” pleasure can only be received by intercourse with a man. Unlike men, women are socialized to view sex as “enjoyable” only when part of a meaningful relationship with a man. Purely recreational sex is not acceptable behavior for girls and women (Laws and Schwartz, 1981; Schwartz and Rutter, 1998; Kimmel, 2003).

Given the complex process and inherent socialization of sexual scripting, sexual behavior can become highly ritualized and even mechanical, with rigid adherence to the prescribed roles of each person. Although variations may occur, they occur within a relatively stable sexual script and are minimal in comparison with variations recognized in nonsexual scripts (Simon and Gagnon, 1986). For example, men and women are taught that a “virtuous” woman will initially resist in a sexual situation (i.e., say “no”), but will eventually submit to desire. Therefore, the man should work to persuade her to submit to her erotic feelings (Crawford, Kippax and Waldby, 1999; Kilmartin, 1999). This may at least partially explain why many women in date rape situations are considered unacknowledged victims. Since the situation contains many of the characteristics of the “normal” sexual script (depending on the amount of force used), the women do not define the situation as rape and thus do not identify themselves as rape victims (Kahn and Mathie, 2000).

Men’s sexuality is measured in terms of the number of partners they have. The opposite is true for women. Although women are allowed more sexual experiences today than before the advent of the birth control pill (due to fewer concerns over pregnancy),

their sexual prowess is to be kept to a minimum and should occur only within the confine of a committed relationship. Otherwise, they risk being labeled “sluts.” Sex can become “machine-like” for many men since they have been socialized to keep emotional expression and sexuality separate. Sex can also become routine for women, who are socialized to keep their sexual likes and dislikes unarticulated (Tiefer and Kring, 1998; Crawford, Kippax and Waldby, 1999; Kilmartin, 1999).

Attitudes Toward Women

Adherence to gender role stereotypes results in sexist attitudes toward women. These attitudes may be blatantly expressed or more subversive in nature. Swim, Aikin, Hall and Hunter (1995) refer to deliberate and obvious forms of sexism as “old-fashioned” because many now recognize that these attitudes are not publicly accepted. Benokraitis and Feagin (1986) argue that negative attitudes toward women have become increasingly covert and that sexism now takes more subtle forms. One example of the subtle nature of contemporary sexism is the denial that women continue to be discriminated against, despite lower salary earnings (Stroh, Brett and Reilly, 1992) and the persistence of unequal distribution of household labor, even for women who hold professional jobs (Biernat and Wortman, 1991). In order to test the overt forms of Old-Fashioned Sexism (OFSS) and the more covert forms of Modern Sexism (MSS), Swim, Aikin, Hall and Hunter (1995) conducted phone surveys using a closed-ended questionnaire with female (477) and male (311) introductory psychology students. The scales were adapted from McConahay’s (1986) Old-Fashioned and Modern Racism Scales, to apply specifically to sexism. The researchers found that men scored

significantly higher on the OFSS and MSS than women, indicating that they held more sexist and less egalitarian attitudes toward women.

Attitudes Toward Rape

Burt (1980) first coined the expression “rape myths,” which refer to the stereotypical and empirically incorrect beliefs that an individual holds concerning rape, rapists and the victims of rape. Some examples of rape myths include: “only bad girls get raped,” “women ask for it,” and “women ‘cry rape’ only when they’ve been jilted or have something to cover up.”

Rape myths may provide a justification (e.g., she seemed to like it) or an excuse (e.g., that was bad, but I’m not [wholly] responsible) for the (male) rapist’s behavior (Scott and Lyman, 1968). That is, responsibility is either displaced from perpetrators on the idea that they surpassed the level of “controllable” sexual stimulation and could no longer be held accountable for their actions (Bart, 1979) or female victims and potential victims are cast as the responsible party. They are instructed to be aware of male propensities and take action (or remain passive) to avoid rape. Women are told not to dress provocatively so as not to arouse the presumed uncontrollable sexual urges in men. They are also instructed not to go out at night alone. Rather, they should keep protection (a man) with them at all times if possible. All of these messages warn of the looming possibility of rape, which restricts the movement of women and to a certain extent dictates how, when and where women travel and congregate (Stanko, 1997).

For many, rape myths are a commonsense approach to understanding and explaining the crime of rape. Yet, myths, like most stereotypes, often represent a stark

contrast to reality (Doherty and Anderson, 1998). For instance, a common rape myth is that a victim will have physical injuries following the rape because one cannot be raped against her/his will. However, Bonney (1985) found that forty-four percent of rape victims have no physical injuries. In many cases, rape is accomplished through verbal and psychological coercion rather than physical force. This figure is likely underestimated, as the sample included only known victims of rape.

Another dominant myth is that sexually active women are more likely to lie about being sexually attacked than are those deemed “chaste.” Although women are free to enjoy more sexual partners than in recent history, they are held accountable for this behavior if they are the victims of sexual violence (Schwartz and Rutter, 1998). Notably, victims of robbery or car theft are not held accountable for how many times they have been victims of that crime. The close monitoring, control and access of women’s sexuality is fostered by a patriarchal society where men dominate women in many, if not all, spheres of economic, social and political life (Johnson, 1997; Kimmel, 2000). By advising women not to walk alone at night, women are made to feel dependent on men (or the masculine state) for their safety. Society can thereby restrict women’s behavior, making them responsible for being raped if they were alone. Another common myth is that women often lie about being raped. However, Ward (1995) reported that just one to four percent of rape reports constitute false reports², a figure not significantly different from false reports of other crimes.

² Reports of rape were deemed false when the victim admits s/he fabricated the allegation or when proof of fabrication is obtained.

Several studies have been conducted to determine the public's level of endorsement of various rape myths. Field (1978) surveyed 1,056 individuals (528 females and 528 males) regarding their attitudes toward rape. He found that male respondents attributed greater responsibility to the woman to prevent a rape and believed that victims precipitate rape through provocative dress or behavior. Male respondents, however, also tended to believe that women should not resist during a rape and that the punishment for rape should be severe. Unlike their female counterparts, male respondents generally did not express a belief that rapists are mentally ill or that they are motivated by a need to have power over women. More positive attitudes toward women, expressed by the respondents, correlated with the belief that the rapist's motivation is not sex, but rather an exercise of power and domination over the victim.

Burt (1980) surveyed women (357) and men (241) in Minnesota and found strong endorsement of rape myths across the entire sample. Over half of Burt's sample endorsed rape myths like "A woman who goes to the home or apartment of a man on the first date implies she is willing to have sex" and "In the majority of rapes, the victim was promiscuous or had a bad reputation." Likewise, more than half of the respondents believed that at least fifty percent of rape complaints were by women who intended to get back at men they were angry with or because the victims were trying to cover up an illegitimate pregnancy. She found that the acceptance of rape myths was highly correlated with other attitudes such as sex role stereotyping ($R^2 = 0.309$) and adversarial sexual beliefs ($R^2 = 0.292$), demonstrating the relationship of rape myths and sexist attitudes.

Mayerson and Taylor (1987) also examined the influence of sex role stereotyping on the acceptance of rape myths. Female undergraduates (96) were assigned to one of three conditions involving a story that varied with respect to the degree of consent and arousal in a sexual situation. Mayerson and Taylor found that subjects with a high score on sex role stereotyping also had a high score on the acceptance of rape myths, regardless of the level of consent or arousal of the woman in the story. Subjects also reported the belief that the average man would be more likely to behave like the man in the story than the average woman would gain pleasure from being in the storied situation (Mayerson and Taylor, 1987).

Socialization in adulthood takes the form of learning and adapting our worldview to what is deemed appropriate in various social settings, including occupational settings. As recruits, police officers not only learn the skills and policies needed for police work, they also learn the cultural norms associated with law enforcement.

Police Culture as Masculinity

Men in American society are socialized to espouse “macho” beliefs and behavior. Connell (1987, 1995, 2002) refers to this as “hegemonic masculinity,” an idealized form of masculinity, emphasizing dominance, aggression, heterosexuality and a lack of emotion. Hegemonic masculinity promotes but does not *determine* behavior that supports the traditional gender order. Rather, it shapes one’s sense of reality and is modified to fit different situations (Messerschmidt, 2000). In other words, hegemonic masculinity acts as a script for how men should behave and/or think in various situations.

Fielding (1994) states that police culture “may be read as an almost pure form of ‘hegemonic masculinity’” (p. 47). This type of culture is characterized by aggression, competition, rigid in-group/out-group distinctions and an acute heterosexist orientation. This blatant heterosexism often takes the form of “patriarchal and misogynistic attitudes toward women” (ibid, p. 47). Martin (1989) notes that maintenance of sexist attitudes is often tied to police officers’ occupational identities. Stereotypic displays of masculinity are expected and encouraged by public ideals and by other members of the police force. Socialization into police work, in combination with social isolation from the public, promotes a police “personality” and a subculture of policing. This subculture is protective of its identity and its members, who tend to share common attitudes, beliefs and worldviews (McNamara, 1999).

In addition, Bradley, Walker and Wilkie (1986) note the strong resistance to change inherent in police culture. They regard this resistance to change as a form of pessimism, e.g. “whatever we do, things will not improve, we are prisoners of forces beyond our control.” All of these factors indicate that police culture and individual police officers maintain rigid attitudes about the roles and actions of men and women in society. These strict role definitions may contribute to a general police culture that is negative towards women and facilitate the continued acceptance of rape myths.

Research on female police officers suggests they are victims of sexual harassment and sexual discrimination. They are often sexually harassed and do not receive equal credit for their work (Daum and Johns, 1994). Timmins and Hainsworth (1989) found that sexual harassment and discrimination were far more prevalent than expected among police officers, and that harassment is supported and carried out by supervisory officers.

Martin (1989) suggested that a sexist atmosphere often causes female officers to withdraw and to fail to build interpersonal relationships necessary for mentoring and sponsorship.

Police work is characterized by its own occupational beliefs and values that are generally shared by officers in the United States (Herbert, 1997). As members of a subculture, police officers import many values and beliefs from the broader society in which they live. For example, the conservative and masculine disposition of officers may be a reflection of the type of individuals drawn to police work (Roberg, Crank and Kuykendall, 2004). These attitudes, beliefs and norms are reinforced through communication and association with more experienced police officers (McNamara, 1999). Given the masculine ideals that pervade police culture (Murrell and Lester, 1979), one would expect this rigid adherence to gender roles to influence the acceptance of rape myths.

Agents of the criminal justice system do not operate in a vacuum, of course, but are guided by laws and procedures. The following chapter discusses rape law reforms. A brief history of rape laws in the United States is provided. I also outline the existing research on prosecutors and their use of rape law reforms. This research is relevant to our understanding of how police officers evaluate rape cases.

Chapter 3

RAPE LAW REFORM

Changes in law may not be fully realized if criminal justice personnel do not adopt attitudes congruent with the changes. This chapter provides a description of the goals of rape law reforms and review research literature assessing the effectiveness of the reforms. Several scholars have contributed a notable body of research to the evaluation of the reforms by investigating the prosecutorial level of the criminal justice system. This research suggests how police officers may respond to reforms. Thus, I also review research literature evaluating prosecutors' use of legal and extralegal factors influencing the prosecution of rape cases.

A Brief History of Rape Laws in the United States

Myths that excuse male behavior and blame women for their own sexual victimization, have informed law and social policies regarding sexual violence. Historically, rape laws were enacted to protect the property rights of men (Sheffield, 1998). Women were seen as property, as evidenced by the giving of a dowry at marriage. As such, rape was a crime against the husband or betrothed rather than against the woman. If a rape victim was unmarried, the rapist had to compensate her father for the violation since his daughter was now considered "damaged goods" and no man would want her (Sheffield, 1998). Until 1977, husbands were able to sexually assault their

wives with no repercussions³. Legally, a wife could not be raped, since she was willingly engaged in a sexual relationship with her husband already. Currently, many still think of sexual violence in the exclusive terms of the quintessential heterosexual act, penile-vaginal intercourse. Violence is ignored or downplayed (Brownmiller, 1975; Sheffield, 1998). Moreover, the *absence of consent* to sexual activity that defines *all* sexual assaults – and not just penile-vaginal intercourse – is ignored (Box, 1984).

In most states, laws concerning sexual violence have been rewritten in gender-neutral language. That is, the law allows for female perpetrators and male victims. Because men are raised to be hypersexual, many cannot fathom the possibility of a male being forced to have sex. After all, men are always supposed to be “ready and willing” whenever an opportunity arises (Russell, 1975). Changes in rape law have not resulted in rejection of rape myths. Attitudes must also be targeted for change.

The fact that the corroboration requirement exists for rape cases, but not for any other felony, exemplifies the inherent gender bias in the criminal justice system. This represents a double standard, in that other crime victims are not asked for corroborating witnesses or physical evidence. Also, the requirement that the victim of rape must physically fight back is a double standard (Bart, 1979). The expectation that a woman, who has been socialized to be passive, especially in relation to a man, should suddenly “transcend her traditional socialization” (p. 351) is biased. Given the pervasive nature of these double standards in society, one would expect them to also be present within the criminal justice system.

³ Oregon was the first state to eliminate the marital exemption (Schulhofer, 1998). It persists in a few states. In the state of Tennessee, for example, a husband may only be charged with rape if armed with a weapon, if he inflicts physical bodily injury or if the couple are living apart and one spouse has filed separation papers (Tenn. Code Ann. 39-13-507).

Feminist scholars and activists launched a campaign in the mid-1970s to alter the way society and members of the criminal justice system view and treat the crime of rape and rape victims. These efforts and criticisms of traditional rape laws led to the reform of existing rape laws. Many local and national women's organizations not only sought to assist victims of sexual assault, but also to alter the way rape was viewed and treated within the criminal justice system (Schulhofer, 1998). Griffin (1971) and Brownmiller (1975) were two of the earliest feminist scholars to analyze the treatment of rape by the criminal justice system. Their writings focused attention on stereotyped evaluations of "good" and "bad" women made by police and prosecutors about rape victims. They noted that police and prosecutors often believed a victim was making a false complaint and blamed her for somehow provoking the rape. If the case went to trial, defense attorneys subjected the victim to humiliating testimony regarding her sexual history. Any prior sexual behavior proved her untrustworthy. Brownmiller noted,

While a woman's past sexual history may be trotted out for a jury's appraisal, a man's relevant sexual history, including prior charges and convictions for rape, may not be introduced in evidence if he does not take the witness stand. And so, a jury might see before them a sexually active woman and be told that her sexual activity reflects on her character and credibility, but the man may not be similarly examined or judged (1975: 372).

Feminist activists, legal scholars and social scientists questioned the motives and purpose of traditional rape laws, whose focus was on the victim of the attack rather than on the offender who committed the crime (Griffin, 1975; Brownmiller, 1975; Estrich, 1987; MacKinnon, 1989; Schulhofer, 1998). The criminal justice system was more concerned with the victim's behavior at the time of the attack: for example, how intensely

she tried to fight her attacker off, what she was wearing and whether or not she had been drinking or using drugs. Critics of traditional rape law believed that this intense focus on the victim was unique to rape and pointed to the rules of evidence (i.e., corroboration, verbally uttering “no,” physical injuries) that institutionalized victim blaming. Many were also critical of the definition of rape, which was limited to unmarried women and to the single act of vaginal-penile intercourse. They believed that the limited definitions of rape and the intense focus on the victim dissuaded reporting of rape by victims to the police (Horney and Spohn, 1991; Spohn and Horney, 1992; Schulhofer, 1998; Spohn, 1999).

Brownmiller (1975) and MacKinnon (1989) extended these critiques by noting that rape laws actually protect male offenders rather than female victims. Brownmiller called rape “nothing more or less than a conscious process of intimidation by which all men keep all women in a state of fear” (1975: 15). Rape laws outline expectations for “proper” female behavior and limit the type of force that can be considered criminal. For instance, coercion or threatened physical force (without the presence of a weapon) to secure sex is not considered criminal. Further, these laws increase women’s dependence on men as protectors, thereby reinforcing men’s social power and domination as a class, i.e., women who choose to walk alone at night are blamed for their own victimization. Reformers believed that by altering the legal definition of rape and the treatment of victims by the criminal justice system, an increase in reporting, prosecution, and convictions of rape would occur (Spohn and Horney, 1992; Spohn, 1999).

Rape Law Reforms

Reformers sought to accomplish four primary goals: (1) to expand the definition of rape; (2) to alter the standard for proving that the victim did not consent; (3) to eradicate or limit the evidentiary requirement of corroboration of the victim's statement; and (4) to place constraints on or eliminate the admissibility of the victim's sexual history (Horney and Spohn, 1991; Spohn and Horney, 1992; Cairney, 1995; Spohn, 1999). In 1974, Michigan became the first state to reform its rape law. Ultimately, all fifty states enacted some level of rape law reform, although the extent of reform varies (Bachman and Paternoster, 1993).

In general, the definition of rape across states was rewritten in gender-neutral language, recognizing the existence of male victims and female perpetrators. The definition of penetration was also expanded to include any intrusion of a person's body with any part of another person's body or object, thereby eliminating the presence of semen as a necessary requirement to consider the sexual act a rape. Additionally, many states (e.g., Michigan, California) adapted the laws so as to criminalize forms of spousal rape. For some states this meant that the definition of spousal rape was altered to exclude spouses who were either living apart or had filed for divorce (Horney and Spohn, 1991; Spohn and Horney, 1992; Bachman and Paternoster, 1993; Cairney, 1995; Spohn, 1999).

Many states (e.g., Michigan, Illinois) eliminated the single offense of rape and developed a series of graded offenses, like sexual battery and first- and second-degree sexual assault. Gradations of the offense were differentiated by contextual circumstances such as the type of penetration (i.e., intercourse, sodomy, oral sex), the level of coercion (i.e., verbal or physical threats or the presence of a weapon), and the extent of physical

injury inflicted on the victim. Also included in the evaluation of the degree of offense was whether or not the sexual assault occurred during the commission of another crime and whether accomplices were involved. Finally, offenses were differentiated by the victim's ability to grant consent, which may be limited due to age or mental defect. Mental defect includes intoxication due to drugs and/or alcohol or developmental disabilities (Horney and Spohn, 1991; Spohn and Horney, 1992; Spohn, 1999).

Reformers hoped that by expanding the definition of rape to include a wider array of behaviors and victims, police would be able to charge suspects with crimes that were more fitting of the offense and that were less likely to be dismissed by the prosecutors or the courts (Spohn and Horney, 1992). In other words, police could access charges other than rape for cases that appeared ambiguous or did not represent the stereotypical stranger rape. Rather than charging an offender with rape, they could issue a lesser charge, such as second-degree sexual assault. Reformers believed that the use of these supposedly more appropriate charges would also lead to increases in prosecution and convictions of rape. More options would be available for prosecutors (for plea bargaining) and juries unwilling to convict a defendant of first-degree rape (Spohn and Horney, 1992; Schulhofer, 1998; Spohn, 1999).

Prior to rape law reforms, victims were required to "resist to the utmost" in order to prove lack of consent (Bachman and Paternoster, 1993). In other words, verbal refusal was not sufficient. It was necessary for victims to physically resist their attacker(s), a response that was, in fact, contrary to the advice given by police and rape counselors. Women's organizations and critics claimed that no other law required such resistance. Critics also claimed that this standard focused attention on the actions of the victim rather

than the actions of the assailant. In light of these criticisms, many states either repealed the criterion of victim resistance or expanded the definition of the use of force to include threat of force or the perceived threat of force (Horney and Spohn, 1991; Dressler, 1998; Spohn, 1999). Several states retained the existing consent statute, but rephrased it more clearly as the absence of a “freely given agreement” (Spohn, 1999).

Traditionally, a rape case could not be tried on the testimony of the victim alone (e.g. Georgia, California). Corroboration of the rape was necessary either in the form of a witness or medical evidence. Legal scholars attributed the necessity of this requirement to the belief that women “lie” in order to explain premarital or extramarital sex or to retaliate against an ex-lover (Ward, 1995). Rape was commonly believed to be a crime that is particularly vulnerable to false allegations. However, studies indicate that the percent of false reports of rape range between one and four percent, similar to that of any other crime (Doherty and Anderson, 1998).

Reformers claimed that the corroboration requirement was unnecessary and difficult to meet. Rape is a crime that most often occurs in private, between two people, with no one else around (Brownmiller, 1975). Reformers also believed it to be sexually discriminating, its only purpose being to protect the male defendant. Further, the corroboration requirement seemed unnecessary since juries and judges were, “if anything, often prejudiced against the complainant in a rape case” (Bessmer, 1984) rather than against a defendant. Most states either eliminated or limited the corroboration requirement. Several states (e.g., Illinois, Texas) maintained the corroboration requirement, though some limited it to statutory rape (i.e., sexual conduct with a minor)

(Horney and Spohn, 1991). It was hoped that these changes would lead to more prosecutable cases and higher conviction rates (Spohn, 1999).

Finally, traditional rape law stipulated that the victim's prior sexual history was admissible in court proceedings. By 1985, the federal government and the majority of states adopted "rape shield laws" designed to limit the admissibility of the victim's sexual history. Rape shield laws vary widely, with Texas and Michigan representing the two ends of the continuum. Texas law does not exclude any sexual history of the victim as long as the "prejudicial nature does not outweigh its probative value" (Spohn, 1999). Both "prejudicial nature" and "probative value" are at the judge's discretion to determine. Michigan, on the other hand, categorically excludes evidence regarding the victim's sexual history unless it directly includes a prior sexual relationship with the defendant and has a direct bearing on the present case. The majority of state statutes lie somewhere in the middle of this continuum, with few holding ground at the extreme ends (Dressler, 1998; Spohn, 1999).

Assessment of Rape Law Reforms

Despite the expectations of those involved in reforming rape laws, studies have been inconclusive as to the effectiveness of reforms in the 1970s and 1980s. As mentioned previously, the rate of reported rapes increased substantially in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Initially, the reforms appeared to have little impact on the reports of rape to the police. The rape rate began to drop slightly in the 1980s, but few attribute this decrease to reforms. Rather, this trend seems to have followed that of other violent crimes for the same period (Galvin, 1985; Polk, 1985). Bachman and Paternoster (1993)

caution that both the reporting and adjudication rate for rape must increase relative to other violent crimes in order to attribute the trend to the influence of rape reforms.

Polk (1985) examined trends in criminal justice processing as a result of the rape law reforms. He studied secondary data from the Bureau of Justice Statistics for the state of California for the period 1975 to 1982. Polk compared the trends in rape rates with rates of other felony crimes, thus controlling for variation that could be accounted for by the overall crime pattern. He found that trends in clearance rates (i.e., where a person is arrested, charged and turned over to the courts for prosecution) for rape remained stable throughout the study period, with clearance rates slightly higher than those for robbery and burglary, but lower than those for homicide and assault. A stable pattern also held for the percentage of rape arrests that result in a felony filing of charges (Polk, 1985). Thus, Polk concluded that clearance rates were not significantly lower than those of other felonies for this time period.

However, Polk (1985) did observe a change in sentencing for rape. There was a significantly higher probability for those convicted of rape to be sentenced to a state institution by the end of the study period. In 1975, those convicted of rape had a 58 percent chance of being sentenced to a state institution, while those in 1982 had an 81 percent chance. Although all felonies showed an upward trend in sentencing, the trend for rape was slightly stronger, indicating that if a rape case made it through the criminal justice process, it would likely result in an institutional sentence (Polk, 1985).

Several studies have looked specifically at reforms in Michigan law, since it was the first state to enact changes and the enacted changes represent the most extensive reforms in the United States. Caringella-MacDonald (1985) assessed the effect of

Michigan's reform law on attrition and conviction rates for rape. She studied the three-year period following enactment of the reforms (1974) in Kalamazoo, Michigan and compared her findings to jurisdictions with more traditional rape laws: that is, less reform (Washington, D.C., Seattle, Washington, and Kansas City, Missouri). Despite the enactment of reforms, Caringella-MacDonald (1985) found that attrition rates for sexual assault cases continued at high levels for Kalamazoo. Approximately half of the cases were rejected at intake and 58 percent were plea-bargained to lesser charges with lesser sentences than were dictated by the statute. Of the cases that went to trial, approximately 22 percent resulted in acquittal or prosecutor nolle⁴. When compared to the other three jurisdictions however, evidence of an effect due to the rape reform laws was found. Kalamazoo had lower attrition rates and higher conviction rates than the other jurisdictions (Caringella-MacDonald, 1985).

Horney and Spohn (1991) assessed the effect of reforms in six jurisdictions: Detroit, Michigan; Chicago, Illinois; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Houston, Texas; Atlanta, Georgia; and Washington, D.C. These cities vary in terms of the extent of rape reforms adopted, with Atlanta, Houston, and Washington, D.C. adopting weaker reforms and Detroit, Chicago, and Philadelphia adopting stronger reforms. Horney and Spohn (1991) hypothesized that the cities with stronger reforms would have higher reporting rates, indictment rates and conviction rates for rape. They used court records and data obtained from the FBI Uniform Crime Reports from 1970 through 1984. Horney and Spohn's (1991) data indicated that reform measures had little impact, especially on the

⁴ A nolle is a case where a prosecutor decides not to prosecute. The records of the defendant's arrest will be erased thirteen months following the date the nolle is filed.

rate of reports and processing of rape cases. Due to the extent of reform, Detroit showed the most impact, but even this impact was limited. There was no change in the percentage of convictions. Nor did Chicago and Philadelphia experience significant changes in the reporting or processing of rape cases. In Detroit, however, the number of reports of rape increased significantly in the period following implementation of reforms. The maximum sentence imposed on those incarcerated also increased (Horney and Spohn, 1991).

A significant effect was found in Horney and Spohn's (1991) study for Washington, D.C., but it was not in the expected direction. Following the elimination of the corroboration requirement, a significant decrease was found there in the number of reported rapes. In Houston, the number of reported rapes and the sentences for those convicted of rape increased, but the indictment ratio – that is, the number of indictments relative to the number of reports – actually decreased. Atlanta showed no signs of change attributable to rape reforms. These data indicate that factors other than the extent of rape reforms likely influence the processing of rape cases (Horney and Spohn, 1991).

Bachman and Paternoster (1993) examined several national data sources from 1973 to 1990 for the crimes of rape, robbery and assault. They found a slight increase in the number of reported rapes since 1980. Although this increase was small, it was larger than the reporting rates for robbery, which decreased, and for assault, which only slightly increased. The likelihood of going to prison if convicted of rape also increased between 1970 and 1989. This increase was not a result of the growing punitiveness of the criminal justice system, as the likelihood of imprisonment for robbery and assaults only increased slightly. The probability of a rapist going to prison increased more than 200

percent since 1981 (Bachman and Paternoster, 1993). Thus, Bachman and Paternoster found mixed results as to the effectiveness of rape reforms. There was not a notable increase in the proportion of victims reporting rape to the police. Nor was there a large increase in the likelihood that an offender who raped an acquaintance would go to prison. However, there was a large increase, following the implementation of reforms, in the probability that a convicted (stranger) rapist would go to prison.

One of the objectives of the reforms was to educate the public about the realities of rape and to undermine many of the myths rampant in society. It was believed that one outcome of this education would be a decrease in the incidence of rape. Berger, Neuman and Searles (1994) hypothesized that if rape law reforms are effective, there will be a decrease in official reports of rape to police because there will be a decrease in the incidence of rape. They analyzed data for the 48 continental United States. Results indicated that rape law reforms did not significantly reduce official rape rates. When specific reforms were examined, however, changes in the definition of rape (i.e., redefining the crime on a continuum) and consent had significant effects. Both of these components broaden the range of offenses under the umbrella of sexual assault and increase the behaviors that are considered criminal. The result has been higher reporting and apprehension rates for crimes along the continuum of sexual assault (Berger et al., 1994).

Prosecuting Rape: Legal and Extralegal Factors

In addition to studies that examine the broad effects of rape reforms on prosecution and sentencing, many studies have examined the impact of victim

characteristics and type of sexual assault (i.e., simple or aggravated) on the reporting and processing of rape cases since the reforms. This research centers on *prosecutors'* use of legal and extralegal factors when pursuing a rape case. Research has consistently found that extralegal variables have an impact on the outcome of rape cases (Spohn and Horney, 1996). Cases involving victims with a prior relationship to the defendant are often not taken as seriously as those involving strangers. Prior relationship has affected whether or not a defendant is charged or prosecuted and if he is prosecuted and convicted, if he serves time in prison. Rape committed by a stranger is often viewed by criminal justice personnel (e.g., police officers, prosecutors and judges) as more heinous than rape by an acquaintance or by an intimate partner (Spohn and Horney, 1993; Hazelwood and Burgess, 1995).

It is important at this juncture to differentiate between simple and aggravated sexual assault. Aggravated rapes are cases where the victim and offender are strangers, the offender uses a weapon, the offender physically harms the victim *and/or* multiple offenders are involved. Simple rape cases do not involve these aggravating circumstances (Spohn and Horney, 1996). Typically, simple sexual assault cases are those involving acquaintances. Given the existence of a prior or current relationship, physical force is not necessarily needed to ensure the sexual assault. Rather, an offender may rely on verbal threats, intimidation and/or coercion to accomplish the assault. These factors – amounting to a lack of tangible evidence – make charging and prosecuting simple sexual assault cases very difficult. Furthermore, the ambiguity of the characteristics of the assault promotes stereotypic analysis by individuals and criminal justice personnel. Police, prosecutors, juries and judges fear charging and/or convicting

an innocent person. They see more reason for the victim to lie about the attack when she knows her assailant than when he is a stranger (Spohn and Horney, 1993). In addition, the victim in these cases is likely to take longer to report the crime to police for the same reasons that make the case ambiguous to criminal justice personnel (Cairney, 1995). This lapse in time contributes to the negative assessment of the alleged assault. Since approximately 85 percent of victims are sexually assaulted by someone they know and prior relationship spurs the aforementioned biases and complications, it is no wonder that rape reports are no higher than they are (Spohn and Horney, 1993; Cairney, 1995).

Aggravated rapes are those characterized by the stereotypical rape in which a stranger, say, jumps from the bushes and physically and sexually attacks his victim. Since the perpetrator in these situations is typically a stranger, a weapon is commonly employed, as is the use of physical violence in order to subdue the victim. Aggravated rapes are not usually held to the same level of scrutiny by criminal justice personnel, as are acquaintance assaults. The crime and the victim fit people's perceptions of what constitutes a "real rape" involving a "genuine victim." The victim is seen as having less of a reason to lie about the attack since she does not know the attacker. Additionally, since physical violence often accompanies the attack, there is more physical proof that a rape occurred. Because of these factors, the victim often reports the crime to police within a shorter period of time than does the typical victim of acquaintance rape (Spohn and Horney, 1993; Spears and Spohn, 1996).

Spohn and Horney (1993) speculated that victim, defendant and case characteristics influence the outcome of sexual assault cases. Their study examined case outcomes during pre- and post-reform periods (1970 to 1984) in Detroit, Michigan. They

hypothesized that the reforms have resulted in prosecutors relying less on irrelevant characteristics – extralegal factors – when assessing the merits of a rape case. The result of this decreased reliance on extralegal factors would increase the probability of nontraditional victims having their cases heard. Spohn and Horney (1993) found that rape law reforms increased the likelihood of prosecution and conviction in cases of acquaintance rape. They reported an increased probability of prosecution and conviction for cases involving victims that engaged in risky behavior or who were viewed as less traditional.

In later research, Spohn and Horney (1996) adjusted their hypotheses to suggest that rape law reforms had blurred the distinction between simple and aggravated sexual assault cases. Aggravated sexual assaults were already considered “real rapes,” thus requiring less corroboration and/or adherence to “genuine victim” characteristics. The researchers used data from their previous (1993) study in Detroit, but analyzed simple and aggravated sexual assaults separately. They hypothesized that in the post-reform period, simple sexual assault cases would be more likely to go to trial and less likely to be dismissed. Simple sexual assault cases would also be more likely to result in a conviction and defendants would receive more severe punishment than in the pre-reform period (Spohn and Horney, 1996).

Spohn and Horney (1996) found that the percentage of simple sexual assaults that went to trial in the post-reform period significantly increased. Changes in the outcomes of the trials were not, however, statistically significant, with the exception of conviction rates. This finding must be interpreted with caution. There was a much larger sample of

cases for the post-reform period than for the pre-reform period, making a statistically significant result more likely when it may not be meaningful.

Although research (e.g., Spohn and Horney, 1993, 1996) finds extralegal factors statistically significant in the determination of charges, prosecution, conviction and sentencing of sexual assaults, legal factors are also important. For example, LaFree (1989) found the strongest predictors of the aforementioned criminal justice processing decisions to be the ability of the victim to identify her attacker, the victim's promise to press charges and to carry the case through the criminal justice system, the type of offense and the presence of a weapon. Spears and Spohn (1996) assessed the influence of legal factors and victim characteristics on charging decisions by prosecutors in Detroit. The data they analyzed were complaints of sexual assault received by the police department in 1989. It was hypothesized that prosecutors would take victims who adhered to the "genuine victim" stereotype more seriously. Further, physical evidence, injury to the victim and the use or presence of a weapon would strengthen the case and thus enhance the probability of conviction. Finally, it was believed that although evidentiary factors would affect charging decisions, victim characteristics would play a more significant role (Spears and Spohn, 1996).

As hypothesized, the more a victim conformed to the stereotype of a genuine victim, the more likely a prosecutor would file charges. The researchers used a five-point scale to indicate the number of characteristics a victim matched. According to Spears and Spohn (1996), a "genuine victim" was a virgin, had physically resisted the attacker, screamed during the assault, did not have a prior relationship with the offender and/or reported the assault within 24 hours to the police. The researchers found that the more of

these characteristics that the victim fit, the greater was the likelihood of charges being filed. For instance, *all* of the cases having a victim that scored five on the “genuine victim scale” resulted in charges being filed. Victim characteristics were the *only* significant predictor of charges being filed by the prosecutor. In contrast to LaFree’s (1989) study, none of the four evidence factors (victim being a virgin, physically resisting her attacker, a stranger to the offender and reporting the rape within 24 hours) had a significant effect in this study (Spears and Spohn, 1996). In short, based on limited research, it seems likely that not much has changed for “non-genuine” rape victims, as far as treatment by the criminal justice system goes.

Assessing the Effects of Rape Law Reforms

Although many scholars believe that rape law reforms have had positive effects (Marsh, Geist and Caplan, 1982; Caringella-MacDonald, 1985), the results of empirical studies are mixed overall. The adoption and passage of rape reforms has been a symbolic advance even if it has not fully translated into systemic change. Rape is now seen as a more serious offense than it once was and awareness has been raised regarding the treatment of victims by the criminal justice system as well as the public and media (Spohn, 1999).

Many of the aforementioned researchers attribute their lack of significant findings concerning the effects of rape law reforms to attitudinal changes that began before the reforms were instituted (LaFree, 1989; Bachman and Paternoster, 1993; Spohn and Horney, 1993, 1996; Spohn, 1999). In other words, police officers and prosecutors may have been more progressive in their attitudes toward rape prior to the reforms.

Researchers have also noted, however, that the effectiveness of reforms may be limited when the attitudes of reformers and criminal justice officials are at odds. Police, prosecutors and judges may agree with the reforms in principle, but may resist them because of their presumed consequences on the operation and efficiency of the courtroom workgroup (Horney and Spohn, 1991). In other words, adopting and implementing rape law reforms may increase the workload, thereby limiting the efficiency of police, prosecutors and judges investigating and prosecuting rape cases. They would have less time to spend on individual cases due to an increased workload.

Walker (1998) notes that the criminal justice system is not an impersonal entity. Rather, it represents a series of discretionary decisions. These decisions are influenced by the bureaucratic setting in which they work and the anticipated actions of other members in the criminal justice system. Since rape cases are difficult to investigate and prosecute, they may be given little priority within the criminal justice system.

While it is likely that courtroom dynamics play a role in the adoption of reforms, I argue that it is just as likely that there has *not* been a shift in attitudes supportive of rape reform by criminal justice actors. It is possible that many of the popular rape myths are entrenched in the criminal justice system and that these rigid ideas affect charging, prosecution and sentencing in rape cases.

As mentioned in Chapter 1, there is no general consensus on what constitutes success of rape law reforms. One could argue that a decrease in reported rapes would indicate a deterrent effect of the reforms. That is, due to these reforms, more cases are being investigated and subsequently prosecuted, leading to more convictions and sentences. This might be seen as producing a deterrent effect for the crime of rape, if a

decrease in the number of reported rapes follows. One could also argue, however, that an increase in the number of reported rapes would demonstrate the success of the rape law reforms. The reforms affect individual perceptions, especially rape victims, of the criminal justice system. This could result in an increased willingness to report, thereby increasing the number of reported rapes.

Spohn and Horney (1993, 1996) and Spears and Spohn (1996) have produced a notable body of research assessing the effectiveness of the rape law reforms by evaluating the legal and extralegal factors that affect prosecutors' decision-making: that is, the decision to prosecute a case and how to proceed with the case. Neither they nor other scholars have evaluated police officer attitudes as a measure of the effectiveness of the reforms. Police officers, like prosecutors, have a tremendous amount of discretion (Galton, 1975; Hazelwood and Burgess, 1995). Police officers are typically the first point of contact for victims within the criminal justice system. They decide whether a case merits an investigation and how to classify the investigation. It is likely that their attitudes and beliefs about women and rape would factor into their decision-making.

The next chapter reviews past research on police officers' attitudes toward women and rape. I also consider the occupational culture in which police operate and the influence of education on job performance.

Chapter 4

ATTITUDES AMONG POLICE OFFICERS

This chapter describes the available research on police officers' attitudes toward women and rape. Because police officers exercise discretion when determining whether and how a case will be investigated, and possibly the charges that will result from the investigation, it is important to assess attitudes that may influence their decision-making.

LeGrand (1973) notes that societal attitudes not only inform laws, but that the constructions or ideas represented in law inform societal attitudes. In other words, rape laws and beliefs are mutually constitutive. The question my study seeks to address is whether police officers use standards conveyed by the law when assessing the validity of rape complaints or whether rape victims are still held to a different standard than are other victims of crime. If police officers endorse stereotypic rape beliefs, only cases meeting the criterion of the typical stranger rape are deemed credible and investigated. Police officers are the first contact that rape victims have with the criminal justice system, hence the potential practical significance of ascertaining police attitudes. Notwithstanding legal reforms, there is no guarantee that police officers adhere to the new standards. Negative attitudes toward women and rape may shape the investigation process and result in the dismissal of rape complaints.

Police Officers' Attitudes Toward Rape

Few studies have directly assessed police officers' attitudes toward rape in the past thirty years, the period during which legal reforms have been implemented state by

state. Hence, we have little knowledge of police officers' attitudes toward rape and whether they hold rape victims to a different standard than they do victims of other crimes, post-reform. Galton (1975) analyzed police case files in a Texas police department from August 1974 to August 1975 to assess the effectiveness of rape investigations. He also interviewed rape complainants and police officers about the handling of rape cases. Galton noted that the first question frequently asked of rape complainants was whether they intended to prosecute. If they answered 'no,' the fact gathering process would typically cease. Further, if the police officer became suspicious of a rape case, s/he would attempt to obtain an affidavit of non-prosecution (a signed statement by the victim refusing prosecution) rather than continuing the investigation.

Additionally, Galton (1975) observed that the police officers often held "rape complainants to a higher standard of conduct than the law requires" (p. 17). In fact, he remarked that "investigators freely admit that no complainant's story in any crime is errorless; yet they expect a rape complainant to be wholly consistent in her testimony" (p. 20). He noted that decisions regarding the continuation of a rape investigation were often made arbitrarily: that is, no material factors distinguished investigations of different durations. He concluded that rape law reforms would have little effect on the prosecution and investigation of rape because of this arbitrary decision-making. Galton found female officers to be even more suspicious of rape complainants than their male counterparts. Male police officers believed an average of twelve percent of rape complaints were false. Female officers, however, placed this estimated average at forty percent.

Galton (1975) does not provide a theory or explanation – or much of a basis for theory – of why police officers hold rape victims to a higher standard than they do other

victims of crime. He does not offer details about the general outline of his open-ended interviews with police officers or the content of the closed-ended questionnaire. Nor does he offer descriptive statistics on the number of police officers who hold rape victims to this higher standard.

Subsequently, LeDoux and Hazelwood (1985) conducted the largest study ever of police officers' attitudes about rape. Using county and municipal law enforcement agencies that contribute to the Uniform Crime Report, the researchers surveyed 2,170 sworn officers. Unlike any other study assessing police attitudes about rape, LeDoux and Hazelwood reported a *low* endorsement of rape myths among police officers. The officers viewed rape victims as innocent and disagreed that women should have to prove they did not encourage the rape through their behavior. They strongly disagreed with statements indicating that a raped woman is not truly a victim. Police officers seemed somewhat perplexed about the motivations of the rapist. While officers did not agree that rapists are "normal," neither did they agree rapists are mentally ill. They believed that rapists are sexually frustrated and that rape is a sex crime, but disagreed that rapists have an "uncontrollable desire for sex" or that they "commit rape for sex." The police officers did not consider rape an expression of the rapist's manhood, but they did see the crime as an exercise of the rapist's power over women.

A noteworthy problem with LeDoux and Hazelwood's (1985) study is the way data were analyzed and reported, which may account for the apparent low endorsement of rape myths in this study. Rather than providing percentages of police officers agreeing or disagreeing with various statements about rapists and rape victims, LeDoux and Hazelwood averaged responses (ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree – a "no

opinion” option was not provided) for each item, producing a mean assessment score. An arithmetic mean is not an accurate measure for categorical data and can be misleading.

LaFree (1989) studied the processing of rape cases in Indianapolis during the 1970s at various points in the criminal justice system (i.e., in encounters with police, prosecutors, courts and juries). In addition to viewing police and court records, he also observed court proceedings and conducted post-trial interviews with selected jurors. LaFree observed that women who engage in “risky” behaviors and those that do not fit traditional gender role expectations are more likely to be viewed as suspect by criminal justice agents. He and other researchers (Field, 1978; Burt, 1980) contend that criminal justice agents share general sexist beliefs about the crime of rape and rape victims. The more a victim or the characteristics of the assault deviate from this preconceived idea, the less likely police and prosecutors are to devote extensive time and energy to processing the case (LaFree, 1989; Hazelwood and Burgess, 1995).

LaFree’s (1989) research in Indianapolis showed that police were less likely to make an arrest when the victim did not conform to sex role stereotypes. Examples of such “nonconformity” included going to a bar without a male escort, drinking, hitchhiking, willingly entering the offender’s property or engaging in premarital or extramarital sex. Although these factors influenced police decisions to arrest, they did not influence the victim’s decision to press charges. Police were less likely to make an arrest if the victim delayed reporting the crime to the police. LaFree also found that arrest was more likely if the victim and the offender were acquaintances. This finding seems initially to contradict previous research. However, LaFree speculates that knowing the offender makes identification of the suspect and arrest easier. He conjectures that

problems are encountered at the prosecution level, though, because a consent defense (where the defendant agrees a sexual encounter occurred but contends it was consensual) is more likely when the victim and offender shared a prior relationship (LaFree, 1989).

Additionally, charges were more likely to be filed and to be of a serious nature when a weapon was used and when penetration was part of the offense. Serious charges (e.g., a level one offense) were also filed when the victim was under age 18 and when the victim was white and the suspect was black. Less serious charges were filed for incidents not promptly reported to police. Assaults that involved more than one assailant typically did not result in felony charges. Finally, LaFree (1989) found that detectives were more suspicious of victims' accounts of multiple assailants; this suspicion was particularly salient if there was also more than one victim, if the victim(s) and offenders knew each other and if all were young.

Campbell (1995) conducted a multi-method study with 53 police officers from a mid-sized city in the Midwest and 38 officers from a large Midwestern university. Through both qualitative interviews and surveys, officers were questioned about their work environment and their attitudes about date rape, whether their attitudes had changed since joining the force and if so, how. Sixty-two percent of the officers claimed that they now view date rape more seriously and that they have more sympathy for the victim than when they first joined the police force. More than a third of the officers indicated no change in their attitudes. Fourteen percent noted that their departments do not treat rape cases seriously enough.

In a follow-up article to Campbell's 1995 study, Campbell and Johnson (1997) reported how police officers in the aforementioned sample defined rape/sexual assault in

their own words. Three “clusters” of definitions emerged from the results, with each cluster comprised of conceptually similar definitions. The first cluster, offered by thirty-one percent of the sample, was named the “Consent Definition of Rape.” This group defined rape in terms of penile penetration and lack of consent. However, consent was not part of the legal definition of rape in the state they studied. Only thirty percent of this cluster mentioned the use of force, which was a defining feature of the state statute. The second cluster, given by nineteen percent of the sample, was the “Force Definition of Rape.” It defined rape in roughly the same terms currently comprising the legal definition of rape in the officer’s state. These factors included penetration (84 percent), the use of force (95 percent) and the threat of force (58 percent).

The third cluster, offered by the remaining fifty percent of the sample, provided a “Mixed Definition of Rape.” This definition contained old and new legal components along with rape myths. The mixed definition focused on penetration (42 percent), rape as the assailant’s sexual gratification (40 percent) and consent (51 percent). However, *only* penetration is currently part of the legal definition in the state where the research was conducted. Consent is not part of the legal definition. Officers who provided a “Mixed Definition of Rape” attributed more blame to victims and were more conservative in their views about women, as measured by Spence, Helmreich and Stapp’s (1973) Revised Attitudes toward Women Scale, than were those providing a “Consent Definition” or a “Force Definition of Rape.” It is not known if these beliefs and opinions translated into actual behavioral responses in the treatment of rape cases and victims of rape (Campbell and Johnson, 1997).

Campbell's work (Campbell, 1995; Campbell and Johnson, 1997) provides a good first step in examining how changes in rape laws have affected attitudes and behavior of law enforcement personnel. However, like the majority of studies assessing police officer attitudes (except LeDoux and Hazelwood, 1985), their sample is quite small, making it difficult to generalize findings.

Several additional studies have compared police officer attitudes with the attitudes of citizens, other criminal justice employees and/or social service personnel. These studies find that police officers' attitudes differ in meaningful ways from those of citizens and social service personnel. They also shed light on within-group attitude differences among police officers. Field (1978) administered a questionnaire designed to assess attitudes toward women and rape along with knowledge of rape laws to patrol police officers (254), community members (1056), female counselors (118) in rape crisis centers and committed rapists (20) in a state hospital. Police officers and rape crisis counselors were unable to complete the portion of the questionnaire assessing attitudes toward women due to time constraints. Results showed that police officers who had participated in rape processing training were more likely than those who had *not* attended training to view resistance as the primary responsibility of the victim during a rape. White officers were more likely than black officers to perceive rape as caused by the victim's appearance or behavior. Notably, Field found that police officers were more similar to rapists than to rape crisis counselors in their attitudes toward rape.

Feldman-Summers and Palmer (1980) administered closed-ended surveys to police officers (15), staff members of two rape crisis counseling centers (29), prosecuting attorneys (22) and superior court judges (17) in Seattle, Washington. The surveys

contained questions about beliefs regarding the causes of rape, ways to prevent rape, beliefs about certain rape complaints being “true” or “false,” and circumstances pertaining to each type of report. Group responses differed markedly on the perceived causes of rape. Social service personnel tended to attribute rape to social factors (e.g., “men have been taught that when a woman says ‘no’ she means ‘yes’”) and the overall socialization of men (e.g., “men have been taught that rape is acceptable” and “rape is an inevitable part of human nature”). Criminal justice personnel, however, tended to view the cause of rape as a result of women’s poor judgment, dress and demeanor.

Not surprisingly, the groups also disagreed on ways to reduce the frequency of rape. Social service personnel believed that the “frequency of rape would be reduced by encouraging a new way of perceiving women in our society.” New social norms and equality among men and women would, according to this view, decrease the frequency of rape. Criminal justice personnel tended to either disagree or give a neutral response to questions of this nature, often citing that potential victims could prevent rape by altering their dress or behavior (Feldman-Summers and Palmer, 1980).

Finally, the groups differed somewhat on their beliefs about rape complaints. Social service personnel believed that approximately 70 percent of rape complaints reflect “true” rapes, with the assailant correctly identified. Criminal justice personnel as a whole believed that about 50 percent of rape complaints were “true” and the assailant was correctly identified. Police officers stated that only 36 percent fell into this category. Both groups agreed that very few innocent people are convicted of rape. Although the groups disagreed on the percentage of credible rape complaints, there were no statistically significant differences on the characteristics that comprise credible

complaints. Both social service personnel and criminal justice personnel cited the following characteristics of credible rape complaints: the victim has physical injuries, waits fewer than 48 hours to report the crime, is consistent in her account of the rape, is willing to take a lie detector test, does not engage in premarital or extramarital relations and is seen by others as having been raped. It is possible that the lack of statistical significance stems from the low number of participants comprising each group (Feldman-Summers and Palmer, 1980).

Blake, Heesacker and Marks (1993) presented a series of rape scenarios to their research participants to investigate the beliefs of police officers (47), hospital staff (56), rape counselors (51) and citizens (41) in several mid-sized cities in Missouri. Participants were given scenarios of a strong rape case, a weak rape case and a false rape case and questioned about whether a rape occurred, in their opinion. The strong rape scenario featured eleven ideal rape characteristics, whereas the weak rape scenario featured only two. The false rape scenario included fifteen characteristics thought to distinguish true and false rape cases. Rape counselors rated the scenarios significantly higher (indicating they were more convinced that the scenario constituted rape) than did citizens, hospital staff or police officers. All of the groups, however, classified the three scenarios as rape. Counselors were significantly less likely to rely on specific characteristics of the scenarios in making this decision than did the other groups.

Mulder and Winkel (1996) showed video clips to social workers (286) and police officers (170) in Amsterdam. The video clips showed rape complainants providing their story to police officers. The sound was removed from the clips, however, and verbal transactions were presented in the form of subtitles at the bottom of the screen.

Participants were asked to complete surveys about the perceived credibility of the victim, the perceived seriousness of consequences to the victim and the attribution of responsibility to the victim. Social workers perceived the victim as more credible and incurring more severe consequences than police officers. Ethnicity also played a role in how positively the victim was perceived, with white women perceived as more credible by both respondent groups, than were minority women. It is important to note that all of the research participants were white.

Like Field (1978) and Blake, et al. (1993), Brown and King (1998) compared police officers' (50) attitudes toward women and rape to those of college students (50). Each group consisted equally of women and men. Brown and King (1998) administered a closed-ended questionnaire containing indexes to assess hypermasculinity, hyperfemininity, attitudes toward women, general attitudes toward rape and the acceptance of interpersonal violence. In general, women were significantly more likely to have positive attitudes toward women, and were significantly less accepting of rape myths and interpersonal violence (e.g., "being roughed up is sexually stimulating to many women"). Female students were significantly more accepting of interpersonal violence than were male students, but there was no significant difference on this variable between male and female police officers. Conversely, male and female students were not significantly different in their acceptance of rape myths and interpersonal violence, but female police officers were significantly less accepting of rape myths than were male police officers. Brown and King (1998) suggest that the differences in attitudes among male and female police officers may have to do with a greater adherence to gender identity than occupational identity when considering rape myths.

The results of these studies indicate that police officers are generally accepting of rape myths: that is, if the victim adheres to stereotypic feminine behavior and the alleged rape adheres to characteristics of an ideal rape, the officer is more likely to deem the victim's statement as credible and investigate the case. The research also indicates that police officers utilize their own definitions of rape, rather than adhering to legal definitions in their state.

Given these findings, one might assume that training and education on the topic and legal definitions of rape would prove beneficial in undermining police officers' acceptance of rape myths; however, research has not supported this assumption. Gottesman (1977) surveyed twenty-one male patrol officers who had no experience dealing with rape victims. The officers were selected from two police departments in a large Midwestern city and were assessed before and after a training program detailing how to appropriately process rape cases. The training sessions were offered by local rape crisis counselors and focused on providing factual information about rape and helping the officers to develop interviewing skills and intervention techniques. The training debunked rape myths. Most of the officers in Gottesman's (1977) study increased their acknowledgement of trauma caused to the victim and believed they had more empathy toward the victim following training. However, 76 percent of police officers did not change their belief that rape victims are responsible for their assault by their actions or manner of dress. Gottesman's (1977) study consisted of few police officers (21) and was conducted when rape law reforms were still relatively new.

Muram, Hellman and Cassinello (1995) also conducted pre- and post-test measures of attitudes about rape for an in-service training session on sexual assault at the

Memphis Police Academy. All officers were required to attend in-service sessions once a year. A total of 482 police officers completed a pre-test and 495 completed a post-test administered by Muram et al. There were no significant differences in the acceptance of rape myths prior to and following the training session. The training changed preconceived ideas about rape held by fewer than ten percent of the respondents.

It appears that current training programs are relatively ineffective in changing police officers' attitudes toward rape. Indeed, knowledge obtained through training may be short-lived, as Lonsway, Welch and Fitzgerald (2001) found. Perhaps a broader approach, combining various training techniques, would be more effective. Training could incorporate classroom techniques with more hands-on approaches, such as interviewing rape victims and receiving constructive criticism on the interview technique.

Although existing research suggests that police officers endorse rape myths, even after exposure to training, few studies have assessed police officers' attitudes since the enactment of rape law reforms. Studies that have assessed attitudes following reforms used scales constructed prior to the reforms and did not reflect changes to state rape laws (for example, those concerning spousal rape). Most studies used small sample sizes (i.e., under 100) with the exceptions of Muram, Hellman and Cassinello (1995), who utilized only one police department, and LeDoux and Hazelwood (1985), whose study used the only national sample of law enforcement personnel. Further, many of the aforementioned studies failed to discuss the relationship between educational attainment and attitudes toward women and rape. Burt (1980) found that more education correlates with less sex role stereotyping, less sexual conservatism and more positive views of rape victims.

Thus, this study will generate some insights on how educational attainment influences police officers' attitudes toward both women and rape.

Police Culture and Acculturation

The notion of a separate and distinct police culture has been articulated for about 40 years (Holdaway, 1983; Brewer, 1991; Fielding, 1994; Paoline, 2001). Holdaway (1983) discusses police culture as an informal structure of norms and values that operate within the more rigid hierarchy of the police organization. Police culture promotes a working "normative order." Herbert (1998) defines this normative order as a set of rules and practices that are centered on core values. Fielding (1994) notes that the police subculture represents almost pure hegemonic masculinity, stressing aggression, competition, rigid in-group/out-group distinctions and promotion of a heterosexist atmosphere. Fielding likens this machismo atmosphere to that of criminal offenders.

This subculture emerges, in part, from the occupational socialization of police recruits and the social isolation that often results from being a police officer. Police officers command a certain level of status and respect in American society. With this social position come certain expectations and perceptions of duty and even physical appearance. Police officers are expected to show physical and emotional strength. After all, they must fight crime, survive constant danger, protect the public from crime and natural disasters and remain emotionally strong in the face of human tragedy (Brown and Campbell, 1994). Brown (1988) notes:

What must be recognized is that patrolmen lead something of a schizophrenic existence: they must cope not only with the terror of an

often hostile and unpredictable citizenry, but also with a hostile – even tyrannical – and unpredictable bureaucracy (p. 9).

Police recruits are judged, therefore, on their appearance to recruiting officers in terms of how they will fare the public's visual inspection. The expectations of physical appearance, emotional strength and the ability to "fit in" within the masculine police subculture limit the diversity of police departments (Frewin and Tuffin, 1998). This lack of diversity reduces the likelihood of exposure to individuals who do not fit the stereotypical male and female gender roles. Instead, police officers must adhere to the standards of masculinity. They must be "big, strong, tough and macho" (Frewin and Tuffin, 1998: 177). Not only does the public hold police officers to this ideal masculine standard, but the policing subculture also maintains the importance of this standard.

The socialization of police recruits not only focuses on the skills necessary for police work (e.g., firearms training, investigative techniques, etc.), but also on the values, beliefs and attitudes acceptable within the police subculture (Callan, 1989; Schein, 1992).

Van Maanen (1974) observes:

When a policeman dons his uniform, he enters a distinct subculture governed by norms and values designed to manage the strains created by his unique role in the community (p. 85).

The formal process of socialization begins at the training academy where recruits learn the occupational and organizational norms for the environment in which they now work. This formal process centers on regulating authority and providing an ordered flow of communication and decision-making. Group cohesion, loyalty and uniformity in appearance and attitudes are strongly encouraged (Bahn, 1984; Paoline, 2001).

Masculinity is conveyed through formal socialization by using education, training and experiential qualifications as well as professional competence to gain upward mobility (Hunt, 1984).

Informal socialization occurs through contact with senior officers and peer members in the field. Other officers teach new recruits the “ropes” of policing as well as coping mechanisms: for example, group cohesion and solidarity (Goldsmith, 1990). Recruits are expected to display their loyalty to colleagues before reaping the same benefits of mutual protection from the group (Paoline, 2001). This informal network is more spontaneous and less regulated than the formal organizational hierarchy, and can therefore serve as an outlet for employees to socialize and express themselves openly (Young, 1998). Informally, masculinity is encouraged through the practice of “generalized reciprocity” (Sahlins, 1965), a social debt incurred by police officers who have been involved in illicit activities. Power within the department accrues to officers who have knowledge of these illicit activities and who barter for favors.

Several studies suggest that police officers with a college education are more aware of social problems and are more accepting of traditionally oppressed groups (Weiner, 1976). These officers are also generally more professional and ethical in their attitudes and behavior (Miller and Fry, 1978; Tyre and Braunstein, 1992). Other studies indicate that police officers with higher levels of education are less authoritarian than those with less formal education (Smith, Locke and Walker, 1968; Smith, Locke and Fenster, 1970).

Smith and Aamodt (1997) speculated that the benefits of a college education may not become apparent until paired with on-the-job experience, indicating that education is

only one tool and should be used in conjunction with training and experience. Another study assessing the relationship between attitudes and performance found that officers with “college degrees had the most open belief systems and highest levels of job performance, indicating that college-educated officers were better able to adapt to the complex nature of the police role” (Roberg, 1978: 344). These findings indicate that the overall experience of a college education may prove beneficial in broadening police officers’ attitudes and improving performance, including the use of discretion.

The criminal justice system institutionalizes discretion when deciding which behavior(s) will be criminalized and the level of punishment to attach to each crime (Schulhofer, 1988). The level of discretion employed by individuals who work within the criminal justice system varies widely. Prosecutors have practically unlimited discretion to charge an individual with a crime and to determine the charges themselves. Prosecutors also may choose to offer a plea bargain for a lesser offense or sentence. Police officers have discretion in choosing which cases to investigate and, in some jurisdictions, to determine the charges that result from the investigation. Police officers have a discernable amount of power over others’ lives. They constantly make decisions about whether to pull someone over for speeding, how to handle a public disturbance, whether to arrest someone or let them go with a warning. Given the discretionary power of police and prosecutors, one must assume that their personal beliefs, along with occupational cultures, constrain the investigation, charging and prosecution of sexual assault offenders.

The current study contributes to the literature by employing a larger and more geographically diverse sample than is characteristic of the existing research in this area,

thereby extending the potential generalizability of findings. Although the sample is not nationally representative, it constitutes a larger sample than previously employed in studies of police officers' attitudes toward women and rape, with the exception of LeDoux and Hazelwood (1985). The results further our understanding of police culture and provide the basis for future studies using a representative sample. Additionally, the study measures the acceptance of rape myths via an instrument that incorporates targets of rape law reforms, including male rape and spousal rape. Since few studies have discussed the influence of education on attitudes toward women and rape, this study also contributes to that body of literature. The current study represents a means to broaden our awareness of how police officers view the crime of rape and its victims.

Chapter 5

RESEARCH METHODS

As discussed in Chapter 1 and expounded in Chapters 2 through 4, the purpose of this study is to assess police officers' attitudes toward women and rape. Studies have been conducted of police officer attitudes prior to rape law reforms. In addition, several studies assess their attitudes following the implementation of reforms. However, the latter studies did not revise survey items to reflect newer conceptions of rape. For example, no statements or questions have been administered about marital rape or male rape. I surveyed sworn police officers using revised measures of attitudes toward rape. I also determined the relationship between their attitudes toward women and rape using a closed-ended questionnaire. Finally, demographic information was collected and used to make within-group comparisons. This chapter describes the methods by which I study police officers' attitudes toward women and rape.

Pre-Test

The survey instrument was pre-tested on a sample of 141 cadets and police officers attending training sessions provided by law enforcement academies within a tri-state area in the Southeast United States. The instrument includes several scales, used to tap different variables. Cronbach alpha (α) coefficients, which measure reliability, were calculated for each scale. Reliability is a measure of the variability in responses by different respondents. Reliability analysis of the scales yielded Cronbach α coefficients of 0.66 for the Rape Myth Acceptance Scale Revised, 0.80 for the Old-Fashioned Sexism

Scale, 0.76 for the Modern Sexism Scale, 0.84 for the Victim Credibility Scale and 0.89 for the Non-Genuine Victim Scale. (These scales are described in *Survey Instrument*, p. 66).

Results of the pre-test led to certain changes in the survey instrument. Several statements were reworded and four statements were added to the RMA-R (see Table 1). The response sets were also changed from seven-point scales to five-point scales: that is, “Somewhat Disagree” and “Somewhat Agree” options were deleted.

Population

The population was identified using a snowball method. A colleague who works with a private training academy supplied the names of several Chiefs of Police and Sheriffs in two states in the Southeastern United States who were willing to participate in the study. Those individuals, in turn, supplied additional names of Chiefs of Police and Sheriffs. I contacted all referred Chiefs of Police, Sheriffs or contact persons and requested assistance. All police departments willing to participate were included in the population. Seven police departments and four sheriff’s departments agreed to participate in the study. Four police and sheriff’s departments declined, citing time constraints or the belief that few officers would be willing to participate. I later discovered that at least two of the four police departments that declined participation had launched sexual assault or domestic violence investigations against a police officer within the department.

Procedures

A census of the eleven identified police departments and sheriff's offices was conducted. These agencies were located in two states in the Southeast United States. Participants were told that their participation in the study was voluntary and that they could elect not to complete the survey with no career, occupational or training repercussions. The participants were assured that all their responses would remain anonymous. I further assured departments that individual or department names would not be referenced in any written report. The officers were informed that the research staff would not have access to names of individuals, nor would any characteristics of the departments be released. Whereas this sample is not necessarily representative of police officers throughout the United States, findings will shed light on the attitudes of sworn police officers in the surveyed areas. This study represents a census in that every member of the identified population had the option of completing a survey. Those who responded to the survey represent one-third of the population of interest.

Survey packets were mailed to the participating police departments and sheriff's offices for distribution. Each survey packet contained a statement of anonymity, a questionnaire and a blank envelope. The questionnaire stated that consent to participate in the study was given by returning the completed survey. The individual police officers were instructed to complete the survey, place it in a blank envelope and return the sealed envelope to a drop box. The contact person collected the sealed envelopes from the drop box and mailed them to the researcher. Placement of completed surveys in the sealed envelopes ensured the anonymity of responses, as I did not have access to any names of sworn officers.

Survey Instrument

The survey instrument was designed to measure police officers' perspectives on sexual assault and domestic violence (see Appendix)⁵. I determined that the available instruments needed updating, so I devised three scales. The survey was a combination of demographic questions and five attitudinal scales: (1) a Rape Myth Acceptance Scale-Revised (RMA-R); (2) an original Victim Credibility Scale (VCS); (3) Swim, Aikin, Hall and Hunter's (1995) Old-Fashioned (OFSS) and (4) Modern Sexism Scales (MSS); and (5) an original Non-Genuine Victim Scale (NGVS).

The RMA-R was adapted from Burt's (1980) rape myth acceptance scale. Her scale contained 14 items and assessed levels of endorsement of myths about rape, rapists and victims of rape. A rape myth is a stereotyped belief about rape that places blame for the crime on the victim. I altered Burt's scale by removing items that seemed superfluous or outdated (see Table 1). The "hitchhiking" item was deleted because this practice no longer appears as common, at least among women, as it was during the early 1980s. The "stuck-up" item was deleted because its meaning was, to my mind, unclear. Due to the socialization of women in our society, there is no consensus as to whether a woman should talk to a strange man on the street. This ambiguity led me to delete the item. The same is true of the "drunk at a party" item. The item was cumbersome and difficult to follow and was, therefore, deleted.

In addition to the aforementioned changes, several items that were not legally relevant to the study of rape at the time of Burt's (1980) study were added to the scale.

⁵ This survey was part of a larger data collection effort to assess police officers' attitudes toward interpersonal violence.

Table 1. Items Deleted from Burt's RMA Scale

Item
Women who get raped while hitchhiking get what they deserve.
A woman who is stuck-up and thinks she is too good to talk to guys on the street deserves to be taught a lesson.
If a woman gets drunk at a party and has intercourse with a man she's just met there, she should be considered "fair game" to other males at the party who want to have sex with her too, whether she wants to or not.

For instance, the item "Any man can be raped" was included in the revised scale. When Burt created her RMA, rape was defined in criminal law as a crime against a woman. Rape law reforms led to the adoption of gender-neutral language, making it *legally* possible for a male to be raped. Several original items that were double-barreled were made into separate items or shortened. For example, the item "When women go around braless or wearing short skirts or tight tops, they are just asking for trouble" was shortened to "Women who dress provocatively are inviting sex."

My Rape Myth Acceptance Scale-Revised (RMA-R) consists of ten items (see Table 2). The response set for the scale varied from "Strongly Disagree" to "Strongly Agree" and used a five-point scale. High scores on the RMA-R indicate endorsement of rape myths. The RMA-R had a Cronbach (α) coefficient of 0.75, a considerable increase in reliability from the pre-test.

Factor Analysis

Factor analysis is a technique used to determine groupings of similar constructs. A correlation matrix is created for groupings of interrelated quantitative variables, or

Table 2. Items Developed to Measure Rape Myth Acceptance

Item
Any woman can be raped. * ^R
Any victim can resist a rapist if s/he really wants to. *
Women who dress provocatively are inviting sex. *
Any man can be raped. ^R
Many women secretly wish to be raped. *
A woman is responsible for preventing her own rape.
A woman that goes to the home of a man on their first date implies she is willing to have sex.
Women falsely report rape to call attention to themselves.
In the majority of rapes, the victim is promiscuous or has a bad reputation. *
It is a woman's fault if she makes out with a guy and lets things get out of hand.
* Items adapted from Burt's (1980) RMA Scale.
^R Items were reverse scored.

“loadings.” For each grouping, variables within each factor are more highly correlated with one another than with variables in another grouping. Factor analysis using principal components revealed that several items adapted from Burt's (1980) rape myth acceptance scale, did not “load with” the other items in my revised scale. That is, they did not appear to measure the same constructs as the items that did “load.” They were removed from the scale and treated as separate items. The removed items were “In your opinion, what percentage of women who report a rape are lying?”; “In your opinion, what percentage of reported rapes are by women who discovered they were pregnant?”; and “In your opinion, what percentage of reported rapes are by women who want to provide an excuse for having a sexually transmitted disease such as HIV, AIDS or herpes?” These items used the following responses: “76 to 100 percent, 51 to 75 percent, 26 to 50 percent, 10 to 25 percent or Less than 10 percent.”

The Victim Credibility Scale (VCS) was designed to measure how believable a certain victim would be to individual police officers (see Table 3). For instance, would an alleged victim be more believable if s/he was a teenager or an elderly person? The scale serves as a more specific measure of rape myth acceptance. Whereas the RMA-R asks about general attitudes toward rape, the VCS asks how believable rape victims are who have varying characteristics. The scale used a five-point scale ranging from “Very Unlikely” to “Very Likely.” The VCS had a Cronbach (α) coefficient of 0.81.

Swim et al.’s (1995) Old-Fashioned Sexism (OFSS) and Modern Sexism (MSS) scales are intended to reflect, respectively, the stereotyped sexist attitudes often associated with hegemonic masculinity (see Table 4) as well as the more subtle forms of modern-day sexism: for example, dismissing the persistence of sex-based discrimination (see Table 5). The scales were based on McConahay’s (1986) Modern Racism Scale, with items altered to apply to women (that is, to measure sexism). The response set for both scales ranged from “Strongly Disagree” to “Strongly Agree” and used a five-point scale. The OFSS had a Cronbach (α) coefficient of 0.73. The MSS had a Cronbach (α) coefficient of 0.77. High scores on the scales indicated the presence of “old-fashioned” and modern sexist attitudes.

The Non-Genuine Victim Scale (NGVS) was based on opposing characteristics of the “genuine” victim ideal (see Table 6). The genuine rape victim, based on Spohn and Horney’s (1996) research, is seen as a virgin who was not acquainted with the assailant, who screamed and physically resisted during the rape and/or who reported the rape to police within 24 hours. The NGVS offered respondents the opposite of these

Table 3. Items Developed to Measure Perceived Victim Credibility

Item
A person comes to you and claims a rape has occurred. How likely would you be to <u>believe</u> the statement if the person was:
Someone you know. ^R
A virgin. ^R
A teenager. ^R
An elderly person. ^R
A prostitute. ^R
A man. ^R
A professional woman. ^R
A married woman accusing her husband. ^R

^R Items were reverse scored.

Table 4. Items Comprising the Old-Fashioned Sexism Scale

Item
Women are generally not as smart as men.
I would be equally comfortable having a female or male boss. ^R
It is more important to encourage boys to participate in athletics than to encourage girls.
Women are just as capable of thinking logically as men. ^R
When both parents are employed and their child gets sick at school, the school should call the mother rather than the father.

^R Items were reverse scored.

Table 5. Items Comprising the Modern Sexism Scale

Item
Discrimination against women is no longer a problem in the U.S.
Women often miss out on good jobs due to sexual discrimination. ^R
It is rare to see women treated in a sexist manner on TV.
Husbands and wives have equal status in our society.
Society has reached the point where women and men have equal opportunities for achievement.
It is easy to understand the anger of women's groups in the U.S. ^R
It is easy to understand why women's groups are still concerned about societal limitations of women's opportunities. ^R
Over the past few years, the government and news media have been showing more concern about the treatment of women that is warranted by women's actual experiences.
^R Items were reverse scored.

Table 6. Items Comprising the Non-Genuine Victim Scale

Item
How likely would you be to pursue a rape investigation if the:
Victim was not a virgin? ^R
Victim and suspect had a prior relationship? ^R
Victim did not physically resist during the rape? ^R
Victim did not scream during the rape? ^R
Victim waited more than 24 hours to report the rape? ^R
^R Items were reverse scored.

characteristics. The response set ranged from “Very Unlikely” to “Very Likely” and used a five-point scale. The NGVS had a Cronbach (α) coefficient of 0.94.

Hypotheses

Based on previous research findings, the following hypotheses were proposed. Note, again, that high scores on the RMA-R, OFSS and MSS indicate endorsement of the myth or belief. Low scores indicate rejection of the myth or belief.

Police officers who accept more rape myths will also hold more negative attitudes toward women. Both rape myths and sexist attitudes are derived from schemas related to gender and sexuality. If police officers endorse beliefs related to these schemas (i.e., stereotypical social and sexual roles for men and women), they will be more likely to use these same beliefs when investigating alleged rapes. Although many states have altered the definition of rape and the statutes to charge offenders with rape, officers who adhere to a patriarchal gender order may be less likely to have been influenced by those reforms. Police officers who endorse rape myths and sexist attitudes may also be influenced by the hegemonic masculine culture of police work more than by the reforms to rape laws.

Police with higher levels of education will hold more positive attitudes toward women and accept fewer rape myths. Burt (1980) found that individuals with higher levels of educational attainment accepted fewer rape myths than individuals with lower levels of educational attainment. Studies have also shown that college-educated police officers are more attuned to social problems (Weiner, 1976) and education has a positive effect on

job performance (Cascio, 1977; Cohen and Chaiken, 1972; Finnegan, 1976; Sanderson, 1978).

Police officers with more experience working on rape investigations will hold more positive attitudes toward women and accept fewer rape myths. Rape myths are stereotyped beliefs about rape and victims of rape. One would expect that the more contact police officers have with victims who do not confirm the rape myth, the less believable the myth would become to them. Stereotypes deriving from the traditional gender order are generally resistant to change. They can be altered, however, when sufficient inconsistent information is encountered or when someone meets enough exceptions to the stereotype (Kunda and Oleson, 1995).

The level of rape myth endorsement affects decision-making about pursuing a rape investigation, such that police officers who score high on the RMA-R will be less likely to believe rape victims who do not adhere to characteristics of a “genuine” victim (i.e., the victim was a virgin, the victim and offender were strangers, etc. Spears and Spohn (1996) found that the more a rape victim conformed to the genuine victim characteristics, the more likely it was that a prosecutor would file rape charges. Research on police officers (e.g., Galton, 1975; Hazelwood and Burgess, 1995) also indicates the use of a genuine victim ideal when assessing the merits of a rape case.

Limitations of the Measures

As with any research, mine was prone to certain limitations. For example, participants were aware that I am a woman (as my name and contact information were listed on the survey) and a strong social desirability element may have persisted given the nature of the topic. Rape is a difficult and sensitive topic to discuss, especially with individuals in the context of their work environment. Police officers operate in a closed environment, as do members of any organization (McNamara, 1999). They may have felt an obligation to portray that organization in a favorable light. This sense of obligation, along with wanting to portray themselves individually in a positive way, may have influenced their responses.

In an effort to minimize response bias and social desirability, I provided envelopes to the various departments and training academies and asked that they allow the participants to complete the surveys in private. The participants were also instructed to place the completed survey in the envelope, seal the envelope and place it in a designated drop box. They were advised that I would not have access to names of individuals in the police departments or training academies and would thus have no way of tracing responses to individuals.

A second limitation of the measures is less amenable to remedy. The study used quantitative scales to gather information about attitudes. These scales may overlook subtle nuances that a qualitative interview would capture. After all, as Gerring (2001) notes, scales are limited in scope and application to social life. Finally, and related to the problems of survey research, these data are cross-sectional. It is unknown whether people who seek advanced education are already more progressive in their attitudes

toward women and rape. If so, then the apparent effect of education on attitudes toward women and rape is negated by their already progressive ideologies. Despite these limitations, the measures I used reveal something about police officers' attitudes toward women and rape since the institution of reforms by an instrument that incorporates these reforms. I proceed now to the study findings.

Chapter 6

FINDINGS

The purpose of this dissertation research was to assess police officers' attitudes toward women and rape, including the effect of education on these attitudes and the relationship between the two sets of attitudes. Given the salience of discretion in police work, it is important to understand how these attitudes may affect their decision-making. A closed-ended survey was administered to sworn police officers in two states in the Southeastern United States. This chapter presents findings from the surveys.

Population Descriptives

The population was identified and located in two states in the Southeastern United States. Survey packets were mailed to all sworn police officers in these departments, representing a census of the identified population. The study had a 30.7 percent response rate, meaning that data were available for approximately thirty percent of the identified population. A total of 2,898 survey packets were distributed to the population and 891 completed surveys were returned.

Eighty percent (716) of respondents were male and seventeen percent (150) were female. Three percent (27) of respondents chose not to identify their gender. Sixty-four percent (571) of respondents identified their race as Non-Hispanic or White, twenty-four percent (213) identified themselves as African American, one percent (10) as Asian American or Pacific Islander, two percent (18) as Native American and one percent (8) as

Latino/a or Hispanic. Three percent (27) classified their race as Other and five percent (44) chose not to identify their race.

The majority of respondents represented local city police departments (80 percent), while 20 percent were from county sheriff's departments. Approximately twenty-five percent (224) had less than five years of law enforcement experience and thirty-seven percent (325) had between five and ten years experience. Fifteen percent (132) of respondents had between eleven and fifteen years of law enforcement experience and twelve percent (107) had between sixteen and twenty years experience. Approximately eleven percent (94) had more than twenty-one years of law enforcement experience.

Despite the number of years of law enforcement experience, the vast majority (611 or 69 percent) of respondents classified themselves as entry-level officers⁶. Sixteen percent (139) were street level supervisors and five percent (41) were management level supervisors. Two percent (20) were executive level supervisors. Nine percent (70) of respondents classified their rank as Other or failed to identify their rank. In short, the respondents to this study were mostly white males, relatively early in their law enforcement careers.

In general, the police officers studied had a wide range of investigative experience specific to rape. The majority of the officers had little experience, meaning they had worked five or fewer rape investigations in the course of their careers. However, a sizable minority (15 percent) had worked between six and ten rape investigations (128) or

⁶ It is possible that some officers classified their rank as entry-level in order to avoid possible identification.

more than twenty-one rape investigations (106). Table 7 provides a breakdown of rape investigation experience by gender.

In terms of educational attainment, eight percent of respondents (78) held a high school diploma or GED. Forty-one percent (366) had attended some level of college, but had not obtained a degree. Fifteen percent (128) earned an Associates degree and twenty-nine percent (262) earned a Bachelors degree. Three percent (23) of respondents earned a Masters degree and three percent (29) chose not to disclose their highest level of educational attainment. The respondents ranged in age from twenty-two to sixty-seven years, with the mean age being 37. Table 8 provides an itemization of educational attainment by gender.

Item Analysis

Overall, the average responses on the attitudes toward women scales show that police officers endorse some sexist attitudes and reject others. Likewise, the average

Table 7. Experience with Rape Investigations by Gender

Number of Rape Investigations	Gender		Total
	Male	Female	
Less than 5	271 (85%)	47 (15%)	318
Between 6 and 10	106 (83%)	22 (17%)	128
Between 11 and 15	49 (88%)	7 (12%)	56
Between 16 and 20	31 (82%)	7 (18%)	38
More than 21	78 (74%)	28 (26%)	106
Total	535 (83%)	111 (17%)	646

Table 8. Highest Level of Educational Attainment by Gender

Level of Education	Gender		Total
	Male	Female	
High School or GED	69 (88%)	9 (12%)	78
Some College – No Degree	307 (84%)	59 (16%)	366
Associates Degree	98 (77%)	30 (23%)	128
Bachelor Degree	221 (84%)	41 (16%)	262
Masters Degree	16 (70%)	7 (30%)	23
Total	711 (83%)	146 (17%)	857

response on the RMA-R indicates that while some rape myths are accepted, others are rejected. Table 9 shows the mean, standard deviation and possible range of scores for the OFSS, MSS, RMA-R, VCS and NGVS.

In general, police officers did not endorse the blatantly sexist attitudes measured by the OFSS, as shown in Table 10. A sizable minority of officers chose not to specify an opinion one way or the other, opting instead to choose “Neither Disagree or Agree.” However, forty-five percent disagreed and twenty-nine percent strongly disagreed that they would be equally comfortable having a male or female boss. This item alone may have contributed to an overall sexist orientation.

As with the OFSS, a sizable minority who chose not to provide opinions in agreement or disagreement with items on the MSS (see Table 11). There were also some discrepancies in the opinions. While the majority either strongly disagreed (19 percent) or disagreed (41 percent) with the statement “discrimination against women is no longer

Table 9. Police Officers' Attitudes Toward Women and Rape: Descriptive Statistics

Variables	N	Mean	Standard Deviation	Theoretical Range	Actual Range	α
OFSS	873	10.66	3.431	5 – 25	5 – 25	0.73
MSS	867	22.11	4.873	8 – 40	8 – 40	0.77
RMA-R	869	21.83	5.472	10 – 50	10 – 50	0.75
VCS	866	18.48	4.690	8 – 40	8 – 40	0.81
NGVS	861	19.97	3.703	5 – 25	5 – 25	0.94
Gender ^a	866			1 – 2	1 - 2	
Education ^b	862	2.75	1.070	1 – 6	1 - 5	
Experience ^c	666	2.18	1.494	1 – 5	1 - 5	

Note. ^a Gender: 1 = *male*, 2 = *female*; ^b Education: 1 = *High School or GED*, 2 = *Some College, No Degree*, 3 = *Associates Degree*, 4 = *Bachelor Degree*, 5 = *Masters Degree*; ^c Experience: 1 = *Less than 5 cases*, 2 = *Between 6 and 10 cases*, 3 = *Between 11 and 15 cases*, 4 = *Between 16 and 20 cases*, 5 = *More than 21 cases*

Table 10. Item Percentages for the Old-Fashioned Sexism Scale (N = 873)

Item	SD	D	NDA	A	SA
Women are generally not as smart as men.	36.1	29.6	25.6	4.0	2.9
I would be equally comfortable having a female or male boss.	29.3	45.3	16.4	4.4	2.8
It is more important to encourage boys to participate in athletics than to encourage girls.	28.1	36.1	23.7	7.5	2.9
Women are just as capable of thinking logically as men.	46.4	32.2	12.6	4.4	2.7
When both parents are employed and their child gets sick at school, the school should call the mother rather than the father.	19.9	29.5	37.7	8.4	2.7

Note. SD = *Strongly Disagree*, D = *Disagree*, NDA = *Neither Disagree or Agree*, A = *Agree*, SA = *Strongly Agree*.

Table 11. Item Percentages for the Modern Sexism Scale (N = 867)

Item	SD	D	NDA	A	SA
Discrimination against women is no longer a problem in the U.S.	19.2	40.7	25.5	9.4	3.4
Women often miss out on good jobs due to sexual discrimination.	6.2	16.9	36.0	31.2	8.0
It is rare to see women treated in a sexist manner on TV.	21.0	43.5	24.9	6.4	2.2
Husbands and wives have equal status in our society.	10.5	31.4	27.5	23.6	4.9
Society has reached the point where women and men have equal opportunities for achievement.	7.2	30.2	26.5	29.6	4.7
It is easy to understand the anger of women's groups in the U.S.	8.3	22.4	40.3	23.0	4.2
It is easy to understand why women's groups are still concerned about societal limitations of women's opportunities.	5.7	15.2	37.3	34.6	5.6
Over the past few years, the government and news media have been showing more concern about the treatment of women that is warranted by women's actual experiences.	3.0	19.1	48.0	23.8	4.2

Note. SD = *Strongly Disagree*, D = *Disagree*, NDA = *Neither Disagree or Agree*, A = *Agree*, SA = *Strongly Agree*.

a problem in the U.S.,” a sizable minority of officers strongly agreed (8 percent) or agreed (31 percent) “women often miss out on good jobs due to sexual discrimination.”

Findings for specific RMA-R items are noteworthy. As shown in Table 12, the majority of police officers agreed “any woman can be raped” (93 percent) and “any man can be raped” (66 percent). The majority of officers also disagreed with statements that would blame the victim, such as “in the majority of rapes, the victim is promiscuous or has a bad reputation” (65 percent) or “many women secretly wish to be raped” (79 percent). This item analysis would indicate that police officers might be less accepting of rape myths than was found in earlier studies.

Table 13 shows the item percentages for the VCS. In general, police officers were most likely to believe someone they know (87 percent), a virgin (74 percent), an elderly person (82 percent) or a professional woman (75 percent) who claimed s/he was raped. Less than half of the officers were unlikely to believe a prostitute (44 percent) who claimed s/he was raped.

Similar to the VCS, the NGVS assessed the credibility of the victim and the alleged rape (see Table 14). Police officers in this study indicated they would likely believe a victim who was not a virgin (80 percent), even if the victim and suspect had a prior relationship (69 percent), s/he did not physically resist (75 percent) or scream (77 percent) during the rape. The officers also stated that they would be likely to believe a victim who waited more than 24 hours to report the rape (72 percent).

Table 12. Item Percentages for the Rape Myth Acceptance Scale-Revised (N = 869)

Item	SD	D	NDA	A	SA
Any woman can be raped.	2.1	2.4	1.5	30.6	62.6
Any victim can resist a rapist if s/he really wants to.	22.3	35.4	18.5	16.6	6.1
Women who dress provocatively are inviting sex.	20.3	33.3	25.4	15.6	4.5
Any man can be raped.	5.9	13.5	13.4	40.9	25.5
Many women secretly wish to be raped.	52.6	26.8	15.6	2.5	1.6
A woman is responsible for preventing her own rape.	28.4	35.0	21.5	11.9	2.0
A woman that goes to the home of a man on their first date implies she is willing to have sex.	32.7	43.8	16.6	4.4	1.6
Women falsely report rape to call attention to themselves.	10.0	30.9	38.4	17.1	2.6
In the majority of rapes, the victim is promiscuous or has a bad reputation.	19.3	46.0	27.6	5.9	0.7
It is a woman's fault if she makes out with a guy and lets things get out of hand.	20.2	52.7	19.3	6.1	1.0

Note. SD = *Strongly Disagree*, D = *Disagree*, NDA = *Neither Disagree or Agree*, A = *Agree*, SA = *Strongly Agree*.

Table 13. Item Percentages for the Victim Credibility Scale (N = 866)

Item	VU	U	NUL	L	VL
A person comes to you and claims a rape has occurred. How likely would you be to believe the statement if the person was:					
Someone you know.	1.0	1.2	9.5	42.3	44.7
A virgin.	1.3	3.3	19.9	48.0	25.9
A teenager.	1.0	3.3	26.2	52.7	15.3
An elderly person.	0.9	2.1	12.9	43.5	38.4
A prostitute.	14.5	29.6	29.3	19.1	5.8
A man	4.3	16.7	29.7	34.9	12.7
A professional woman.	1.0	1.2	20.9	58.1	17.3
A married woman accusing her husband.	4.8	14.1	37.0	33.3	9.2

Note. VU = *Very Unlikely*, U = *Unlikely*, NUL = *Neither Unlikely nor Likely*, L = *Likely*, VL = *Very Likely*.

Table 14. Item Percentages for the Non-Genuine Victim Scale (N = 861)

Item	VU	U	NUL	L	VL
How likely would you be to pursue a rape investigation if the:					
Victim was not a virgin?	0.9	0.6	15.6	48.0	32.3
Victim and suspect had a prior relationship?	1.5	4.2	22.6	47.5	21.8
Victim did not physically resist during the rape?	1.2	2.4	18.2	46.7	28.6
Victim did not scream during the rape?	1.3	1.2	17.4	47.0	30.4
Victim waited more than 24 hours to report the rape?	1.7	5.6	18.5	48.4	23.2

Note. VU = *Very Unlikely*, U = *Unlikely*, NUL = *Neither Unlikely nor Likely*, L = *Likely*, VL = *Very Likely*.

Analytic Techniques

For the sake of testing the posited hypotheses, data for the scales were first tested for normality using the Shapiro-Wilk statistic. This statistic tests the null hypothesis that the data are normally distributed. Results showed that none of the scales were normally distributed, meaning that parametric statistics could not be used to test the four primary hypotheses. Given the construction of the response scales – ranging from “Strongly Disagree” to “Strongly Agree” with “Neither Disagree or Agree” as the midpoint – one would not expect the data to be normally distributed. Measures of attitudes toward women and attitudes toward rape are topics that elicit definitive opinions in one direction or another. They are not neutral in nature. Therefore, one would expect data to be loaded on either end of the response scale.

The Spearman Rank Correlation, the Kruskal-Wallis test and the Mann-Whitney test were used to test the hypotheses. These non-parametric statistics do not make assumptions about the distribution of data and are also less sensitive to uneven groupings of data. The Spearman Rank Correlation tests the relationship between variables using the rank order of frequencies of observations rather than the recorded value. Such ordering makes the statistic less vulnerable to asymmetrical distributions or outliers. The Kruskal-Wallis test is the non-parametric equivalent of the one-way analysis of variance for independent samples. It is calculated based on the sums of the ranks of combined groups and tests the null hypothesis that there are no significant differences between the means of the groups being tested. If a significant difference is found using the Kruskal-Wallis, the Mann-Whitney test can then be used to make comparisons between two specific groups. The latter is the equivalent of the independent samples t-test. The

Mann-Whitney is computed by ranking the combined scores of both groups from smallest to largest. It tests the null hypothesis that group means are not significantly different.

Attitudes Toward Women

Whereas some research has been conducted on the relationship between educational attainment and public or lay attitudes toward women (Burt, 1980; Glick, Lameiras and Castro, 2002), we have little knowledge of the relationship between educational attainment and police officers' attitudes toward women. Studies have shown that college educated police officers are more attuned to social problems (e.g., Weiner, 1976) than their less educated counterparts. These social problems include gender oppression (e.g., rape). Studies of the general public have also found individuals with higher levels of education to hold more egalitarian attitudes toward women (Burt, 1980).

Therefore, it was hypothesized that police officers with higher levels of educational attainment would hold more egalitarian attitudes toward women than police officers with lower levels of educational attainment. A Kuskal-Wallis test was used to determine if police officers differed by educational attainment on scores on the Old-Fashioned Sexism Scale (OFSS) and the Modern Sexism Scale (MSS). There was no significant difference observed between police officers' scores on the OFSS, regardless of their level of educational attainment ($\chi^2 = 8.109$, $p = .088$). The OFSS measures blatantly sexist attitudes, which are generally regarded today as unacceptable.

However, there was a significant difference between police officers' level of educational attainment and their scores on the MSS ($\chi^2 = 16.036$, $p < .05$). The Mann-Whitney test was used to compare levels of educational attainment. Police officers with a

high school diploma or GED significantly differed on scores of the MSS than did police officers with a Masters degree ($U = 405$, $p < .001$). Specifically, police officers with a high school diploma or GED scored significantly higher on the MSS than did police officers with a Masters degree. Further, police officers with some college education scored significantly higher than did those with a Masters degree ($U = 2393.5$, $p = .001$). Officers with an Associates degree also scored significantly higher on the MSS than did those with a Masters degree ($U = 740.5$, $p < .001$). Police officers with a Bachelors degree differed significantly on the MSS than did those with a Masters degree ($U = 1690$, $p < .001$), such that respondents with a Bachelors degree scored significantly higher. The Mann-Whitney test was also computed to test for significant differences between other levels of educational attainment and scores on the MSS (i.e., some college education compared to Associates degree and Associates degree compared to Bachelor degree). None of these comparisons yielded statistically significant differences.

Relationship Between Attitudes Toward Women and Rape

It was also hypothesized that the Rape Myth Acceptance Scale-Revised (RMA-R) would be positively correlated with the OFSS and the MSS. Police officers who adopt stereotypical attitudes about social and sexual roles for men and women will also be more likely to accept rape myths, which derive from traditional gender schemas. A Spearman Rank Correlation was calculated for the scales. The RMA-R was positively, significantly correlated with the OFSS (Spearman = $.406$, $p < .001$) and the MSS (Spearman = $.349$, $p < .001$). In other words, police officers who accept more rape myths are also likely to score higher on measures of both old-fashioned and modern sexism.

It was further hypothesized that police officers with more experience working on rape investigations would hold more egalitarian and less stereotypical views of women. One would expect that the more exposure a police officer had with rape victims who do not fit the characteristics of a “genuine victim,” the more positive s/he would view women in general. It is also possible that police officers with more positive attitudes are selected to conduct rape investigations. The Kruskal-Wallis test was conducted to see if police officers with different levels of experience with rape investigations differed in their scores on the OFSS and the MSS. There was *no* significant difference between levels of experience with rape investigations and scores on the OFSS ($\chi^2 = 3.332$, $p = .504$).

There *was* a significant difference between levels of investigative experience and scores on the MSS ($\chi^2 = 14.706$, $p < .05$). The Mann-Whitney test was run to compare different levels of investigative experience and scores on the MSS. Police officers who had worked five or fewer rape investigations were significantly different from police officers who had worked more than twenty-one (21) rape investigations ($U = 13776$, $p < .05$). Those who worked five or fewer rape investigations scored significantly higher on the MSS than those who worked twenty-one (21) or more rape investigations. No other group comparisons, such as between police officers who had worked between six and ten rape investigations and those who had worked between eleven and fifteen investigations, were significant.

Attitudes Toward Rape

As stated previously, research has found that police officers with higher levels of education are more familiar with social problems. Burt (1980) also found that individuals with higher levels of educational attainment accepted fewer rape myths than individuals with lower levels of educational attainment. Therefore, it was hypothesized that police officers with higher levels of educational attainment would accept fewer rape myths. The Kruskal-Wallis test was run to see if there were differences between levels of educational attainment and scores on the RMA-R. There *was* a significant difference between levels of educational attainment and RMA-R scores ($\chi^2 = 16.507$, $p < .05$).

The Mann-Whitney test was used to determine whether certain levels of educational attainment were significantly different from other levels for scores on the RMA-R. Police officers who had a high school diploma or GED were significantly different from those who had an Associates degree ($U = 3822$, $p < .05$), such that officers with a high school diploma or GED scored significantly higher on the RMA-R than did officers with an Associates degree. Police officers with a high school diploma or GED also scored significantly higher than did those who had a Bachelors degree ($U = 7056$, $p = .001$). Finally, police officers with a high school diploma or GED differed significantly from those with a Masters degree ($U = 485$, $p = .001$): specifically, officers with a high school diploma or GED scored significantly higher on the RMA-R than did those with a Masters degree. The Mann-Whitney test was also computed to test for significant differences between other levels of educational attainment and scores on the MSS (i.e., some college education versus Associates degree and Associates degree versus Bachelor degree). None of these comparisons yielded statistically significant differences.

It was also hypothesized that police officers who had more experience working on rape investigations would accept fewer rape myths. Rape myths are stereotyped beliefs about rape and victims of rape. Therefore, one would expect that the more contact a police officer has with victims who do not confirm the rape myth, the less likely the officer would be to accept the myth. The Kruskal-Wallis test was used to determine if police officers with different levels of experience conducting rape investigations differed in their acceptance of rape myths. There *was* a significant difference between levels of experience with rape investigations and scores on the RMA-R in the expected direction ($\chi^2 = 18.569$, $p = .001$). Police officers who had worked five or fewer rape investigations scored significantly higher on the RMA-R scale than police officers who had worked more than twenty-one (21) rape investigations ($U = 12936$, $p < .001$). No other group comparisons, such as between officers who had worked between six and ten rape investigations and those who had worked between eleven and fifteen rape investigations, were significant.

Victim Credibility

The Victim Credibility Scale (VCS) provided a more specific measure of rape myth acceptance than the RMA-R. While police officers may view the crime of rape as a significant and awful crime, they may still discount the experiences of specific victims. For instance, the vast majority (94 percent) of police officers agreed on the RMA-R that any woman can be raped, yet when asked about victim credibility on the VCS, nineteen percent were unlikely to believe a married woman who claimed she was raped by her husband and forty-four percent were unlikely to believe a prostitute who claimed s/he

was raped. Only five percent of police officers were unlikely to believe a virgin and just two percent were unlikely to believe a professional woman who claimed she was raped. This contrasting information suggests that it still does, in fact, matter what “kind” of woman claims she was raped. Likewise, sixty-seven percent of respondents agreed that any man could be raped. However, when asked how likely they would be to believe a man who claimed he was raped; forty-eight percent of respondents indicated they would believe the person.

Another aspect of victim credibility was tapped by three questions that did not factor load with the RMA-R or the VCS. These questions asked the police officers what percentage of rape victims *they* believe are lying about being raped, are trying to explain a pregnancy, or are trying to explain a sexually transmitted disease. As shown in Table 15, the majority of police officers believed less than twenty-five percent of rape allegations are due to women lying (72 percent), trying to cover up a pregnancy (83 percent) or trying to provide an excuse for a sexually transmitted disease (81 percent).

It was also hypothesized that police officers who accept more rape myths would be less likely to believe rape victims who do not adhere to characteristics of a “genuine” victim. Spears and Spohn (1996) found that the more a rape victim conformed to genuine victim characteristics, the more likely it was that a prosecutor would file rape charges. Research on police officers (e.g., Galton, 1975; Burgess, 1995) also indicates the use of a

Table 15. Police Officers' Opinions About False Reports of Rape

	Women Lying	Women Pregnant	Women have STD
Less than 10%	35.5	57.0	54.1
11% to 25%	36.1	25.9	26.7
26% to 50%	17.1	9.7	10.3
51% to 75%	8.4	3.7	5.1
76% to 100%	1.7	1.5	1.7

genuine victim ideal when assessing the merits of a rape case. Responses on the RMA-R were recoded and classified as either High Rape Myth Acceptance or Low to Moderate Rape Myth Acceptance. The Mann-Whitney test was used to see if a significant difference existed between the level of rape myth acceptance and scores on the Non-Genuine Victim Scale (NGVS). There was a significant difference between high rape myth acceptance and low to moderate rape myth acceptance and scores on the NGVS ($U = 34380.5$, $p < .001$), such that police officers with high rape myth acceptance were less likely to believe a victim who did not match the genuine victim characteristics than police officers with low to moderate rape myth acceptance. Accordingly, police officers who endorse rape myths are influenced by the victim's adherence to genuine victim characteristics.

Gender Differences Among Police Officers

Research has shown that attitudes toward women and rape are generally different between men and women, with women being more egalitarian and less accepting of rape myths (Burt, 1980). However, some research (e.g., Galton, 1975) indicates that female

police officers may be more suspicious of rape victims' accounts than male police officers. Female police officers in this study were, in fact, more egalitarian and less accepting of rape myths than the male police officers, as shown in Table 16. There was a significant difference between male and female police officers on scores of the OFSS ($U = 35780$, $p < .001$). There was also a significant difference between male and female police officers on scores on the MSS ($U = 27744$, $p < .001$). Specifically, male police officers scored significantly higher on both the OFSS and MSS, indicating they held more sexist attitudes toward women than did female police officers.

Female police officers differed significantly from male police officers on scores on the RMA-R ($U = 33506.5$, $p < .001$), such that male officers endorsed more rape myths than did their female counterparts. There was also a significant difference between male and female police officers on the VCS ($U = 37125.5$, $p < .001$), such that female officers were more likely to believe victims with the provided characteristics who claimed they were raped than male police officers.

Table 16. Scale Score Differences by Gender

Scale	Mean Rank		Mann-Whitney U	Asymptotic Significance
	Male	Female		
OFSS	452.11	317.40	35780.00	.000**
MSS	459.65	263.53	27744.00	.000**
RMA-R	448.07	303.00	33506.50	.000**
VCS	441.31	329.04	37125.50	.000**
NGVS	412.83	453.76	45899.50	.057

** Significant at the $p < .001$ level

No significant difference obtained between male and female police officers on scores of the NGVS ($U = 45899.5$, $p < .10$). These findings indicate that while male and female police officers differ in their acceptance of rape myths and their perceived victim credibility, they do not differ in their adherence to an ideal of a “genuine” victim.

Training and Policing of Rape Cases

The majority of police officers (70 percent) stated that their department offered a training program related to the investigation of sexual assault cases. Five percent claimed that training is offered more than once a year, while a sizable minority (38 percent) claimed that it is offered once per year. Four percent stated that training is offered every two to four years and three percent declared that training is offered only upon request. Thirteen percent of the respondents were unsure how often training was offered. Of particular note is that there was disagreement among police officers within the same department as to whether or not training was offered and how often training was offered.

Similar discrepancies were seen in police officers’ responses to questions about discretion for handling sexual assault cases within their department. Police officers within the same departments responded in different ways when asked about whether or not they had individual discretion, or conversely, guidelines (written or informal) specifying how and when to pursue a rape investigation. As indicated in Table 17, ninety percent of the respondents stated that they did not have individual discretion when deciding which rape investigations to pursue. Seventy-five percent of the police officers reported that there were no written guidelines provided by the departments for choosing which rape investigations to pursue. Finally, seventy-seven percent of respondents

Table 17. Item Percentages for Discretion in Decision-Making

Item	Yes	No
Officer has individual discretion regarding rape cases	7.6	89.8
Department offers informal guidelines regarding rape cases	16.6	77.2
Department offers written guidelines regarding rape cases	20.2	74.7

Table 18. Item Percentages for Other Influences on Decision-Making

Item	VI	SWI	SI	NI	NS
Influence of prosecuting attorney's anticipated actions	15.4	19.1	12.5	37.7	12.1
Influence of limited resources	7.5	12.9	13.2	45.7	18.5

Note. VI = *Very Influential*, SWI = *Somewhat Influential*, SI = *Slightly Influential*, NI = *Does Not Influence*, NS = *Not Sure*.

claimed that their department did not communicate any guidelines pertaining to which rape investigations to pursue.

Police officers were also asked how much influence the prosecuting attorney's anticipated actions have on their decision to pursue a rape investigation, as assessed by the item, "How much influence does the prosecuting attorney's anticipated actions have on your decision to pursue a rape investigation?" As indicated in Table 18, fifteen percent of police officers claimed that the prosecuting attorney's anticipated actions were very influential in their decision-making, while nineteen percent stated they were somewhat influential and thirteen percent claimed they were slightly influential. Thirty-

eight percent stated that they were not influential at all and twelve percent were unsure. These findings suggest that the courtroom workgroup may play some role in deciding whether and how to pursue a rape investigation.

Finally, police officers were asked how influential limited resources were in deciding whether to pursue a rape investigation (see Table 18). Eight percent believed resources were very influential in their decision to pursue a rape investigation, while thirteen percent believed resources were somewhat influential and thirteen percent believed they were only slightly influential. Forty-six percent stated that the amount of resources did not influence their decision at all and nineteen percent were unsure.

Chapter 7

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Research has established that the public holds attitudes toward women and rape based on traditional gender schemas, even in recent years (Benokraitis and Feagin, 1986; Rowe, 1990; Swim, Aikin, Hall and Hunter, 1995). The purpose of this dissertation research was to determine if police officers also hold these attitudes and to examine factors that might influence attitudes.

The findings of this dissertation research concur with most prior research on police officers and attitudes toward rape (Galton, 1975; Field, 1978; LaFree, 1989; Campbell, 1995; Campbell and Johnson, 1997; Feldman-Summers and Palmer, 1980; Brown and King, 1998). Police officers generally endorse rape myths. However, the level of endorsement differs with educational attainment and experience with rape investigations.

Generally speaking, the police officers studied did not hold “old-fashioned” sexist attitudes toward women, regardless of their educational attainment or experience with rape investigations. This finding was not completely unexpected as these blatant statements are generally unacceptable in the contemporary Western mainstream. Openly sexist ideas are no longer publicly endorsed (McConahay, 1986). However, there was a significant difference between male and female police officers, such that male officers held more old-fashioned sexist attitudes than their female counterparts. However, this finding must be carefully assessed. One item differed somewhat from the others (I would

be equally comfortable having a female or male boss) and scores on this item may have altered the overall scale scores.

A sizable minority of police officers studied did hold “modern” sexist attitudes toward women. Modern sexism is a subtle form of sexism, such as denying that discrimination continues to be prevalent. Police officers differed significantly on scores of the Modern Sexism Scale (MSS) according to their educational attainment, experience with rape investigations, and gender. Police officers with the highest levels of educational attainment were more egalitarian in their attitudes toward women than were officers with lower levels of education. Likewise, police officers with more experience working on rape investigations were less likely to endorse rape myths than were those with less experience. Female police officers in particular were more egalitarian in their attitudes toward women than male police officers on the MSS, perhaps because female officers were over represented among those with higher educational attainment.

Police officers with different education and work experiences and of different genders also differed significantly in their acceptance of rape myths, as assessed by the Rape Myth Acceptance Scale-Revised (RMA-R). Officers with higher levels of educational attainment were less likely to endorse rape myths, as were officers with more experience conducting rape investigations. Conversely, police officers with lower levels of educational attainment and less experience conducting rape investigations were more accepting of rape myths. It should be noted, however, that police officers with no experience with rape investigations were left out of the statistical analysis. Similar to the results of the OFSS and MSS, female police officers endorsed fewer rape myths than male police officers.

Despite the differences in scores on the RMA-R, it is quite possible a social desirability effect was operating. Rape is a highly charged and sensitive topic, especially when discussed in an occupational environment like policing. Even though officers were assured anonymity of their responses, my name and contact information were provided on the survey. Therefore, participants were aware of my gender and this knowledge may have influenced their responses.

One measure of a social desirability effect came from comparing scores on the Victim Credibility Scale (VCS) and the RMA-R. Police officers endorsed items stating that any man (67 percent) or any woman (94 percent) can be raped. However, when questioned further about the credibility of certain hypothetical victims, they were less likely to believe that a man, a prostitute or a married woman had been raped. It is apparent that despite responses to the contrary on the RMA-R, it does indeed matter what kind of woman alleges rape and that a man alleges rape.

A related measure of social desirability was the use of three questions that did not factor load with the RMA-R or the VCS. These questions asked police officers about the percentage of women whom they believe lie about being raped; report being raped because they discovered they were pregnant; and report being raped because they discover they have a sexually transmitted disease. Although Ward (1995) cited that the actual incidence of false reports for rape is between one and four percent, the police officers I surveyed rated this percentage much higher. For example, ten percent of the officers believed that between fifty-one and one hundred percent of women lie about being raped. Fifty-three percent of officers alleged that between eleven and fifty percent of women give false reports of rape. These figures indicate that although the *actual*

percentage of false reports is comparable to that of any other crime, police officers in this study believe that, at a minimum, more than three times the percentage of reports are false.

Apart from social desirability, the police officers represented in this study may differ from the larger population of police officers in the United States. All attitudes and beliefs are grounded in a particular social context, such that there may be something different about the attitudes of police officers in the southeastern United States compared to other regions of the country. It is feasible that police officers in the surveyed states are more conservative in general, and hold more stereotyped attitudes toward women and rape than officers in other states.

In Their Own Words

An additional and unanticipated measure of attitudes toward women and rape was supplied by the police officers themselves. A comment section was provided at the end of the survey for respondents to make general remarks about the survey instrument. Approximately ten percent of the respondents made a comment in this section, of which the majority was pejorative and gendered. For example, many of the comments centered on whether I had been raped, if I was gay and if I hated men. One particular comment was provided in all caps, "Are you gay, you must hate men." Several also commented on the feminist framework of the research. One noted, "Very liberal, feminist test. Don't give any more." Another officer stated:

Questions are leading to point you toward a "Female Agenda." Who made this list. It's so "Vague" any data collected is worthless – Was the person who made this list – Raped? Makes you think she's anti-male.

Other comments dealt with general attitudes toward women. One police officer noted:

FACT: Women are generally a couple of points lower on IQ tests, but not enough to be considered “not as smart.” Women are, however, considerably less capable of thinking logically and spatially. Women do perform better than men in other areas, statistically speaking of course.

Another officer stated, “The questions are gender biased.” Finally, some police officers made comments regarding allegations of rape. One officer accurately noted, “Sexual assaults must have witnesses, physical evidence in order to prosecute – hard to prosecute because of the nature of the crime.” Other officers provided opinions, such as the following:

Rape is the most mis-reported crime. Many victims won’t report it, while others lie about being assaulted. We had a 30%+ increase with reported rapes as more victims found out about the victim assistance money. I went from seeing victims injuries (cuts, bruises, ligature marks) to seeing victims who were concerned about not getting their new hair style messed up. Lots of luck on changing opinions about rape! Instead try changing peoples attitude about not lying for profit.

Another officer wrote: “A female should be aware of dangerous situations and try to avoid them,” reflecting the general cultural tendency to place the onus on women to be responsible for protecting themselves rather than on men to alter their behavior.

These comments contradict responses provided on the RMA-R, and thus, again, indicate the possibility of a social desirability effect on survey items. The surveys that contained written comments were evaluated for consistency in scale responses. Officers

who did not endorse rape-supportive attitudes on the RMA-R subsequently provided written comments and responses that were characteristically rape supportive.

Shaping Police Culture

The results of this study along with other, prior research indicate that police departments should be concerned with police officers' attitudes. If attitudes are shaped by the police occupational environment, then departments should modify the work environment to undermine the socialization of negative attitudes and beliefs. However, if the officers' attitudes and beliefs are established prior to employment, the department may need to alter their hiring practices. These two viewpoints reflect socialization theory and predisposition theory (Roberg, Crank and Kuykendall, 2004).

Socialization theory suggests that individuals are socialized into their respective occupations; that is, police attitudes and behavior are influenced more by work experiences and peers than by their pre-employment attitudes. Formal and informal socialization are important aspects of occupational socialization, especially for police officers, who operate as part of a tightly knit subculture. It is vital to understand how both forms of socialization operate and function, as what an officer learns informally may differ from what is learned through formal socialization efforts (Roberg, Crank and Kuykendall, 2004).

Predisposition theory, on the other hand, proposes that police officers bring certain attitudes and values with them to their occupational setting. Therefore, if a police officer is sexist or accepts rape myths, s/he likely did so prior to entering police work, rather than acquiring these beliefs through occupational socialization. Rokeach, Miller

and Snyder (1971) found that police officers held similar conservative beliefs and valued authority and professional fulfillment. Caldero (1997) replicated Rokeach et al.'s study and arrived at similar support for predisposition theory. Crank and Caldero (1999) likewise suggested that occupational socialization had little effect on officers because their core values were in place when they acquired their job. It is quite possible that some aspect of both theories is operating. Police officers may hold certain values and attitudes prior to entering their law enforcement careers, but these values and attitudes are then reinforced and solidified through occupational socialization with other officers who hold similar values and attitudes.

Increasing diversity in police departments might change officers' attitudes through exposure to people from different backgrounds. Hiring women as police officers has been a particular project for police departments over the last thirty years. However, women officers continue to meet opposition within the department. Hale and Wyland (1999) noted:

The major problem for police departments is not recruiting women – the problem is retention, because many police departments are locked in a “time warp” that perpetuates the myth that only men can do patrol...Men still perceive police work as a man's domain where women will only get in the way, cannot be depended on for backup, or may get hurt” (p. 454).

Research on policewomen shows that women may actually be better suited for police work than men. Van Wormer (1981) and McDowell (1992) note that male police officers are more prone to violence and other aggressive conduct. In McDowell's (1992) study, officers who displayed the highest level of force were all men. Further, the female police officers had consistently lower civilian complaints than did the male police

officers. Van Wormer (1981) found that policewomen handle domestic violence calls and rape victims better than their male counterparts and tend to interact with the public in more positive ways. In general, women also hold more egalitarian views of women and are more sympathetic to rape victims (Field, 1978; Burt, 1980; Swim et al., 1995). This is not to say that all police officers should be women. Rather, police departments, through special selection and training, might be *demasculinized* for the sake of more effective policing of rape.

Implications for Policy, Education and Training

This study broadens our understanding of how police officers view the crime of rape and its victims. It is possible that while police officers generally view the crime of rape as a serious one, they may discount individual rape victims and cases. Rape has been defined by the public and by law enforcement agencies as a significant social problem and, therefore, police officers may also think of rape as a serious offense. Hence, responses to the RMA-R, where police officers did not highly endorse rape myths. Yet, the officers may still discredit *individual* victims and allegations of rape. This was supported by the contradictory responses to the RMA-R and the VCS. Many officers, who were not generally supportive of overall rape myths, were still suspicious of individuals who did not fit the ideal of a “genuine” victim. They also placed the number of false reports of rape much higher than the known percentage of false reports.

Attitudes and beliefs held by those new to the police force may be especially important, as they have grown up in a time where women experienced more equality and rape law reforms have existed in some form. The ambiguity of certain responses on the

RMA-R and VCS indicate a strong need for continued education on the topic of rape, especially for those entering and currently in law enforcement. Education related to the topic of rape should be well planned and assessed for its effectiveness.

The role of formal education within the police force has long been debated. The requirement of a high school diploma to enter the police force was enacted when the majority of the population did not complete high school (Roberg, Crank and Kuykendall, 2004). Although difficult to pinpoint an exact date, this requirement was apparent following World War II. Today, more people in the general population obtain a college-level degree, yet police academies have not updated their requirements to reflect this trend (Roberg, Crank and Kuykendall, 2004).

In the late 1960s an education incentive program, known as the Law Enforcement Education Program (LEEP), was established. This program encouraged police officers to pursue a college education and offered financial assistance as an incentive. As a result, many colleges scrambled to put curricula together and hire faculty to teach the courses. There was a lack of qualified instructors, so law enforcement personnel were often hired to teach the courses. Since many lacked academic training, they relied on personal experience and their department's standard operating procedures while teaching, rather than presenting current research or a critical analysis of current policing techniques and procedures (Kuykendall and Hernandez, 1975; Roberg, Crank and Kuykendall, 2004).

This trend changed somewhat in the 1980s as curricula became less "technically" oriented and broader in their approach. Pope (1987) noted,

Curriculums became much less practice oriented (at least in the four-year institutions) and more academically based. Some criminal justice programs even took a more critical stance toward the criminal justice

system, adding courses based on a radical perspective. Many programs eliminated courses on patrol, traffic and the like, or at least expanded offerings to include race, gender, victims and related issues. It was a period when criminal justice attempted to gain academic respectability and institutional support (Pope, 1987: 4).

The National Advisory Commission on Higher Education for Police Officers, however, called for elimination of the common two-year “cop shop” programs and emphasized the need for a broader and more diverse four-year education offered by universities. The commission also recommended that police officers be educated prior to entering the police force. As a result, the LEEP program was eventually phased out (Roberg, Crank and Kuykendall, 2004).

Where a tattered relationship previously existed between law enforcement and higher education, increasingly, universities have extended educational and research opportunities and strengthened this relationship (Sherman, 1986). Research suggests that college-educated police officers are more likely to take leadership roles within their department (Krimmel, 1996), to attain promotions (Cohen and Chaiken, 1972; Roberg and Laramy, 1980) and to be innovative in their job performance. Higher education would thus seem to coincide with more flexible attitudes.

However, some research on higher education intimates that police officers with more education are less satisfied in their jobs and are more likely to quit the police force (Cohen and Chaiken, 1972; Weirman, 1978; Mottaz, 1983). It is possible that these officers report less satisfaction and leave their jobs prematurely because their attitudes do not fit with the larger police culture. Since police culture is typically masculine and authoritarian, it is possible that police officers with more egalitarian beliefs would be less

satisfied in this type of environment. It would seem that training might also be beneficial in altering attitudes for the sake of retaining better-educated officers.

Several studies have shown that the current level of training and education related to rape and sexual assault are ineffective in altering negative attitudes about rape. Muram, Hellman and Cassinello (1995) conducted pre- and post-test measures of attitudes about rape for an in-service training session on sexual assault at the Memphis Police Academy. All officers were required to attend in-service sessions once a year. A total of 510 police officers completed a survey, with 482 completing the pre-test and 495 completing the post-test. There were no significant differences in the acceptance of rape myths prior to and following the training session. In fact, the training changed preconceived ideas about rape among fewer than ten percent of the respondents.

More recently, Lonsway, Welch and Fitzgerald (2001) studied the effectiveness of an experimental training session on sexual assault investigation in a Midwestern police academy. Recruits (161) were divided into three groups (one control and two experimental) and were administered pre- and post-training surveys. The experimental training sessions included knowledge, attitudinal and behavioral measures. The researchers found no change in cognitive or attitudinal variables and no difference between the groups. However, the experimental groups retained more of the interview skills learned in the training sessions and thus outperformed the control group in the sexual assault interview. This finding indicates that behavioral patterns can change with training. In a second study used to confirm the original findings, all new recruits (447) participated in the experimental training and were tested before and after the training occurred. Recruits improved interview and knowledge skills about rape following the

training. When tested several weeks later, however, knowledge scores decreased, indicating that the changes may be short-lived.

Research has shown that limiting the rape education and training programs of police officers only to the topic of rape is relatively ineffective (Muram, Hellman and Cassinello, 1995; Lonsway, Welch and Fitzgerald, 2001). However, these findings do not support the elimination of training and education programs. Rather, new and innovative training methods (such as those featuring hands-on interview techniques) should be devised and evaluated for effectiveness. Perhaps a more expansive training program is needed, where sexual assault, civil rights, affirmative action, sexual harassment and sensitivity training are combined and discussed as interrelated topics rather than separate issues. Or perhaps no discrete training module can effect change in a subculture or culture. We need to alter the existing schemas for gender and sexuality in the larger culture. Ideally, one would seek to advance such broad changes in attitudes and beliefs of the public concerning women and rape, which would filter into all social institutions.

The results of this study do suggest that designating college-educated and experienced police officers for special sexual assault units would be beneficial to departments and victims alike, as police officers with a Master's degree were more egalitarian in their attitudes toward women and those with any level of college education were less supportive of rape myths. Officers with more rape investigation experience would train newer officers, thereby altering the current informal occupational socialization process. Since college-educated and experienced officers are less likely to

hold hegemonic masculine attitudes toward women and rape, they are more likely to positively influence other officers' attitudes.

Assessing the Reforms

Goldberg-Ambrose (1992) notes that the effectiveness of rape law reforms is difficult to gauge. Arguments center on whether effectiveness is indicated by an increase (Bachman and Paternoster, 1993) or decrease (Berger, Neuman and Searles, 1994) in reported rapes. Since laws and the attitudes of legal agents are reflexive constructs, rape law reforms should alter the way criminal justice personnel, specifically police officers, view women and rape. My study shows that despite reforms to traditional rape laws, police officers have not altered their attitudes toward women and rape. Rape law reforms have not had as much impact as reformers had hoped.

Individual discretion enters at each point in the criminal justice system (e.g., police, prosecutors, judges and juries). The enactment of legal reforms does not guarantee compliance with them. Nor apparently, have legal reforms altered the way individual agents within the criminal justice system view women and rape. Indeed, to accomplish broad and real change, we must address the attitudes of the broader culture.

REFERENCES

REFERENCES

- Anselmi, D. L. and Law, A. L. (eds.) 1998. *Questions of Gender: Perspectives and Paradoxes*. Boston: McGraw-Hill, Inc.
- Bachman, R. and Paternoster, R. 1993. "A Contemporary Look at the Effects of Rape Law Reform: How Far Have We Really Come?" *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* 84 (3): 554-574.
- Bahn, C. 1984. "Police Socialization in the Eighties: Strains in the Forging of an Occupational Identity." *Journal of Police Science and Administration* 12 (4): 390-394.
- Bart, P. B. 1979. "Rape as a Paradigm of Sexism in Society: Victimization and its Discontents." *Women's Studies International Quarterly* 2: 347-357.
- Beall, A. E. 1993. "A Social Constructionist View of Gender." In Beall, Anne E. and Sternberg, Robert J. (eds.), *The Psychology of Gender*. New York: Guilford Press.
- Bem, S. L. 1981. "Gender Schema Theory: A Cognitive Account of Sex Typing." *Psychological Review* 88 (4): 354-364.
- Benokraitis, N. V. and Feagin, J. R. 1986. *Modern Sexism*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Berger, R. J., Neuman, W. L. and Searles, P. 1991. "The Social and Political Context of Rape Law Reform: An Aggregate Analysis." *Social Science Quarterly* 72 (2): 221-238.
- _____. 1994. "The Impact of Rape Law Reform: An Aggregate Analysis of Police Reports and Arrests." *Criminal Justice Review* 19 (1): 1-23.
- Biernat, M. and Wortman, C. B. 1991. "Sharing of Home Responsibilities Between Professionally Employed Women and their Husbands." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 60: 844-860.
- Blake, P. J., Heesacker, M. and Marks, L. I. 1993. "Judgments Regarding Rape: A Comparison of Rape Counselors, Police, Hospital Staff, and Citizens." *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology* 12 (3): 248-261.

- Blumstein, P. and Schwartz, P. 1998. "Intimate Relationships and the Creation of Sexuality." In Anselmi, D. L. and Law, A. L. (eds.), *Questions of Gender: Perspectives and Paradoxes*. Boston: McGraw-Hill, Inc.
- Bonney, R. 1985. *Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research Crimes: Sexual Assault Amendment Act*. Sydney: Attorney General's Department.
- Box, S. 1984. *Power, Crime and Mystification*. New York: Tavistock Publications.
- Bradley, D., Walker, N. and Wilkie, R. 1986. *Managing the Police: Law, Organisation and Democracy*. Brighton, UK: Wheatsheaf.
- Brewer, J. with MaGee, K. 1991. *Inside the R.U.C.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Brown, M. K. 1988. *Working the Street: Police Discretion and the Dilemmas of Reform* (2nd ed.). New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Brown, J. M. and Campbell, E. A. 1994. *Stress and Policing: Sources and Strategies*. Chichester: John Wiley.
- Brown, J. and King, J. 1998. "Gender Differences in Police Officers Attitudes towards Rape: Results of an Exploratory Study." *Psychology, Crime and Law* 4: 265-279.
- Brownmiller, S. 1975. *Against Our Will: Men, Women, and Rape*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Burt, M. R. 1980. "Cultural Myths and Support for Rape." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 38: 217-230.
- Butler, J. 1990. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. New York and London: Routledge.
- Cairney, K. F. 1995. "Addressing Acquaintance Rape: The New Direction of the Rape Law Reform Movement." *St. John's Law Review* 69: 291-326.
- Caldero, M. 1997. "Value Consistency Within the Police: The Lack of a Gap." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences. Louisville, KY.
- Callan, H. 1989. "Cultural Factors in Occupational Stress." In Brown, J. M. et al. (eds.), *Sources of Non-Traumatic Stress in the Police Service*. London: Police Requirements Support Unit, Home Office.
- Campbell, R. 1995. "The Role of Work Experience and Individual Beliefs in Police Officers' Perceptions of Date Rape: An Integration of Quantitative and

- Qualitative Methods.” *American Journal of Community Psychology* 23 (2): 249-277.
- Campbell, R. and Johnson, C. R. 1997. “Police Officers’ Perceptions of Rape: Is There Consistency between State Law and Individual Beliefs?” *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 12 (2): 255-274.
- Caringella-MacDonald, S. 1985. “Sexual Assault Prosecution: An Examination of Model Rape Legislation in Michigan.” *Criminal Justice Politics and Women* 4 (3): 65-82.
- Cascio, W. 1977. “Formal Education and Police Officer Performance.” *Journal of Police Science and Administration* 5: 89-96.
- Chambliss, W. and Seidman, R. 1982. *Law, Order and Power*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley Publishers.
- Clarke, L. M. G. and Lewis, D. J. 1977. *Rape: The Price of Coercive Sexuality*. Toronto: Women’s Press.
- Cohen, B. and Chaiken, J. M. 1972. *Police Background Characteristics and Performance*. New York: Rand Institute.
- Coltrane, S. 1998. “Theorizing Masculinities in Contemporary Culture.” In Anselmi, D. L. and Law, A. L. (eds.), *Questions of Gender: Perspectives and Paradoxes*. Boston: McGraw-Hill, Inc.
- Connell, R.W. 1987. *Gender and Power*. Cambridge: Polity.
- _____. 1995. *Masculinities*. Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- _____. 2002. *Gender (Short Introductions)*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.
- Crank, J. and Caldero, M. 1999. *Police Ethics: The Corruption of Noble Cause*. Cincinnati: Anderson Publishing.
- Crawford, J., Kippax, S. and Waldby, C. 1999. “Women’s Sex Talk and Men’s Sex Talk: Different Worlds.” In Lebacqz, K. (ed.), *Sexuality*. Cleveland: The Pilgrim Press.
- Daly, K. and Chesney-Lind, M. 1988. “Feminism and Criminology.” *Justice Quarterly* 5 (4): 497-538.
- Daum, J. and Johns, C. 1994. “Police Work from a Woman’s Perspective.” *The Police Chief* 61: 46-69.

- Devor, H. 1989. *Gender Blending: Confronting the Limits of Duality*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Doherty, K. and Anderson, I. 1998. "Perpetuating Rape-Supportive Culture: Talking About Rape." *The Psychologist*, 11(12): 583-587.
- Dressler, J. 1998. "Where We Have Been, and Where We Might Be Going: Some Cautionary Reflections on Rape Law Reform." *Cleveland State Law Review* 46(3): 409-442.
- Ehrenreich, B. and English, D. 1978. *For Her Own Good*. Garden City, NY: Anchor Press.
- Elias, J. P. 2003. "Queering Relationships: Toward a Paradigmatic Shift." *Journal of Homosexuality* 45 (2-4): 61-86.
- Estrich, S. 1987. *Real Rape*. Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press.
- Feldman-Summers, S. and Palmer, G. C. 1980. "Rape as Viewed by Judges, Prosecutors, and Police Officers." *Criminal Justice and Behavior* 7 (1): 19-40.
- Field, H. S. 1978. "Attitudes toward Rape: A Comparative Analysis of Police, Rapists, Crisis Counselors, and Citizens." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 36 (2): 156-179.
- Fielding, N. 1994. "Cop Canteen Culture." In Newburn, T. A. and Stanko, E. A. (eds.), *Just Boys Doing Business? Men, Masculinities and Crime*. London: Routledge.
- Finnegan, J. C. 1976. "A Study of Relationships Between College Education and Police Performance in Baltimore, MA." *The Police Chief* 34: 60-62.
- Fiske, S. T. 1993. "Controlling Other People: The Impact of Power on Stereotyping." *American Psychologist* 48 (6): 621-628.
- Fortier, L. 1975. "Women, Sex and Patriarchy." *Family Planning Perspectives* 7 (6): 278-281.
- Frewin, K. and Tuffin, K. 1998. "Police Status, Conformity and Internal Pressure: A Discursive Analysis of Police Culture." *Discourse and Society* 9 (2): 173-185.
- Galton, E. R. 1975. "Police Processing of Rape Complaints: A Case Study." *American Journal of Criminal Law* 4 (1): 15-30.

- Galvin, J. 1985. "Rape: A Decade of Reform." *Crime and Delinquency* 31 (2): 163-168.
- Gerring, J. 2001. *Social Science Methodology: A Criterial Framework*. Cambridge, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Glick, P., Lameiras, M. and Castro, Y. R. 2002. "Education and Catholic Religiosity as Predictors of Hostile and Benevolent Sexism Toward Women and Men." *Sex Roles* 47 (9-10): 433-441.
- Goffman, E. 1977. "The Arrangement Between the Sexes." *Theory and Society* 4: 301-333.
- Goldberg-Ambrose, C. 1992. "Unfinished Business in Rape Law Reform." *Journal of Social Issues* 48 (1): 173-185.
- Goldsmith, A. 1990. "Taking Police Culture Seriously: Police Discretion and the Limits of Law." *Policing and Society* 1: 91-114.
- Gottesman, S. T. 1977. "Police Attitudes toward Rape Before and After a Training Program." *Journal of Psychiatric Nursing and Mental Health Services* 15: 14-18.
- Griffin, S. 1971. "Rape: The All-American Crime." *Ramparts* 26-35.
- Hale, D. and Wyland, S. M. 1999. "Dragons and Dinosaurs: The Plight of Patrol Women." In Gaines, L. K. and Cordner, G. W. (eds.), *Policing Perspectives: An Anthology*. Los Angeles: Roxbury.
- Hazelwood, R. R. and Burgess, A. W. (eds). 1995. *Practical Aspects of Rape Investigation: A Multidisciplinary Approach*, 2nd ed. New York: CRC Press.
- Herbert, S. 1997. *Policing Space: Territoriality and the Los Angeles Police Department*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- _____. 1998. "Police Subculture Reconsidered." *Criminology* 36 (2): 343-369.
- Holdaway, S. 1983. *Inside the British Police: A Force at Work*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Horney, J. and Spohn, C. 1991. "Rape Law Reform and Instrumental Change in Six Urban Jurisdictions." *Law and Society Review* 25 (1): 117-153.
- Hunt, J. 1984. "The Development of Rapport through the Negotiation of Gender in Field Work Among Police." *Human Organization* 43 (4): 283-296.

- Johnson, A. G. 1997. *The Gender Knot: Unraveling Our Patriarchal Legacy*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Kahn, A. S. and Mathie, V. A. 2000. "Understanding the Unacknowledged Rape Victim." In Travis, C. B. and White, J. W. (eds.), *Sexuality, Society, and Feminism*. Washington D.C.: American Psychological Association.
- Kaufman, M. 1993. *Cracking the Armour: Power, Pain and the Lives of Men*. Toronto: Penguin/Viking.
- Kilmartin, C. T. 1999. "Pleasure and Performance: Male Sexuality." In Lebacqz, K. (ed.), *Sexuality*. Cleveland: The Pilgrim Press.
- Kimmel, M. S. 2000. *The Gendered Society*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- . 2003. "Masculinity as Homophobia." In Disch, E. (ed.), *Reconstructing Gender: A Multicultural Anthology, 3rd ed.* Boston: McGraw-Hill, Inc.
- Krimmel, J.T. 1996. "The Performance of College-Educated Police: A Study of Self-Rated Police Performance Measures." *American Journal of Police* 15: 85-96.
- Kunda, Z. and Oleson, K. C. 1995. "Maintaining Stereotypes in the Face of Disconfirmation: Constructing Grounds for Subtyping Deviants." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 68: 565-579.
- Kuykendall, J. L. and Hernandez, A.P. 1975. "Undergraduate Justice System Education and Training at San Jose State University." *Journal of Criminal Justice* 3: 111-130.
- LaFree, G. D. 1989. *Rape and Criminal Justice: the Social Construction of Sexual Assault*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing.
- Laws, J. L. and Schwartz, P. 1981. *Sexual Scripts: The Social Construction of Female Sexuality*. University Press of America.
- LeDoux, J. C. and Hazelwood, R. R. 1985. "Police Attitudes and Beliefs toward Rape." *Journal of Police Science and Administration* 13 (3): 211-220.
- LeGrand, C. E. 1973. "Rape and Rape Laws: Sexism in Society and Law." *California Law Review* 61: 919-941.
- Lonsway, K. A., Welch, S. and Fitzgerald, L. F. 2001. "Police Training in Sexual Assault Response: Process, Outcomes, and Elements of Change." *Criminal Justice and Behavior* 28 (6): 695-730.

- Lorber, J. 2003. "The Social Construction of Gender." In Disch, E. (ed.), *Reconstructing Gender: A Multicultural Anthology*, 3rd ed. Boston: McGraw-Hill, Inc.
- MacKinnon, C. A. 1989. *Toward a Feminist Theory of the State*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Marsh, J. C., Geist, A. and Caplan, N. 1982. *Rape and the Limits of Law Reform*. Boston: Auburn House.
- Martin, S. 1989. "Women in Policing: The Eighties and Beyond." In Kenney, D. (ed.), *Police and Policing Contemporary Issues*. New York: Praeger.
- Mayerson, S. E. and Taylor, D. A. 1987. "The Effects of Rape Myth Pornography on Women's Attitudes and the Mediating Role of Sex Role Stereotyping. *Sex Roles* 17 (5/6): 321-338.
- McConahay, J. B. 1986. "Modern Racism, Ambivalence, and the Modern Racism Scale." In Dovidio, J. F. and Gaertner, S. L. (eds.), *Prejudice, Discrimination, and Racism*. Orlando, FL: Academic Press.
- McDowell, J. 1992. "Are Women Better Cops?" *Time* 132: 70-72.
- McNamara, R. P. 1999. "The Socialization of the Police." In Kenney, D. J. and McNamara, R. P. (eds.), *Police and Policing: Contemporary Issues*, 2nd ed. Westport, CT: Praeger.
- Messerschmidt, J. W. 2000. *Nine Lives: Adolescent Masculinities, the Body, and Violence*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Michalowski, R. J. 1985. *Order, Law and Crime: An Introduction to Criminology*. New York: Random House.
- Mill, J. S. 1970. *The Subjection of Women*. New York: Source Book Press.
- Miller, J. and Fry, L. J. 1978. "Some Evidence on the Impact of Higher Education for Law Enforcement Personnel." *The Police Chief* 45: 30-33.
- Morgan, D. 1981. "Men, Masculinity and the Process of Sociological Enquiry." In Roberts, H. (ed.), *Doing Feminist Research*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Mottaz, C. 1983. "Alienation Among Police Officers." *Journal of Police Science and Administration* 11: 23-30.

- Mulder, M. R. and Winkel, F. W. 1996. "Social Workers' and Police Officers' Perception of Victim Credibility: Perspective-Taking and the Impact of Extra-Evidential Factors." *Psychology, Crime & Law* 2: 307-319.
- Muram, D., Hellman, R. and Cassinello, B. 1995. "Prevalence of Negative Attitudes among Police Officers toward Rape Victims." *Adolescent and Pediatric Gynecology* 8 (2): 89-91.
- Murrell, M. E. and Lester, D. 1979. "Masculinity in Police Officers." *Psychological Reports* 44: 14.
- Paoline, E. 2001. *Rethinking Police Culture*. New York, NY: LFB Scholarly Publishing.
- Pleck, J. H. 1976. "The Male Sex Role: Definitions, Problems, and Sources of Change." *Journal of Social Issues* 32: 155-164.
- Polk, K. 1985. "Rape Reform and Criminal Justice Processing." *Crime and Delinquency* 31 (2): 191-205.
- Pope, C. E. 1987. "Criminal Justice Education: Academic and Professional Orientations." In Muraskin, R. (ed.), *The Future of Criminal Justice Education*. Brookeville, NY: Long Island University.
- Roberg, R. R. 1978. "An Analysis of the Relationships Among Higher Education, Belief Systems, and Job Performance of Patrol Officers." *Journal of Police Science and Administration* 6: 336-344.
- Roberg, R. R. and Laramy, J. E. 1980. "An Empirical Assessment of the Criteria Utilized for Promoting Police Personnel: A Secondary Analysis." *Journal of Police Science and Administration* 8: 183-187.
- Roberg, R., Crank, J. and Kuykendall, J. 2004. *Police and Society, 2nd ed.* Los Angeles, CA: Roxbury.
- Rokeach, M., Miller, M. and Snyder, J. 1971. "The Value Gap Between Police and Policed." *Journal of Social Issues* 27 (2): 155-171.
- Rowe, M. P. 1990. "Barriers to Equality: The Power of Subtle Discrimination to Maintain Unequal Opportunity." Paper presented at the 98th Annual Convention of the American Psychological Association. Boston, MA.
- Russell, D. E. H. 1975. *The Politics of Rape: The Victim's Perspective*. New York: Stein and Day.

- Sahlins, M. D. 1965. "On the Sociology of Primitive Exchange." In Banton, M. (ed.), *The Relevance of Models for Social Anthropology*. London: Tavistock.
- Sanderson, B. B. 1978. "Police Officers: The Relationship of College Education to Job Performance." *The Police Chief* 44: 62.
- Schein, E. 1992. *Organizational Culture and Leadership*. San Francisco, CA: Joey Bass Publishers.
- Schulhofer, S. J. 1988. "Criminal Justice Discretion as a Regulatory System." *Journal of Legal Studies* 17: 43-82.
- _____. 1998. *Unwanted Sex*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Schwartz, P. and Rutter, V. E. 1998. *The Gender of Sexuality: Sexual Possibilities (Gender Lens)*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge Press.
- Scott, M. B. and Lyman, S. M. 1968. "Accounts." *American Sociological Review* 33: 46-62.
- Sheffield, C. J. 1998. "Sexual Terrorism: The Social Control of Women." In Anselmi, D. L. and Law, A. L. (eds.), *Questions of Gender: Perspectives and Paradoxes*. Boston: McGraw-Hill, Inc.
- Sherman, L. 1986. "Higher Education and Police Reform." In Pogrebin, M. and Regoli, R. (eds.), *Police Administrative Issues: Techniques and Functions*. Millwood, NY: Associated Faculty Press.
- Simon, W. and Gagnon, J. H. 1986. "Sexual Scripts: Permanence and Change." *Archives of Sexual Behavior* 15 (2): 97-120.
- Smith, A. B., Locke, B. and Fenster, A. 1970. "Authoritarianism in Policemen Who Are College Graduates and Non-College Graduates." *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science* 61: 313-315.
- Smith, A. B., Locke, B. and Walker, W. F. 1968. "Authoritarianism in Police College Students and Non-Police College Students." *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science* 59: 440-443.
- Smith, D. E. 1987. *The Everyday World as Problematic: A Feminist Sociology*. Boston: Northeastern University Press.
- Smith, S. M. and Aamodt, M. G. 1997. "The Relationship Between Higher Education, Experience, and Police Performance." *Journal of Police and Criminal Psychology* 12: 7-14.

- Spears, J. W. and Spohn, C. C. 1996. "The Genuine Victim and Prosecutors' Charging Decisions in Sexual Assault Cases." *American Journal of Criminal Justice* 20 (2): 183-205.
- Spence, J. T., Helmreich, R. and Stapp, J. 1973. "A Short Version of the Attitudes Toward Women Scale (AWS)." *Bulletin of the Psychonomic Society* 2: 219-220.
- Spohn, C. C. 1999. "The Rape Reform Movement: The Traditional Common Law and Rape Law Reforms." *Jurimetrics* 39: 119-130.
- Spohn, C. and Horney, J. 1992. *Rape Law Reform: A Grassroots Revolution and Its Impact*. New York: Plenum Press.
- _____. 1993. "Rape Law Reform and the Effect of Victim Characteristics on Case Processing." *Journal of Quantitative Criminology* 9 (4): 383-409.
- _____. 1996. "The Impact of Rape Law Reform on the Processing of Simple and Aggravated Rape Cases." *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* 86 (3): 861-872.
- Stanko, E. A. 1997. "Safety Talk: Conceptualizing Women's Risk Assessment as a 'Technology of the Soul'." *Theoretical Criminology* 1 (4): 479-499.
- Stroh, L. K., Brett, J. M. and Reilly, A. H. 1992. "All the Right Stuff: A Comparison of Female and Male Managers' Career Progression." *Journal of Applied Psychology* 77: 251-260.
- Swim, J. K., Aikin, K. J., Hall, W. S. and Hunter, B. A. 1995. "Sexism and Racism: Old-Fashioned and Modern Prejudices." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 68 (2): 199-214.
- The State of Tennessee. 2003. *Tennessee Code Annotated* 39-13-507. Accessed at <http://www.lexis-nexis.com>.
- Tiefer, L. and Kring, B. 1998. "Gender and the Organization of Sexual Behavior." In Anselmi, D. L. and Law, A. L. (eds.), *Questions of Gender: Perspectives and Paradoxes*. Boston: McGraw-Hill, Inc.
- Timmins, W. M. and Hainsworth, B. E. 1989. "Attracting and Retaining Females in Law Enforcement." *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology* 33: 197-205.
- Tyre, M. and Braunstein, S. 1992. "Higher Education and Ethical Policing." *FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin* June: 6-10.

- Van Maanen, J. 1974. "Working the Street: A Developmental View of Police Behavior." In Jacob, H. (ed.), *The Potential for Reform of Criminal Justice*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Van Wormer, K. 1981. "Are Males Suited to Police Patrol Work?" *Police Studies* 3: 41-44.
- Wade, C. and Tavis, C. 1998. "The Longest War: Gender and Culture." In Anselmi, D. L. and Law, A. L. (eds.), *Questions of Gender: Perspectives and Paradoxes*. Boston: McGraw-Hill, Inc.
- Walker, S. 1998. *Sense and Nonsense about Crime and Drugs: A Police Guide*, 4th ed. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.
- Ward, C. 1995. *Attitudes Toward Rape: Feminist and Social Psychological Perspectives*. London: Sage.
- Weiner, N. 1976. "The Educated Policeman." *Journal of Police Science and Administration* December: 450-457.
- Weirman, C. L. 1978. "Variances of Ability Measurement Scores Obtained by College and Non-College Educated Troopers." *The Police Chief* 45: 34-36.
- Young, M. A. 1991. *An Inside Job*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Young, S. L. 1998. "Where Silenced Voices Speak Out: The Hidden Power of Informal Communication Networks." *Women and Language* 21 (2): 21-30.

APPENDIX

Policing Interpersonal Violence

University of Tennessee



Amy Dellinger Page
Department of Sociology
901 McClung Tower
Knoxville, TN 37996
(865) 974-6021
apage1@utk.edu

STATEMENT OF CONFIDENTIALITY - STATEMENT OF CONSENT

This survey deals with police officers' perspectives on interpersonal violence. Your participation in this research will add to the existing body of knowledge regarding police officers' experiences and attitudes towards interpersonal violence. Your participation will help the researcher complete the Ph.D. degree in Sociology. All information on the survey will be used only for the purposes of this research study.

The research staff does not and will not know names of individual personnel. Therefore, your anonymity is guaranteed. Additionally, department names will not be released nor will any characteristics that might identify any department be released. All data will be presented in aggregate form.

Participation in this survey is voluntary and you may withdraw at any time. No one will know who participated in the study and who did not. Again, all survey responses are anonymous. If you wish to participate in this study, please continue with the questionnaire. Return of the completed questionnaire will constitute your informed consent to participate in this study. A copy of the research results will be provided to each department upon completion of the study.

THANK YOU!

INSTRUCTIONS

1. Please answer all questions completely and to the best of your ability. It is estimated that the survey will take approximately 15 minutes to complete.
2. Circle each answer clearly to ensure answers are read correctly. Please avoid inadvertently circling more than one response.
3. Place the completed survey in the blank envelope provided and seal the envelope. Place the sealed envelope in the designated drop box.
4. If you have any questions or if you would like a personal copy of the results, please call Amy Page, Department of Sociology, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, TN at (865) 974-6021.

Thank you in advance for your cooperation.

Amy Page
Department of Sociology
University of Tennessee

Experiences in Law Enforcement

Please circle or print answers clearly.

1. What type of department do you work in? (If you are not currently working within a department, please SKIP to Question 13.)
 - 1 Local City Police
 - 2 County Sheriff's Department
 - 3 Other (please specify type) _____
2. How long have you been in law enforcement?
 - 1 Less than 5 years
 - 2 Between 5 and 10 years
 - 3 Between 11 and 15 years
 - 4 Between 16 and 20 years
 - 5 Between 21 and 25 years
 - 6 Between 26 and 30 years
 - 7 More than 30 years
3. How long have you been with your **current** department?
 - 1 Less than 5 years
 - 2 Between 5 and 10 years
 - 3 Between 11 and 15 years
 - 4 Between 16 and 20 years
 - 5 Between 21 and 25 years
 - 6 Between 26 and 30 years
 - 7 More than 30 years
4. What is your rank in your **current** department?
 - 1 Entry Level (Officer, Deputy, etc.)
 - 2 Street Level Supervision (Sergeant)
 - 3 Management Level Supervisor (Lieutenant or Captain)
 - 4 Executive Level Supervisor (Major or Chief)
 - 5 Other (please specify level) _____
5. Does your department offer a training program related to the investigation of sexual assault cases?
 - 1 Yes (Please proceed to the next question.)
 - 2 No (SKIP to Question 7)
 6. If so, how often is training offered?
 - 1 More than once a year
 - 2 Once a year
 - 3 Every two to four years
 - 4 Training is offered only on request
 - 5 Not sure

7. Does your department offer a training program related to domestic violence?

- 1 Yes (Please proceed to the next question.)
- 2 No (SKIP to Question 9)

8. If so, how often is training offered?

- 1 More than once a year
- 2 Once a year
- 3 Every two to four years
- 4 Training is offered only on request
- 5 Not sure

9. Have you ever participated in a rape investigation?

- 1 Yes (Please proceed to the next question.)
- 2 No (SKIP to Question 11)

10. If so, approximately how many rape investigations have you taken part in?

- 1 Less than 5
- 2 Between 6 and 10
- 3 Between 11 and 15
- 4 Between 16 and 20
- 5 More than 21

11. Have you ever responded to a domestic violence call?

- 1 Yes (Please proceed to the next question.)
- 2 No (SKIP to Question 13)

12. If so, approximately how many domestic violence calls have you responded to?

- 1 Less than 5
- 2 Between 6 and 10
- 3 Between 11 and 15
- 4 Between 16 and 20
- 5 More than 21

Perspectives on Sexual Assault

13. Please indicate whether you **Strongly Disagree (SD)**, **Disagree (D)**, **Neither Disagree or Agree (NDA)**, **Agree (A)** or **Strongly Agree (SA)** with each of the following statements.

	SD	D	NDA	A	SA
a. Any woman can be raped.	1	2	3	4	5
b. Any victim can resist a rapist if s/he really wants to.	1	2	3	4	5
c. Women who dress provocatively are inviting sex.	1	2	3	4	5
d. Any man can be raped.	1	2	3	4	5
e. Many women secretly wish to be raped.	1	2	3	4	5

	SD	D	NDA	A	SA
f. A woman is responsible for preventing her own rape.	1	2	3	4	5
g. A woman that goes to the home of a man on their first date is willing to have sex.	1	2	3	4	5
h. Women falsely report rape to call attention to themselves.	1	2	3	4	5
i. In the majority of rapes, the victim is promiscuous or has a bad reputation.	1	2	3	4	5
j. It is a woman's fault if she makes out with a guy and lets things get out of hand.	1	2	3	4	5
k. Rape victims often fail to testify.	1	2	3	4	5
l. A rape victim's history often affects the case.	1	2	3	4	5
m. A rape victim's age or appearance influences the jury.	1	2	3	4	5
n. Previous and willing sex with the accused reduces likelihood a case will be taken seriously.	1	2	3	4	5

14. In your opinion, what percentage of women who report a rape are lying?

- 1 76% to 100%
- 2 51% to 75%
- 3 26% to 50%
- 4 11% to 25%
- 5 Less than 10%

15. In your opinion, what percentage of reported rapes are by women who discovered they were pregnant?

- 1 76% to 100%
- 2 51% to 75%
- 3 26% to 50%
- 4 11% to 25%
- 5 Less than 10%

16. In your opinion, what percentage of reported rapes are by women who want to provide an excuse for having a sexually transmitted disease such as HIV, AIDS or Herpes?

- 1 76% to 100%
- 2 51% to 75%
- 3 26% to 50%
- 4 11% to 25%
- 5 Less than 10%

Please indicate if you **believe** each of the following situations are **Very Unlikely (VU)**, **Unlikely (U)**, **Neither Unlikely or Likely (NUL)**, **Likely (L)** or **Very Likely (VL)**.

17. A person comes to you and claims a rape has occurred. How likely would you be to **believe** the statement if the person was:

	VU	U	NUL	L	VL
a. Someone you know?	1	2	3	4	5
b. A virgin?	1	2	3	4	5
c. A teenager?	1	2	3	4	5
d. An elderly person?	1	2	3	4	5
e. A prostitute?	1	2	3	4	5
f. A man?	1	2	3	4	5
g. A professional woman?	1	2	3	4	5
h. A married woman accusing her husband?	1	2	3	4	5

18. Do you have individual discretion when deciding which rape cases to pursue?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

19. Does the department offer written guidelines for choosing which rape cases to investigate?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

20. Does the department communicate guidelines for choosing which rape cases to investigate in an informal way?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

21. How likely would you be to pursue a rape investigation if the:

	VU	U	NUL	L	VL
a. Victim was a virgin?	1	2	3	4	5
b. Victim was not a virgin?	1	2	3	4	5
c. Victim and suspect had a prior relationship?	1	2	3	4	5
d. Victim and suspect were strangers?	1	2	3	4	5
e. Victim physically resisted during the rape?	1	2	3	4	5
f. Victim did not physically resist during the rape?	1	2	3	4	5
g. Victim screamed during the rape?	1	2	3	4	5
h. Victim did not scream during the rape?	1	2	3	4	5
i. Victim reported the rape to police within 24 hours?	1	2	3	4	5
j. Victim waited more than 24 hours to report the rape?	1	2	3	4	5

22. In your opinion, how likely would it be that the *prosecuting attorney* would accept a rape case if the:

	VU	U	NUL	L	VL
a. Victim was a virgin?	1	2	3	4	5
b. Victim was not a virgin?	1	2	3	4	5
c. Victim and suspect had a prior relationship?	1	2	3	4	5
d. Victim and suspect were strangers?	1	2	3	4	5
e. Victim physically resisted during the rape?	1	2	3	4	5
f. Victim did not physically resist during the rape?	1	2	3	4	5
g. Victim screamed during the rape?	1	2	3	4	5
h. Victim did not scream during the rape?	1	2	3	4	5
i. Victim reported the rape to police within 24 hours?	1	2	3	4	5
j. Victim waited more than 24 hours to report the rape?	1	2	3	4	5

23. How much influence does the prosecuting attorney's anticipated actions have on your decision to pursue a rape investigation?

- 1 Very influential
- 2 Somewhat influential
- 3 Slightly influential
- 4 Does not influence at all
- 5 Not sure

24. How much of an influence are limited resources (number of officers, amount of money allocated to investigations, etc.) in deciding whether or not to pursue a rape investigation?

- 1 Very influential
- 2 Somewhat influential
- 3 Slightly influential
- 4 Does not influence at all
- 5 Not sure

25. Are there other factors not listed above that influence whether or not you pursue a rape case?

26. Please indicate whether you **Strongly Disagree (SD)**, **Disagree (D)**, **Neither Disagree or Agree (NDA)**, **Agree (A)** or **Strongly Agree (SA)** with each of the following statements.

	SD	D	NDA	A	SA
a. Women are generally not as smart as men.	1	2	3	4	5
b. I would be equally comfortable having a female or male boss.	1	2	3	4	5
c. It is more important to encourage boys to participate in athletics than to encourage girls.	1	2	3	4	5

	SD	D	NDA	A	SA
d. Women are just as capable of thinking logically as men.	1	2	3	4	5
e. When both parents are employed and their child gets sick at school, the school should call the mother rather than the father.	1	2	3	4	5
f. Discrimination against women is no longer a problem in the U.S.	1	2	3	4	5
g. Women often miss out on good jobs due to sexual discrimination.	1	2	3	4	5
h. It is rare to see women treated in a sexist manner on TV.	1	2	3	4	5
i. Husbands and wives have equal status in our society.	1	2	3	4	5
j. Society has reached the point where women and men have equal opportunities for achievement.	1	2	3	4	5
k. It is easy to understand the anger of women's groups in the U.S.	1	2	3	4	5
l. It is easy to understand why women's groups are still concerned about societal limitations of women's opportunities.	1	2	3	4	5
m. Over the past few years, the government and news media have been showing more concern about the treatment of women than is warranted by women's actual experiences.	1	2	3	4	5

Perspectives on Domestic Violence

For the remaining questions, the term partner is defined as a person with whom you are intimately involved (for example, girlfriend, boyfriend, husband, wife). This term includes heterosexual as well as gay and lesbian relationships.

27. Please indicate whether you **Strongly Disagree (SD)**, **Disagree (D)**, **Neither Disagree or Agree (NDA)**, **Agree (A)** or **Strongly Agree (SA)** with each of the following statements.

	SD	D	NDA	A	SA
a. Individuals who batter are responsible for the abuse.	1	2	3	4	5
b. The best way to deal with domestic violence is to arrest the offender.	1	2	3	4	5
c. A victim should move out of the house if his/her partner beats him/her.	1	2	3	4	5

	SD	D	NDA	A	SA
d. Partners who batter intend to do it.	1	2	3	4	5
e. Domestic violence should be given a high priority as a social problem by government agencies.	1	2	3	4	5
f. Social agencies should do more to help battered women.	1	2	3	4	5
g. Social agencies should do more to help battered men.	1	2	3	4	5
h. Women should be protected by law if their male partner beats them.	1	2	3	4	5
i. Men should be protected by law if their female partner beats them.	1	2	3	4	5
j. Women should be protected by law if their female partner beats them.	1	2	3	4	5
k. Men should be protected by law if their male partner beats them.	1	2	3	4	5

28. For each of the following scenarios, please indicate whether you **believe** physical violence is justified and circle whether you **Strongly Disagree (SD)**, **Disagree (D)**, **Neither Disagree or Agree (NDA)**, **Agree (A)** or **Strongly Agree (SA)**.

Physical violence is justified if:

	SD	D	NDA	A	SA
a. A partner is unfaithful.	1	2	3	4	5
b. A partner lies.	1	2	3	4	5
c. A partner breaks an agreement.	1	2	3	4	5
d. One partner challenges the other's authority.	1	2	3	4	5
e. A partner withholds sex.	1	2	3	4	5
f. A partner talks too much.	1	2	3	4	5
g. One partner constantly brings up the other's weak Points.	1	2	3	4	5

Demographic Information (For Research Purposes Only)

29. What is your gender?

- 1 Male
- 2 Female

30. What year were you born?

_____ Year of birth

31. Which ethnicity do you most identify with?

- 1 Non-Hispanic / White (Caucasian)
- 2 African American
- 3 Asian American or Pacific Islander
- 4 Native American
- 5 Latino / Hispanic
- 6 Other

32. In which state do you work?

33. What is your highest level of education completed?

- 1 High School or GED
- 2 Some College – No Degree
- 3 Associates Degree
- 4 Bachelors Degree
- 5 Masters Degree
- 6 Doctoral Degree

Please use the space below for any comments you wish to make concerning any of your responses to the questions or about the survey in general:

Thank you for your participation! Your time and cooperation are greatly appreciated.

If you have any questions or would like a copy of the results, please e-mail Amy Page at *apage1@utk.edu*.

VITA

Amy Dellinger Page was born in Charlotte, NC on November 20, 1973. She graduated from the University of North Carolina at Wilmington with a Bachelor of Arts Degree in Psychology in 1995. In 1998, she graduated from Radford University with a Master of Arts Degree in Counseling Psychology. In May of 2000, she accepted an offer to attend the University of Tennessee. She earned her Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology in May of 2004. Her specialty areas are Criminology and Social Psychology.

5996 2951 12
06/23/84

MRB

