“RAPE VICTIMS” VERSUS “RAPE SURVIVORS”: OPPRESSION AND RESISTANCE IN INDIVIDUALS’ PERCEPTIONS OF WOMEN WHO HAVE BEEN RAPED

by

JERICHO M. HOCKETT

B.A., Kansas State University, 2007
M.S., Kansas State University, 2009

AN ABSTRACT OF A DISSERTATION

submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Psychological Sciences
College of Arts and Sciences

KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY
Manhattan, Kansas

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Abstract

An overview discusses rape in terms of two systems of social power: oppression and resistance. Components of these systems—i.e., individuals’ rape-related attitudes, beliefs, perceptions, and behaviors, and outcomes—are compared in the literatures on “rape victims” and “rape survivors” (Hockett & Saucier, under review), suggesting that different results and conclusions are associated with different labels applied to the same group (i.e., women who have been raped). Three studies assessed differences in individuals’ rape-related perceptions (Study 1), intergroup helping intentions (Study 2), and interpersonal helping intentions (Study 3) for “rape victims,” “rape survivors,” and “women who have been raped.” Extending feminist and social psychological theories of social power, results generally supported my hypotheses that such labels would produce different perceptions and helping intentions. The discussion addresses implications for theory, limitations, and directions for future research.
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Approved by:

Major Professor
Donald A. Saucier
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An overview discusses rape in terms of two systems of social power: oppression and resistance. Components of these systems—i.e., individuals’ rape-related attitudes, beliefs, perceptions, and behaviors, and outcomes—are compared in the literatures on “rape victims” and “rape survivors” (Hockett & Saucier, under review), suggesting that different results and conclusions are associated with different labels applied to the same group (i.e., women who have been raped). Three studies assessed differences in individuals’ rape-related perceptions (Study 1), intergroup helping intentions (Study 2), and interpersonal helping intentions (Study 3) for “rape victims,” “rape survivors,” and “women who have been raped.” Extending feminist and social psychological theories of social power, results generally supported my hypotheses that such labels would produce different perceptions and helping intentions. The discussion addresses implications for theory, limitations, and directions for future research.
# Table of Contents

List of Figures ................................................................................................................................. ix  
List of Tables ........................................................................................................................................ x  
Acknowledgements ............................................................................................................................. xii  
Dedication ........................................................................................................................................... xiii  

Chapter 1 - “Rape Victims” Versus “Rape Survivors”: Oppression and Resistance in Individuals’  
Perceptions of Women Who Have Been Raped .................................................................................. 1  
Framing the Research: “Rape Victims” Versus “Rape Survivors” ...................................................... 1  
Statement of Methodological Position ................................................................................................. 4  
Theoretical Perspectives Guiding the Current Research ........................................................................ 6  
  Rape and Rape Myths ....................................................................................................................... 6  
  Social Power ...................................................................................................................................... 8  
  Social Psychology and Linguistics ..................................................................................................... 11  
General Hypothesis of the Current Research ...................................................................................... 14  
Physical and Psychological Outcomes Associated with Rape for Victims ........................................ 15  
Physical and Psychological Outcomes Associated with Rape for Survivors .................................... 16  
Attitudes Toward, Beliefs About, Perceptions of, and Behaviors Toward Rape Victims ............... 20  
  Rape Myths ....................................................................................................................................... 20  
  Rape Scripts ...................................................................................................................................... 32  
  Reactions to Rape Victims ................................................................................................................. 34  
Correlates of Attitudes Toward, Beliefs About, and Perceptions of Rape Victims ............................ 35  
Outcomes of Attitudes Toward, Beliefs About, and Perceptions of Rape Victims ............................ 40  
Attitudes Toward, Beliefs About, Perceptions of, and Behaviors Toward Rape Survivors ............ 41  
Preliminary Empirical Basis for the Primary Research ....................................................................... 44  
  Preliminary Study 1 ........................................................................................................................... 44  
  Preliminary Study 2 ........................................................................................................................... 45  
  Preliminary Study 3 ........................................................................................................................... 46  
  Preliminary Study 4 ........................................................................................................................... 47
Study 1: Predicting Perceptions of “Rape Victims,” “Rape Survivors,” and “Women Who Have Been Raped” ................................................................. 50

Study 1 Methods ........................................................................................................ 52
  Participants ............................................................................................................... 52
  Materials and Procedure ........................................................................................ 52
Study 1 Results and Discussion .................................................................................. 59
  Manipulation Check ................................................................................................ 59
  Participants’ Written Descriptions of the Target ..................................................... 60
  Sex Differences on the Measures ......................................................................... 63
  Relationships Between Measures and Potential Social Desirability Effects .......... 64
  Regression Models to Predict Rape Perceptions .................................................... 66
Study 1 Conclusion .................................................................................................... 71

Study 2: Intergroup Helping Intentions for “Rape Victims,” “Rape Survivors,” and “Women Who Have Been Raped” ................................................................. 72

Study 2 Methods ........................................................................................................ 73
  Participants ............................................................................................................... 73
  Materials and Procedure ........................................................................................ 73
Study 2 Results and Discussion .................................................................................. 76
  Sex Differences on the Measures ......................................................................... 76
  Relationships Between Measures and Potential Social Desirability Effects .......... 77
  Regression Models to Predict Intentions to Help .................................................... 77
  Test of Mediation .................................................................................................... 79
Study 2 Conclusion .................................................................................................... 80

Study 3: Interpersonal Helping Intentions for “Rape Victims” and “Rape Survivors” .......... 81

Study 3 Methods ........................................................................................................ 82
  Participants ............................................................................................................... 82
  Materials and Procedure ........................................................................................ 82
Study 3 Results and Discussion .................................................................................. 86
  Sex Differences on the Measures ......................................................................... 86
  Relationships Between Measures and Potential Social Desirability Effects .......... 87
  Differences in Intentions to Help ........................................................................... 87
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Study 3 Conclusion</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Discussion</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusions</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>References</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix A - Initial Rape Perceptions Items</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix B - Vignette Transcripts</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix C - Written Response Measure, Warmth Measure, and Rape Perception Scales</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix D - Attitudes Toward Rape Victims Scale</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix E - The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix F - Social Dominance Orientation Scale</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix G - Right Wing Authoritarianism Scale</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix H - Humanitarianism-Egalitarianism Scale</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix I - Empathic Concern and Perspective Taking Scales</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix J - Demographic Items</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix K - Social Desirability Measure</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix L - Manipulation Check Question</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix M - Debriefing Statement, Researcher Contact Information, and Contact Information for Local and National Sexual Assault Services</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix N - Organization Mission Statements</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix O - Intergroup Helping Intentions Response Form</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix P - Affiliation Variables</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix Q - Actual Organization Mission Statement and Contact Information</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix R - Interview Vignette Transcripts</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix S - Requests for Help</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix T - Cover Story and Interview Perception Items</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix U - Interpersonal Helping Intentions Response Form</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix V - Interpersonal Helping Motivations Scales</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
List of Figures

Figure 1 Preliminary Study 2: Word cloud of characteristics ascribed to “rape victims.” .... 180
Figure 2 Preliminary Study 2: Word cloud of characteristics ascribed to “rape survivors.” ... 181
Figure 3 Preliminary Study 2: Number of personological, process, and outcome characteristics
ascribed to “rape victims” versus “rape survivors.” ............................................................ 182
Figure 4 Preliminary Study 2: Number of negative, neutral, and positive characteristics ascribed
to “rape victims” versus “rape survivors” ........................................................................... 183
Figure 5 Preliminary Study 2: Number of characteristics inherently blaming the woman, the
perpetrator, or some other ascribed to "rape victims" versus "rape survivors” by male and
female participants. ........................................................................................................... 184
Figure 6 Preliminary Study 3: Frequency of participants who labeled the woman a “rape victim”
versus a “rape survivor.” .................................................................................................... 185
Figure 7 Study 1: Percent of participants whose written descriptions of the target were matched
and unmatched with their condition...................................................................................... 186
Figure 8 Study 1: Percent of each type of unmatched response provided by participants who
heard the target described as a “woman who has been raped.” ......................................... 187
Figure 9 Study 2: Percent of male and female participants who selected each intergroup helping
option. ................................................................................................................................. 188
Figure 10 Study 3: Percent of male and female participants who selected each interpersonal
helping option. ..................................................................................................................... 189
Figure 11 Study 3: Percent of participants by condition who selected each interpersonal helping
option. ................................................................................................................................. 190
List of Tables

Table 1 Preliminary Study 2: Participants’ Demographic Characteristics ........................................191
Table 2 Preliminary Study 3: Participants’ Demographic Characteristics .................................193
Table 3 Preliminary Study 4: Participants’ Demographic Characteristics .................................195
Table 4 Study 1: Means, Standard Deviations, and t-test Results for Male and Female
    Participants Regardless of Condition ..................................................................................196
Table 5 Study 1: Correlations Among All Measures Regardless of Condition .........................197
Table 6 Study 1: Hierarchical Regression Analysis Predicting Positive Personological
    Attributions to the Target ...................................................................................................200
Table 7 Study 1: Hierarchical Regression Analysis Predicting Negative Personological
    Attributions to the Target ..................................................................................................201
Table 8 Study 1: Hierarchical Regression Analysis Predicting Perceptions of the Target’s
    Likelihood of Engaging in Adaptive Coping ................................................................. 202
Table 9 Study 1: Hierarchical Regression Analysis Predicting Perceptions of the Target’s
    Likelihood of Engaging in Maladaptive Coping ............................................................ 203
Table 10 Study 1: Hierarchical Regression Analysis Predicting Perceptions of the Target’s
    Positive Outcomes ....................................................................................................... 204
Table 11 Study 1: Hierarchical Regression Analysis Predicting Perceptions of Target’s Negative
    Outcomes ..........................................................................................................................205
Table 12 Study 1: Hierarchical Regression Analysis Predicting Attributions of Blame and
    Responsibility to the Perpetrator for Perpetrating a Violent Crime .................................206
Table 13 Study 1: Hierarchical Regression Analysis Predicting Attributions of Blame and
    Responsibility to the Target for Precipitating the Rape ................................................ 207
Table 14 Study 1: Hierarchical Regression Analysis Predicting Participants’ Feelings of Warmth
    toward the Target ..............................................................................................................208
Table 15 Study 2: Means, Standard Deviations, and t-test Results for Male and Female
    Participants Regardless of Condition ...............................................................................209
Table 16 Study 2: Correlations Among All Measures Regardless of Condition ......................210
Table 17 Study 2: Hierarchical Regression Analysis Predicting the Total Number of Helping Items Selected by Participants ................................................................. 211

Table 18 Study 2: Hierarchical Regression Analysis Predicting the Amount of Money Participants Intended to Donate to the Organization ......................................................... 212

Table 19 Study 2: Hierarchical Regression Analysis Predicting Amount of Time Participants Intended to Spend Helping the Organization .......................................................... 213

Table 20 Study 2: Hierarchical Regression Analysis Predicting Participants’ Sense of Connectedness to the Targets Helped by the Organizations .............................................. 214

Table 21 Study 2: Hierarchical Regression Analysis Predicting Participants’ Perceptions of “We-ness” With the Targets Helped by the Organizations ................................................. 215

Table 22 Study 3: Means, Standard Deviations, and t-test Results for Male and Female Participants Regardless of Condition .............................................................................. 216

Table 23 Study 3: Correlations Among the Measures Regardless of Condition ................................. 217
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Dedication

I dedicate my dissertation to the millions of women who are raped each year—to those who are raped on college campuses, in wars, in dark alleys, and in daylight, to those who are raped by acquaintances, by lovers, and by strangers, to those who stay silent and to those who share their stories. My sisters, I hope this work contributes to your healing as it has contributed to my own. This work is also dedicated to those who offer their support and encouragement to women who have been raped—with you, our strength is fortified and our recovery is more easily made.

A Lovely Piece of Art (Hockett, 2006)

Together we bought a clean, blank canvas, we purchased the softest brushes and hues; you, rumored artist, and I, novice new. Dipping brush tip into palest colors I quietly trailed paint down one edge, shaping eggshell designs in creamy shades, finding my flow, waiting for you to join. Then you came in with harsh strokes and colors, your own bent-up bristles, a wild brush hand; you ripped the white with jagged red gashes, you split our infinite canvas in two; with no regard for space, you claimed the whole. You ruined a prospective piece of art that could have been more lovely than just you.

Phoenix Rising (Hockett, 2008)

I am rising, I am rising from the ashes where you left me, from the embers where you let my broken body fall for death. You took what was not offered—my body and my power; you blackened out the sun, cut me deep, then made me blind... and everything was night.

The bed on which you laid me was a bed of blood and dirt and fire; it was a bed of broken temple pillars with sheets of flame and pillows burning; but the bed on which you laid me was a glowing phoenix pyre.

So I am burning and I am rising from the darkness where you took me, where you tried to smother all the good things with the ungood of your strength.

Now I’m burning, we are burning, and I am rising, we are rising, like the golden bird of flame we are lighting up the night.
Chapter 1 - “Rape Victims” Versus “Rape Survivors”: Oppression and Resistance in Individuals’ Perceptions of Women Who Have Been Raped

“As subjects, people have the right to define their own reality, establish their own identities, name their history. As objects, one’s reality is defined by others, one’s identity created by others, one’s history named only in ways that define one’s relationship to those who are subject” (hooks, 1989, p. 42).

**Framing the Research: “Rape Victims” Versus “Rape Survivors**

Rape affects thousands of women each year (Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000). Approximately 2.8 percent of women on a typical college campus are raped in a normal six-month period (Fisher, Cullen, & Turner, 2000), and one-eighth (National Victim Center, 1992) to one-fourth (Fisher, Cullen & Turner, 2000) of adult women in America has been or will be forcibly raped in their lifetimes. Although rape may be perpetrated by strangers, it is more commonly perpetrated by intimate partners and acquaintances (e.g., Russell, 1984).

This widespread social problem began to be addressed on a large scale by the women’s rights movements of the 1960s and 1970s. Since the early 1980s, the literature on psychological aspects of the rape of women has proliferated, identifying observers’ rape-related attitudes, beliefs, perceptions, and behaviors, as well as the self-perceptions and experiences of women who have been raped.¹ However, the majority of this literature has framed the research

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¹ Females are primarily targeted in rape crimes, but males may be the targets of sexual violence as well (Black et al., 2010). Thus, although this work will focus on individuals’ perceptions of rape perpetrated against females, assessing perceptions of the rape of men is an important direction for other research.
questions, operational definitions, hypotheses, independent variables (i.e., usually characteristics of the crimes, perpetrators, and women who are raped in vignettes depicting rapes), and dependent items (i.e., usually attributions of blame and responsibility to the women who are raped and to the perpetrators) in terms of rape victimization. As such, there has been a common emphasis throughout the literature on negative antecedents and outcomes of rape and rape-related attitudes, beliefs, perceptions, and behaviors. Women who have been raped are certainly victims of a crime that holds implications for their physical and psychological health (e.g., Goodman, Koss, & Russo, 1993), including potential damage to their senses of safety (e.g., Frazier, Conlon, Steger, Tashiro, & Glaser, 2006) and even to their very identities (e.g., Allen, 1996; Gutman, 1993; Nikolic-Ristanovic, 2000; Stiglmayer, 1994). However, the term “rape victim” may not fully or accurately reflect how women who have been raped identify themselves, personally or publicly, nor may it fully or accurately reflect how others perceive women who have been raped.

Despite its inadequacies, the “victim” label may influence how others perceive women who have been raped. It may also shape the roles, identities, and other psychological outcomes (e.g., personal and sexual self-esteem) as well as behavioral outcomes (e.g., relationship functioning) of women who have been raped. More specifically, through the application and adoption of the “victim” label to/by a woman who has been raped, “the sexual incident becomes the controlling and dominating event in her life” (McCarthy, 1986, p. 323-324). In other words, as the epigraph by bell hooks (1989) suggests, the term “rape victim” may objectify women who have been raped, disempowering them from defining their own realities, instead minimizing them and their experiences to socially acceptable rubrics defined by stereotypes and reinforced by institutions.
A useful contrast with the term “rape victim” is the term “rape survivor.” Commonly, the distinction between these terms has emphasized the process of recovering from sexual trauma (e.g., rape) and highlights the ability of the woman who was raped to do so: “While the victim has been immobilized and discouraged by the event, the survivor has overcome the traumatic memories and become mobile” (Figley, 1985, p. 399). However, for the recovery process to even begin, it is imperative that the woman who was raped views herself as a survivor rather than as a victim. By perceiving herself as having the ability to cope successfully, a woman who was raped may thus avoid being diverted from recovery by self-guilt and self-negation (McCarthy, 1986). Notably, some tangential evidence regarding the potential impacts of these terms comes from the literature on living after cancer. For example Park, Zlateva, and Blank (2009) recently conducted a study to examine the self-identification of individuals with cancer as “cancer patient,” “someone with cancer,” “cancer victim,” or “cancer survivor.” Their research demonstrated that individuals with cancer tended to endorse a “survivor” identity, and that doing so was associated with positive outcomes such as communicating about their cancer experiences and prevention, donating money to cancer causes, participating in cancer-related events, and being involved with cancer advocacy. In contrast, individuals with cancer endorsed the “victim” identity the least, and doing so was associated with belonging to cancer organization, being involved in cancer advocacy, as well as experiencing less mental well-being (including experiencing more negative affect, less positive affect, lower life satisfaction, and more intrusive thoughts).

Thus, because the terms “victim” and “survivor” hold differing implications for the coping experiences of individuals who have experienced trauma—in the present case, women who have been raped—and because others’ reactions—that is, their attitudes as well as their
support or lack thereof-- are also central to recovery processes (e.g., Burgess & Holmstrom, 1974; Madigan & Gamble, 1991; Mazelan, 1980; McCarthy, 1986), the general purpose of this work was to assess differences and similarities in individuals’ rape-related attitudes, beliefs, perceptions, and behaviors pertaining to “rape victims” versus “rape survivors.”

Statement of Methodological Position

In the words of feminist researcher Nancy Naples (2003), “like many feminist scholars, I address questions in my research that are simultaneously personally, politically, and academically significant” (p. 13). From this perspective, the principles, or the methodology, with which this work was approached stem from my personal, political, and academic experiences as a feminist, a social psychologist, and a woman who has been raped. Although the personal significance of empirical research has rarely been discussed in psychological manuscripts, doing so may be useful: “By challenging traditional conceptions between the researcher and researched, such work argues that the objectivity of a discipline is enhanced not by detachment but by the recognition that researchers and the researched occupy the same critical plane” (Walklate, 1994, p. 9; also see Alcoff & Gray, 1993).

Thus, the first principle guiding this work was reflexivity—that is, awareness of and reflection on the ways in which my identities influence my work and my work influences my identities (Crawford & Kimmel, 1999). Specifically, my identities as a woman who has been raped—that is, my identities as a victim, as a survivor, and as an individual whose self-definition exists beyond my experience with rape—influence and are influenced by my work. Since I was raped by an acquaintance during my first year of college (2003) at Kansas State University, these aspects of my identity have helped to shape not only my fears and my desires, but also my approach to research. Having done research on attitudes, beliefs, perceptions, and behaviors
pertaining to “rape victims” throughout my undergraduate and graduate careers, I have grown exhausted by the oppressive readings of the experiences of women who have been raped and of society’s negative reactions to them. In most manuscripts I have read and even in the majority of those I have written, I have found myself and other women who have been raped reproduced as powerless victims for whom nothing but negative outcomes exist, including society’s disbelief and blame. Thus, one intention of this work was to “succeed in keeping one [myself] from being exhausted by oppressive readings” (Lugones, 2003, p. 15). Indeed, through my program of research, I, like many women who have been raped, have found myself enabled to reject the institutional confines that limit my self-definitions of my identities, my realities, my history, and my future. Instead, I have turned to the solace and strength of the voices in the rape survivor literature and in works critiquing both the rape victim and rape survivor literatures that speak of other, more liberating possibilities. Through this crossover of the personal, the political, and the academic, this work has become a point from which to shape myself and my future research as truly feminist.

A second principle guiding this work was poststructuralist feminist theory’s imperative “to leave behind the linear mode of intellectual thinking, the teleologically ordained style of argumentation that most of us [social psychologists] have been trained to respect and emulate” (Braidotti, 1994, p. 29). Although accepted research practices in psychology and other empirical disciplines have emphasized the maintenance of consistency with previous literature in the use of narrow and specific definitions of variables, measures, etc., these linear practices may leave little room for variation in results. For example, rape-related attitudes, beliefs, perceptions, and behaviors have often been assessed and analyzed in the rape victim literature in terms of their negativity (e.g., attributions of blame and responsibility to women who have been raped).
Similarly, postmodernist feminist theory offered a motivation to “deny the solace of good forms” dictated by traditional academic theorizing and instead to “search for new presentations” (Lyotard, 1982, p. 436). In the case of the present research, new presentations of individuals’ rape-related attitudes, beliefs, perceptions, and behaviors were sought out (i.e., presentations of rape-resistant attitudes, beliefs, perceptions, and behaviors that were expected to accompany individuals’ rape-supportive attitudes, beliefs, and perceptions). Further, new presentations of feminist psychological research were also deployed through the examination of oppression and resistance in conjunction with each other in the area of psychology related to the assessment of rape-related attitudes, beliefs, perceptions, and behaviors. The following section will clarify the theoretical perspectives supporting these methodological approaches.

**Theoretical Perspectives Guiding the Current Research**

**Rape and Rape Myths**

The rape of women has been conceptualized both as a crime motivated by individual men’s desires for sexual gratification (e.g., Symons, 1979; Thornhill & Palmer, 2000) and as a crime motivated by power and control based on patriarchal social structures’ “extreme exaggeration of the prescribed and accepted sexual and social roles played by women and men” as separate social classes (Burt & Katz, 1987, pp. 60-61; also see Ellis, 1989; Ellis, 1991; Groth, Burgess, & Holmstrom, 1977). Not surprisingly, feminist researchers have emphasized the latter perspective (e.g., Brownmiller, 1975; Chiroro, Bohner, Viki, & Jarvis, 2004), positioning rape as a social phenomenon rather than a purely biological one. As such, rape-related attitudes, beliefs, perceptions, and behaviors have fruitfully been assessed in terms of their social implications. In particular, a large body of research has focused on what Martha Burt (1980) seminally called rape myths—that is, negative attitudes and false beliefs about rape, individuals who are raped,
and perpetrators of rape. Feminist researchers have argued that, similar to rape itself, such beliefs help maintain the male-dominant social hierarchy (e.g., through intimidation of women who have been or could be raped such that their activities and daily lives are restricted or otherwise influenced; Allen, 1998; Burt & Estep, 1981; Buchwald, Fletcher, & Roth, 2005; Sanday, 1981; Steuer, 2003; Warr, 1985). Additionally, research showing that belief in rape myths is related to college men’s likelihood of committing rape (Malamuth & Check, 1981) and research showing that men are more likely than women to believe that women enjoy sexual victimization (e.g., Malamuth, Haber, & Feshbach, 1980) has suggested that rape myths may also promote and maintain rape itself. Thus, because feminist theoretical perspectives framed the social psychological theoretical approaches, operational definitions, research methods, and interpretations of findings throughout this work, rape and rape-supportive attitudes, beliefs, perceptions, and behaviors were conceptualized as particular forms of oppressive social power.

Indeed, the majority of the literature on individuals’ rape-related attitudes, beliefs, perceptions, and behaviors has appeared to reflect this negatively-focused conceptualization. This is demonstrated most simply by the amount of literature pertaining to “rape victims”—a term that emphasizes the overwhelming trauma women who are raped may experience—versus the amount of literature pertaining to “rape survivors”—a term that emphasizes the empowerment women who are raped may experience. For example, on September 15, 2011, searches for combinations of terms pertaining to either “rape victims” or “rape survivors” revealed over 600 articles for the former search, and less than 50 articles for the latter. Importantly, this emphasis on “rape victims” in the literature has been useful to reveal the extent of the physical (e.g., Goodman, Koss, & Russo, 1993) and psychological (e.g., Atkeson,
Calhoun, Resick, & Ellis, 1982) trauma experienced by women who have been raped, providing clear evidence against the mythic belief that rape is not a serious crime (e.g., Ward, 1988).

**Social Power**

Although the rape victim literature has held useful implications for education, training, and social policy, theories that take an oppression-only oriented approach to research (as appears to be the case in much of the rape victim literature) have been critiqued. For example, Latina feminist theorist María Lugones (2003) argued that theories seeking to understand social power (e.g., as enacted oppressively through rape) solely through a lens of oppression risk maintaining oppressive control through ignoring—thereby erasing, or making invisible—the possibilities for resistance that she argues are enacted by individuals who are active social agents despite their oppressive contexts. This erasure, Lugones argued, is itself an aspect of violent oppression (whether intentional or not), representing an “attempt to erase selves that we are that are dangerous to the maintenance of domination over us” (p. 59).

Put more simply, Lugones’ (2003) perspective suggests that theorizing solely from a perspective of oppression does not provide any indication of how one may escape from or step outside of oppression.² According to Lugones, individuals are comprised of multiple selves who exist in and are shaped by multiple worlds. At times, oppressed individuals may be required to move through worlds framed by dominant discourses of reality. There, they may be restricted to subservient agency. For example, a woman who discloses her experience of rape to the social institutions of medicine and law—which are designated by society as her sole legitimate avenues of recovery and aid—may be framed by them as a victim who is both responsible for her

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² To say “escaping from” and “stepping outside of” oppression is not meant to imply that oppression can be “overthrown”—both women of color feminist theorists (e.g., Hoagland, 1999) and psychological researchers (e.g., Sidanius & Pratto, 1993) have found that oppression is “persistent, a way of life” (Hoagland, 1999, p. 171).
victimization and helpless to move beyond it. By doing so, the woman who encounters these institutions may be revictimized, and oppression may shape her social and psychological experiences. At times, these dominant worlds may also empower the woman with limited measures of proactive agency. For example, the woman may be framed as a rape survivor when it is useful to dominant society (e.g., to demonstrate that the medical and legal systems are effective in helping women who have been raped). However, the woman may resist such secondary victimization by the medical and legal systems by seeking interpersonal support from close others who both view and treat her as a survivor and/or as a woman whose identities exist beyond her experiences with rape. Moreover, the woman may avoid those institutions entirely, instead seeking movement through worlds not shaped by dominant discourse of reality by disclosing her experiences only to her inner circle of social supporters. By doing so, she may be empowered to move beyond victimization, and resistance may also shape her social and psychological experiences.

Lugones referred to these multiple understandings of oppressed individuals’ realities as “logics of resistance and oppression”:

If we think of people who are oppressed as not consumed or exhausted by oppression, but also as resisting, or sabotaging a system aimed at molding, reducing, violating, erasing them, then we also see at least two realities: one of them has the logic of resistance and transformation; the other has the logic of oppression. But indeed these two logics are multiple and they encounter each other over and over in many guises (Lugones, 2003, p. 12).

In other words, Lugones suggested that researchers and theorists should seek to understand three things. First, they should seek to understand how oppressed individuals might enact resistance in
the midst of their oppressive contexts. Lugones used the chemical concept of emulsification to refer to the presence of resistance in the midst of oppression—that is, resistance may be suspended, immobile and not accessed in the larger context of a focus on oppression. In terms of research pertaining to individuals’ rape-related attitudes, beliefs, perceptions, and behaviors, this conceptualization suggests that the rape victim literature over-emphasizes oppression. As previously discussed, this perspective may be incomplete at best and misleading at worst regarding both the identities of women who have been raped and potential applications for their treatment. Further, an over-emphasis on oppression without the incorporation of perspectives on resistance may also hold implications for theory building. For example, Lugones critiqued theories of oppression not because they portray oppression as inescapable, but because they often ignore even possibilities for ontological and metaphysical liberation, thereby making them of little value to the individuals who experience oppression (p. 55).

Second, researchers and theorists should seek to understand that oppressed individuals may exist simultaneously in spheres not mandated by their experiences of oppression. Lugones referred to this concept of existing in and across multiple worlds as “world-traveling.” Broadly, a “world” may be defined as a reality of lived experience that is constructed by dominant or non-dominant cultures, by individuals, and/or as perhaps only being small aspects of given societies or as being constructions of reality that are incomplete. This conceptualization suggests that a woman who has been raped may be either or both a victim and a survivor, depending on her social context. Importantly, it is when a woman travels to worlds not framed by dominant discourses of reality (e.g., when she is among her group of social supporters) that she may act agentically and meaningfully outside of the victim identity constructed for her by dominant discourses. In terms of the present research, this conceptualization suggests the importance of
understanding non-dominant constructions of women who are raped—that is, constructions of them as survivors versus as victims.

Finally, researchers and theorists should seek to understand how each of the two contexts of oppression and resistance are informed by the other. Lugones referred to this mutual influence as intermeshedness—that is, neither oppression nor resistance may be fully understood separately from their relation to each other. This conceptualization suggests that in order to better understand individuals’ rape-related attitudes, beliefs, perceptions, and behaviors, the divide between the rape victim and the rape survivor literatures should be bridged.

Thus, to access elements of resistance in individuals’ rape-related attitudes, beliefs, perceptions, and behaviors, and thereby to bridge the gap between the rape victim and the rape survivor literature, this work followed Lugones’ example in using a pluralist feminist logic of oppression and resistance to empirically understand individuals’ perceptions of women who have been raped. Although feminist researchers and theorists have critiqued the method of empirical research for its history of being used in ways that reproduce inequality between and among social groups (e.g., Unger, 1979), it was my intention to remain faithful to Lugones’ call for ontological pluralism by asking questions that provided quantitative data, allowing for the exploration of both oppression and resistance in individuals’ perceptions of women who have been raped. In turn, I expected this pluralist perspective to provide new directions for the interpersonal and institutional treatment of women who have been raped, as well as directions for future feminist research.

Social Psychology and Linguistics

Although this women of color feminist perspective provides the primary theoretical foundation for this work, social psychological theories of power were also used to guide the
expectations for the empirical research conducted for this work. Specifically, social dominance theory (e.g., Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994; Sidanius, Pratto, Martin, & Stallworth, 1991) suggests that the construction and maintenance of social power hierarchies may be driven in part by individuals’ desires for positive group identity, which may be increased by comparison of one’s group or oneself to negative reference groups and group members. In the present research, it was expected that participants would conceptualize “rape victims” as a negative reference group, whereas they would conceptualize “rape survivors” as a more positive (or at least, less negative) reference group.

In addition to the individual-level comparative processes potentially involved in individuals’ understanding of the “rape victim” and “rape survivor” labels, social dominance theory (e.g., Pratto et al., 1994) also suggests that broader social processes may be involved. For example, language may be used to perpetuate domination, such as through the adoption of dominant groups’ language and meaning by subordinate groups (e.g., Bourdieu, 1993; Phillipson, 1992) and/or the appropriation of subordinate groups’ language and meaning by dominant groups (e.g., Hill, 2008). Thus, because of potential differences in meaning, as well as differences in each group’s social power, women who have been raped may adopt the perceiver’s language to communicate their identities, and/or the perceivers may misinterpret the linguistic intentions of women who have been raped when they self-label. Conversely, reflecting Lugones’ (2003) feminist philosophical theories of resistance, language may also be used subversively by marginalized groups, as well as in coalition with marginalized groups by dominant group allies. In the present context, these theories suggest the labels “rape victim” and “rape survivor” may hold different meanings, both between and even within the marginalized and dominant groups. Thus, my research was focused on examining variations in the connotations and outcomes of the
labels “rape victim” and “rape survivor” among a broader sample (i.e., including individuals who have not necessarily been raped).

Indeed, the idea that language may have varying effects on reality—that is, linguistic relativity (cf. Bourdieu, 1991; Lenneberg, 1953, 1961; Sapir, 1949; Spry, 1995)—has been theorized across many disciplines, spanning eons from the writings of Plato (427-347 BCE) to Descartes’ (1644) proposition of “cogito ergo sum” (“I think, therefore I am”) to contemporary ideas about the relationship between language and cognition (e.g., Gleitman & Papafragou, 2005; Sapir, 1944; Whorf, 1956). Recent empirical psychological evidence supports such linguistic theories. For example, when hearing masculine pronouns used to generically reference individuals or groups (e.g., “Love amounts to letting a person be who he really is”), individuals are more likely to picture a male versus a female (Henley, 1989; Ng, 1990). Thus, such research demonstrates that words do indeed influence how people think (e.g., Boroditsky, 2011; Lupyan & Ward, 2013).

A particularly relevant area of theorizing and research on linguistic relativity pertains to two effects of language: referential effects and nonreferential effects (Fiedler, 2008). Referential effects, including mutual understanding and cooperative communication, are accomplished via communicators’ shared understandings of rule-based links between symbols and knowledge—that is, shared connotations of language. Nonreferential effects, in contrast, are concerned with the unintended, creative, and random effects of language, including how it may contribute to misunderstandings, unintentional priming, and unauthorized inferences. To illustrate nonreferential effects, Fiedler provided the example of the word “hostile,” noting that this word “does not merely activate referential meaning (viz., a state or trait related to aggression, suggesting internal attribution), it also primes impulsive aggression tendencies, social stereotypes
associated with stigmatized groups, or negative emotional states such as fear or anger, even when extremely short exposure times preclude any awareness of the prime” (p. 42). In the present context, I examined the referential and nonreferential effects of the labels “rape victim” and “rape survivor” to better understand the power such labels may have in shaping women’s rape-related experiences. That is, I wanted to examine what aspects of these labels’ connotations might be shared by comparing past research conducted with women who have been raped to my present research with a broader sample, as well as to examine what new meanings might emerge within my broader sample alone.

With these potential nonreferential effects in mind, it is perhaps even more important to consider that other linguistic theorists have further proposed that one aspect of language’s power is its propensity to motivate and to shape both individual and collective action, immediately and in the long-term (e.g., Barrett, Thomas, & Hocevar, 1995; Barry & Elmes, 1997; Boden, 1994). In the present context, this body of theory and research thus suggested that terms such as “rape victim” and “rape survivor” may carry meanings and consequences not initially apparent in the banal connotations of the labels. Thus, my expectation that differences in perceptions of “rape victims” versus “rape survivors” would emerge holds an important implication (to which I will return in the discussion). Specifically, the implication is that these differences in perceptions contribute to a social power hierarchy in which negative outcomes and experiences are implicit in being a “rape victim,” while more positive (or at least, again, less negative) outcomes and experiences are implicit in being a “rape survivor.”

**General Hypothesis of the Current Research**

Thus, three studies were conducted to test the general hypothesis that individuals will differentially perceive “rape victims” versus “rape survivors.” The following brief review of the
literatures pertaining to “rape victims” and “rape survivors” (elaborated in Hockett & Saucier, under review) that provided the foundation for these studies.

**Physical and Psychological Outcomes Associated with Rape for Victims**

Beginning with Burgess and Holmstrom’s (1974) groundbreaking work on “Rape Trauma Syndrome,” the rape victim literature has been instrumental in revealing the troubling extent of trauma experienced by women who are raped. Specifically, the rape victim literature has shown that rape victims may experience a range of physical trauma symptoms. These may include proximate physical trauma symptoms, such as bruises, broken bones, sexually transmitted diseases, and pregnancy. Physical trauma symptoms may also be long-term, such as tension headaches, fatigue, sleep pattern disturbances, gastrointestinal irritability, chronic pelvic pain, menstrual pain or irregularity, pelvic inflammatory disease, multiple yeast infections, sexual dysfunction, premenstrual distress, fibromyalgia, vaginal discharge, vaginal itching, burning during urination, and generalized vaginal pain (e.g., Burgess & Holmstrom, 1974; Golding, 1999; Goodman, Koss, & Russo, 1993; Tjaden & Thoennes, 2006). The rape victim literature has also revealed the extent of acute and long-term (Burgess & Holmstrom, 1974) psychological trauma that women may experience as a consequence of rape, including depression, anxiety, fear, anger, humiliation, posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD) symptoms (i.e., intrusive thoughts, avoidance, and hyperarousal), sexual disorders (including fear of engaging in sexual activity), mood disorders, borderline personality disorder, eating disorders, suicidal ideation, nightmares, fear of crowds, fear of situations reminiscent of the rape situation, and fear of being alone (e.g., Atkeson, Calhoun, Resick, & Ellis, 1982; Burgess & Holmstrom, 1974; Clarke, Rizvi, & Resick, 2008; Cloitre, Scarvalone, & Difede, 1997; Faravelli, Giugni, Salvatori, & Ricca, 2004; Gidycz, Orchowski, King, & Rich, 2008; Kilpatrick et al., 1985;
Rothbaum, Foa, Riggs, Murdock, & Walsh, 1992; Thompson & West, 1992). Clearly, this body of work has demonstrated that the experience of rape may not be limited to just the rape act itself. Rather, the oppression experienced by women who have been raped may be exacerbated by physical and psychological injuries that may persist long after the crime has taken place.

**Physical and Psychological Outcomes Associated with Rape for Survivors**

Some of the rape survivor literature has revealed similar outcomes as these that are found in the rape victim literature. For example, Becker, Skinner, Abel, Axelrod, and Cichon (1984) explored sexual problems of survivors of sexual assault (i.e., rape and incest) in responses to critiques that the rape victim literature too greatly de-emphasized the sexual nature of sexual assault. By comparing survivors who were sexually functional to survivors who were sexually dysfunctional, Becker et al. found that rape survivors were less likely than incest only survivors and survivors of both incest and rape to experience assault-related sexual problems (e.g., fear of sex, desire dysfunction, arousal dysfunction, vaginismus, dyspareunia, primary nonorgasmia, secondary nonorgasmia, situational nonorgasmia). Further, sexually dysfunctional rape survivors were more likely than sexually functional rape survivors to hold themselves at least partially responsible for the assaults against them (although this relationship was not significant for survivors of both rape and incest). In sum, this study suggested that whether the researchers approach the assessment of rape outcomes from a “rape victim” or a “rape survivor” perspective, the outcomes are negative.

Although Becker et al.’s (1984) research appears to reflect the dominant discourse that women who have been raped remain perpetual victims (Thompson, 2000, p. 337), other studies have found less negative outcomes for survivors. For example, a recent study by Glenn and Byers (2009) found less negative outcomes for survivors of sexual coercion (i.e., unwilling
sexual activity engaged in on the basis of verbal pressure or physical force; Faulkner, Kolts, & Hicks, 2008; Hartwick, Desmarais, & Henning, 2007; Struckman-Johnson & Struckman-Johnson, 1994). Specifically, their findings demonstrated that women who have been sexually coerced hold generally mild self-blaming attributions and guilt—two components of blame that Glenn and Byers found to be distinct from one another. Further, Glenn and Byers’ work also showed that the relationships among cognitive (i.e., blame attributions) and emotional (i.e., guilt feelings) reactions to the experience of sexual coercion interacted with survivors’ well-being in ways that were more complex than had been identified by previous research, demonstrating the need to assess both potential negative (i.e., oppressive) and potential positive (i.e., resistant) outcomes related to women who have been raped. Although Glenn and Byers’ work maintained an emphasis on the negative outcomes associated with rape (i.e., blame and guilt), they also both predicted and found complex relationships, reflecting the complex identities of women who have been raped.

In contrast to these two studies, the majority of the rape survivor literature has more directly assessed positive outcomes for rape survivors while acknowledging the negative outcomes rape survivors also may experience. For example, Burt and Katz (1987) explicitly acknowledged that examination of negative symptoms (e.g., fear, anxiety, depression) is important to the treatment and recovery of rape survivors, but sought to expand previous research by examining growth outcomes associated with rape recovery. With this balanced perspective, they found that the majority of participants reported that they had experienced

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3 Although Burt and Katz (1987) used the term “rape victim,” their work is considered a part of the rape survivor literature for three reasons. First, they used the term “rape victim” sparingly, instead primarily discussing rape as an experience that may challenge or otherwise disrupt a woman’s identity. Second, they focused on recovery from rape, distinguishing their research from the traditional rape victim research’s focus on negative outcomes. Third, they avoided implying that a woman’s identity after rape is reliant on the negative experience and outcomes of rape.
positive growth outcomes (e.g., *I trust myself more, I can better handle people who try to boss and control me, I talk more about sexism*), and fewer than 15% of participants felt they had changed in negative ways.

Cole and Lynn (2010) similarly assessed positive and negative outcomes of women who had experienced rape or attempted rape. For example, their research showed that survivors who were low in hardiness (i.e., who perceived little of self-control/influence over life events, were less committed to goal-achievement, and anticipated change as a threat rather than as growth; Kobasa, 1979; Kobasa, Maddi, & Kahn, 1982) and survivors who coped by avoidance reported more symptoms of depression and PTSD than other participants, although the majority of participants in also reported at least some perceived growth. Further, survivors who were higher in hardiness and who used acceptance as a means of coping reported more growth outcomes than other survivors.

Finally, Thompson (2000) also assessed the recovery of rape survivors, focusing on women who had not received professional psychological support (e.g., therapy) after they had been raped. Most notably, Thompson’s qualitative data revealed that participants perceived the term “survivor” positively, associating it with characteristics such as strength, recovery, and the experience of having moved on from the rape. In contrast, the term “victim” was perceived primarily negatively, characterized by weakness, powerlessness, vulnerability, and the ongoing effects of rape. However, Thompson’s participants also associated innocence, a positively perceived characteristic, with the term “victim.” Given that her participants’ self-definitions as victims or survivors changed over time and evoked differential responses from others, Thompson identified the “Victim-Survivor Paradox.” Specifically, this paradox is that
the choice of terminology employed elicits a particular response from others at the expense of other responses. In order to speak about the trauma of rape one must assume a victim identity. Being a victim maximizes the possibility that the awfulness of rape can be appreciated. But adopting a victim identity also runs the risk of being pitied, not viewed as a survivor and regarded as weak. In contrast, if one adopts a survivor identity then the trauma of rape must be minimized and salience given to the survivor having recovered from the rape. While this may afford the survivor with respect from others and a positive self-identity which is valued by others, it renders her unable to talk about her experience or elicit support and sympathy from others should the need arise (p. 330).

Importantly, the majority of Thompson’s participants used both terms—“victim” and “survivor”—to describe themselves, although most also conceptualized their recovery from rape as a process of moving away from the victim identity and toward the survivor identity. Notably, however, Thompson’s participants acknowledged the social power of rape myths in shaping individuals’ attitudes toward women who are raped—including the attitudes of women who are raped. As previous research has demonstrated, such attitudes likely hold meaningful outcomes for treatment of women who have been raped. Although this research has clearly focused on the woman who was raped rather than on the perceiver, the implications carry over.

In sum, this body of research has demonstrated that by taking a more positive—though balanced—perspective on assessing outcomes associated with rape, our understanding of socio-psychological responses to rape may be more richly informed. In turn, this potential wealth of untapped knowledge may potentially lead to new avenues for interventions and treatments at individual, intergroup, and institutional levels. These possibilities were more directly demonstrated in the following sections, which present research that takes a perceiver focus.
Attitudes Toward, Beliefs About, Perceptions of, and Behaviors Toward Rape Victims

Rape Myths

A large body of research on individuals’ rape myth beliefs perhaps best highlights the focus on oppression that has occurred throughout the rape victim literature. Rape myths function as hierarchy-legitimizing myths—that is, rape myths may represent explanations for rape that promote or maintain consensual or normalized group-based inequality and legitimize discrimination, thereby stabilizing oppression (Pratto et al., 1994, p. 741). More specifically, in a review of rape myths, Lonsway and Fitzgerald (1994) argued that rape myths “serve to deny and justify male sexual aggression against women” (p. 134).

Exemplifying these functions are the mythic beliefs that rape is not damaging (especially to sexually experienced women), but may even “do some women good” (see Ward, 1988, p. 134). These myths deny and justify male sexual violence against women by suggesting that rape is “just bad sex” that in no way reflects or contributes to inequalities in social power. These myths also suggest that some women need to be raped due to some dysfunction or deviance in their expressions of gender and/or sexuality. Indeed, this belief may act as a motivation for some rape perpetrators. Evidence for this possibility may be found in research showing that rape is a particularly common experience for socially disadvantaged women (Fahs, 2011), including lesbians (as well as gay men; Duncan, 1990; McConaghy & Zamir, 1995), women with sexual abuse histories (Sarkar & Sarkar, 2005), and women from some racial minorities (e.g., Tjaden & Thoennes, 2006). These women all represent groups that may be viewed as having non-normative gender, sexual, and/or other social identities. In contrast with these rape myths, as previously identified, women who are raped may experience a range of traumatic psychological
(e.g., Burgess & Holmstrom, 1974) and physical (e.g., Tjaden & Thoennes, 2006) health outcomes as a result of rape. Further, these negative consequences may be long-lasting, with traumatic symptoms manifesting for months and even years after the rape (Sandoval, 2002).

Another representative rape myth is that women commonly exaggerate the details of their rape experiences or even lie about being raped altogether (e.g., Burt, 1980; Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994). This belief legitimizes inequality and discrimination against women who have been raped by denying their credibility. Even women who have not been raped may be negatively influenced by this myth through their exposure to a social climate in which they know they would be doubted if they ever were raped (e.g., Sable, Danis, Mauzy, & Gallagher, 2006).

Although some research reviews have indicated that false rape reports (i.e., reports in which the individual reporting the rape deliberately lies about the perpetrator, the act(s) alleged to have occurred, and/or the setting or set of conditions in which the rape was alleged to have occurred; Hazelwood & Burgess, 2009) and may comprise anywhere from one and a half to ninety percent of rape reports (e.g., Rumney, 2006), it has been noted that much of the data reviewed in such publications (e.g., Kanin, 1994; Rumney, 2006) may have methodological flaws that limit generalizability. For example, Lonsway, Archambault, and Lisak (2009) wrote that much of the data represented in the research may have been gathered non-systematically and is often not accompanied by estimates of reliability or validity. Further, the data may also reflect the reporting investigators’ misperceptions and biases, especially regarding factors that contribute to a rape report being determined “unfounded”:

- a report of rape might be classified as unfounded (rather than as forcible rape) if the alleged victim did not try to fight off the suspect, if the alleged perpetrator did not use physical force or a weapon of some sort, if the alleged victim did not sustain any physical
injuries, or if the alleged victim and the accused had a prior sexual relationship.

Similarly, a report might be deemed unfounded if there is no physical evidence or too many inconsistencies between the accuser's statement and what evidence does exist (Gross, 2009, n. p.).

Moreover, often included in estimates of false rape reports are unfounded rape reports, or reports “determined by investigation to be false or baseless” (Uniform Crime Reporting Program, 2004, p. 77), including reports that may be dismissed due to insufficient physical evidence, inability to locate a suspect, and uncooperative declarants (those making the allegations) and/or witnesses (e.g., Flowe, Ebbesen, & Putcha-Bhagavatula, 2006; LaFree, 1989). It is also notable that many rape claims filed as “false” may have simply been recanted, or withdrawn, by the alleged victims. Because such withdrawals may occur for a variety of undocumented reasons (e.g., fear of retaliation, desire to distance oneself from the event), they do not necessarily indicate that the original report was actually false, although it may be filed as such. In contrast to the high false rape estimates found in some of the literature, Lonsway et al. (2009) suggested that only between two and eight percent of rape reports are false or unfounded. Importantly, such rebuttals are not intended to suggest that false rape reports do not occur. For example, several studies (e.g., Kanin, 1994; McDowell, 1985) have concluded that many allegations categorized as false were originally filed to enhance or protect alleged victims’ self-esteem, often motivated by desires to avoid shame and guilt (e.g., associated with negative outcomes from consensual sex, such as contracting sexually transmitted diseases or becoming pregnant). In sum, although false allegations of rape may occur, it is likely that they are exceptional. Considering the negative social treatment women who are raped may receive, it certainly seems more plausible that few
women would be motivated to falsely claim rape. Indeed, rape is widely recognized as being grossly underreported (e.g., United States Senate Judiciary Committee, 1993).

Individuals’ beliefs in rape myths⁴ such as these and their related rape-supportive attitudes have been investigated with a variety of inventories. As this description suggests, the most commonly used assessment tools maintain the rape victim literature’s focus on oppression, leaving individuals’ rape-resistant attitudes largely unexplored—a limitation that will be addressed in the proposed research. Four of the most commonly used assessments have been Feild’s (1978) Attitudes Toward Rape Scale, Burt’s (1980) Rape Myth Acceptance Scale, Deitz, Blackwell, Daley, and Bentley’s (1982) Rape Empathy Scale, and Ward’s (1988) Attitudes Toward Rape Victims Scale.⁵ Feild’s scale, the second most widely cited measure in the literature on rape attitudes (Anderson, Cooper, & Okamura, 1997), was the first inventory of rape-related attitudes developed in psychology. This measure consists of eight factors and thirty-two items assessing the “affective (feelings of liking-disliking), cognitive (beliefs, expectations), and conative (action orientation) components of rape attitudes” (Feild, 1978, p. 158).

Specifically, the eight factors assess individuals’ attitudes and beliefs related to 1) women’s responsibility in preventing rape (e.g., A woman should be responsible for preventing her own rape), 2) sex and its relationship with rape (e.g., Rape is the expression of an uncontrollable desire for sex), 3) punishment of rapists (e.g., A convicted rapist should be castrated), 4) women’s perceived role in precipitating or causing rape (e.g., Women provoke rape by their appearance or behavior), 5) the mental well-being of rapists (e.g., All rapists are mentally sick).

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⁴ For additional examples of rape myths, see Brownmiller (1975); Bunting and Reeves (1983); Dull and Giacopassi (1987); Feild (1978); Gilmartin-Zena (1987); Larsen and Long (1988); Schwendinger and Schwendinger (1974); Ward (1988); and Warshaw (1988).

⁵ See Anderson et al.’s (1997) meta-analysis of the relationships between various individual differences and other assessments of attitudes toward rape, rape victims, and rape perpetrators.
6) power and its relationship with rape (Women are trained by society to be rape victims), 7) women’s attractiveness after rape (e.g., A raped woman is a less desirable woman), and 8) behaviors expected of women during rape (e.g., If a woman is going to be raped, she might as well relax and enjoy it). No α was reported for Feild’s (1978) overall Attitudes Toward Rape Scale (ATRS), but an estimated lower bound of internal consistency across the eight factors was .62, demonstrating sufficient internal consistency.

Unfortunately, Feild (1978) did not provide insight regarding any theoretical bases or methodological frameworks used to create the ATRS. However, he did write that the measure’s content was intended to reflect “comments or statements frequently cited in the literature as reflecting people’s beliefs or opinions about rape” and to “be as brief, unambiguous, and nonredundant as possible” (p. 158). Although this description seems to imply that the ATRS would assess rape-related attitudes and beliefs in general—including both positive and negative rape-related attitudes and beliefs—the content itself does not appear to support this inference. Specifically, of thirty-two items, twenty-six (81.25 percent of the total items) appear to assess rape-related attitudes and beliefs reflecting prejudice toward and stereotypes about rape victims (e.g., “Nice” women do not get raped, During a rape, a woman should do everything she can do to resist) or that pertain to the perpetrator alone (e.g., Rapists are “normal” men). In contrast, only six items (18.75 percent of the total items) appear to assess rape-related attitudes and beliefs reflecting favor for rape victims: A woman can be raped against her will; In forcible rape, the victim never causes the crime; Women are trained by society to be rape victims; Rape is the worst crime that can be committed; All rape is a male exercise in power over women; and Rape serves as a way to put or keep women in their place. Unfortunately, although appearing to be more positively-valenced toward rape victims than the other items on the ATRS, even these
items emphasize oppression by highlighting women’s perceived lack of power—both generally in society and specifically in rape situations.

The second measure created to assess individuals’ rape-related attitudes and beliefs was Burt’s (1980) Rape Myth Acceptance Scale (RMAS), the most widely cited measure in the literature on rape attitudes. This measure consists of four factors (Briere, Malamuth, & Check, 1985) and nineteen items assessing acceptance of rape myths (α = .83; Burt, 1980). Unlike Feild’s (1978) measure, which ostensibly appears to measure general rape-related attitudes and beliefs, Burt (1980) explicitly stated that the RMAS was intended to assess “prejudicial, stereotyped, or false beliefs about rape, rape victims, and rapists” (p. 217) and “victim-distancing attitudes in the specific instance of rape” (p. 218)—that is, the measure was created to assess negative rape-related attitudes and beliefs. Indeed, the measure’s face validity indicates that this is precisely what the measure does: of its nineteen items, only one (5.26 percent of the total items) appears to assess a belief that is favorable toward rape victims: *Any female can get raped.* Perhaps unsurprisingly, given Burt’s explicit focus on oppression in the creation of the scale, this lone “positive” item also highlights women’s perceived lack of power in rape situations.

Unlike Feild (1978), Burt (1980) explicitly identified her theoretical framework as drawing on feminist analyses of rape—specifically, those feminist analyses concerned with attitudes and beliefs that are “part of a pervasive ideology that effectively supports or excuses sexual assault” (p. 218). Burt (1980) also disclosed her methodological position as being based on feminist writing and her own rape-related fieldwork experiences. Like Feild (1978), however, Burt (1980) too failed to provide any rational for her oppression-only focus beyond her opening statement that it was a current trend in the “burgeoning popular literature on rape” (p. 217).
The third commonly used assessment in the rape victim literature has been Deitz et al.’s (1982) Rape Empathy Scale (RES), which consists of nineteen items \((\alpha = .84\) for a college student sample and \(.89\) for a sample of jurors) designed to assess potential jurors’ levels of empathy toward both rape victims and rape perpetrators. That is, the RES assesses individuals’ “relative tendency…to assume the psychological perspective of the rape victim or the rapist in viewing a rape incident” (p. 347). The RES’s face validity suggests that the measure fulfills this purpose: each of the nineteen items is constructed of paired statements—intended to parallel opposing attorneys’ presentations—representing extreme empathy with either rape victims (e.g., *I can really empathize with the helplessness a victim might feel during a rape if all of her attempts to resist the rape have failed*) or rape perpetrators (e.g., *I can really empathize with the helplessness a rapist might feel during a rape, since he’s at the mercy of forces beyond his control*). Notably, this construction results in an equal number of statements favoring rape victims and rape perpetrators. However, of the nineteen victim-favoring statements, eleven (57.89% of the total items) continue the apparent trend of highlighting women’s perceived lack of power in items that appear to be intended to be positive toward rape victims (e.g., *I feel it is possible for a man to rape a woman against her will*). Further, three (1.58% of the total items) of the remaining “positive” statements pertain to both rape victims and rape perpetrators (e.g., *If a rape trial were publicized in the press, I feel the rape victim would suffer more emotional trauma from the publicity than the rapist*), and two (1.05% of the total items) pertain to rape perpetrators only (e.g., *In a court of law, I feel that the rapist must be held accountable for his behavior during the rape*), leaving only three statements (1.58% of the total items) that are truly positive toward rape victims without implying that women lack power in rape situations (e.g., *A
woman has the right to dress in a sexually attractive way whether she is really interested in having sexual relations or not).

Deitz et al.’s (1982) methodological framework in the creation of the RES was simply to address limitations in Feild’s (1978) and Burt’s (1980) measures (e.g., the lack of evidence of each measure’s predictive validity, the single statement format of each measure). To do so, Deitz et al. (1982) assessed the validation of the RES through the theoretical lens of attribution theories (e.g., Jones & Nisbett, 1971; Lerner & Miller, 1978), which suggest that individuals attribute their own actions to situational constrictions and the actions of others to personological dispositions—though the latter occurs to a lesser degree when empathy for the women who were raped is evoked. Within this framework, Deitz et al. (1982) found that higher versus lower levels of both student and juror empathy with rape victims (as measured by the RES) were associated with less responsibility attributed to rape victims and more responsibility attributed to rape perpetrators.

Finally, the fourth commonly used measure to assess rape-related attitudes and beliefs has been Ward’s (1988) Attitudes Toward Rape Victims Scale (ARVS). The ARVS consists of twenty-five items intended to tap supportive/favorable and unsupportive/unfavorable predispositions toward rape victims with emphasis on those attitudes that reflect disbelief, blame, or denigration and/or trivialize the seriousness of rape and, consequently, its effects on victims (p. 131). Like Burt (1980) and Deitz et al., (1982), Ward (1988) too provided a more precise statement of the ARVS’s intended use, identifying an emphasis in the measure on rape-supportive attitudes and beliefs. Inspection of the ARVS appears to reflect this purpose. Eight items (32 percent of the total items) appear to assess rape-related attitudes and beliefs reflecting favor for rape victims.
(e.g., *A raped woman is usually an innocent victim*). Thus, the ARVS is exceptional among such measures in the rape victim literature, with items that not only assess more positive outcomes, but also reflect more diverse conceptualizations of women who have been raped.

The rationale for the selection of items in the measure was made explicit in Ward’s (1988) revelation of at least some of her methodological (though not theoretical) frameworks. Like the RMAS, the ARVS was also developed based on “the popular literature on rape victimology” (p. 127) and “emerging cross-cultural interest in these issues” (p. 129). Further, the ARVS was created, like Deitz et al.’s (1982) scale, to address limitations in Feild’s (1978) and Burt’s (1980) measures (e.g., theoretical problems with assessing the ATRS’s multidimensional factors as a unified whole; ambiguous, awkward, lengthy, or idiomatic language in the RMAS). The ARVS was also created to examine cross-cultural differences and similarities in individuals’ primarily negative rape-related attitudes and beliefs (which was demonstrated in comparison of scores for participants from Singapore and the United States). More specifically, Ward (1988) emphasized that the focus of the ARVS was on attitudes and beliefs specifically related to rape victims, rather than related to rape in general and/or to rape perpetrators.

In sum, the rape victim literature pertaining to individuals’ rape-related attitudes and beliefs appears to emphasize oppression in two primary ways. First, this body of work has emphasized oppression by focusing on individuals’ negative attitudes toward rape victims and their false beliefs about rape, rape victims, and rape perpetrators, as well as on the negative antecedents and outcomes of such attitudes and beliefs. Second, the most popular instruments

6 Notably, an interest in the attitudes, beliefs, and perspectives of non-majority groups is a central aspect of women of color feminisms. Although Ward (1988) did not identify a particular theoretical perspective, her interest in cross-cultural research and the numerous references made to feminist authors in the rape victim literature (e.g., Brownmiller, 1975) suggest the underlying presence of feminist theoretical perspectives in Ward’s (1988) work.
used to measure individuals’ rape-related attitudes and beliefs have selectively assessed prejudices and stereotypes. As such, all but one of the four popular measures contain only a few items apparently intended to assess favorable attitudes and beliefs related to rape victims; however, even these items most frequently reflect (and thus potentially reinforce) the perception that women are powerless, both generally in society and specifically in rape situations. As a result, the rape victim literature pertaining to individuals’ attitudes and beliefs have left little room for understanding how prejudices and stereotypes may be resisted—either by society in general, or by rape victims in particular.

An extension of the research pertaining to individuals’ attitudes and beliefs related to rape victims in general is a body of research exploring individuals’ perceptions of specific rape scenarios. As in the rape victim attitude and belief literature, the rape victim perception literature also has an apparent emphasis on oppression through its assessment of individuals’ negative rape-related perceptions. More specifically, the rape victim perception literature has examined the extent to which individuals attribute blame and responsibility to specific rape victims (and, to a lesser extent, to specific rape perpetrators), and the extent to which individuals minimize the seriousness of specific rape crimes.

One meta-analysis of the rape victim perception literature (Hockett, Smith, Klausing, & Saucier, in press) found that many studies in this area have relied on unstandardized measures of blame, responsibility, and rape minimization to assess these perceptions. Such measures have assessed the extents to which individuals perceive both specific rape victims and specific rape perpetrators as being to blame and responsible for the specific rape scenarios. However, most of the emphasis has been on perceptions of the rape victims, including assessment of the extents to which individuals perceive specific rape victims as experiencing pleasure or enjoyment (e.g.,
Angelone, Mitchell & Pilafova, 2007; Monson, Byrd, & Langhinrichsen-Rohling, 1996; Tieger, 1981) and trauma (e.g., Angelone, et al., 2007, Howells et al., 1984; Katz, Moore, & Tkachuk, 2007; Schneider, 1992; Szymanski, Devlin, Chrisler, & Vyse, 1993) from the rape. Also assessed have been the extents to which individuals perceive that specific rape victims encouraged (e.g., Deitz & Byrnes, 1981; Schneider, 1992; Szymanski, et al.; 1993), provoked (e.g., Gerdes, Dammann, & Heilig, 1988), caused (Howells et al., 1984), or were “asking for” (McLendon et al., 1994; Sims, Noel, & Maisto, 2007) the rape through their behavior (Howells et al., 1984; Levett & Kuhn, 1991; Sheldon-Keller, Lloyd-McGarvey, West, & Canterbury, 1994; Sims et al., 2007; Wakelin, 2003) and/or on the basis of personological characteristics (e.g., Levett & Kuhn, 1991; Wakelin, 2003). Other unstandardized measures used in the rape victim literature have assessed individuals’ perceptions of the victims’ control in the rape situations (e.g., Katz, et al., 2007; McLendon et al., 1994; Monson et al., 1996; Schneider, 1992; Schneider, Mori, Lambert, & Wong, 2008; Wakelin, 2003), the victims’ desire for or interest in sex (Kowalski, 1992; Maurer & Robinson, 2007; Monson et al., 1996; Priote, Dannelis, & Benton, 1993; Sims, et al., 2007; Wakelin, 2003), and the victims’ credibility (Ryckman et al., 1998). Finally, unstandardized assessments have also examined individuals’ perceptions that what occurred in specific scenarios could be considered rape (Maurer & Robinson, 2007; McLendon et al., 1994; Monson et al., 1996; Sleed, Durrheim, Kriel, Solomon, & Baxter, 2002) and the extent to which it was a serious offense or incident (Deitz & Byrnes, 1981; MacRae & Shepherd, 1989; Stacy, Prisbell, & Tollefsrud, 1992; Szymanski, et al., 1993; Tieger, 1981). While this list of unstandardized measures of individuals’ perceptions of specific rape victims, perpetrators, and situations is quite extensive and varied, it is clear that most of these assessments have focused on individuals’ negative perceptions of rape victims. Although lower
scores on these types of assessments would indicate less negative perceptions of specific rape victims, perceptions that may be favorable of rape victims have not been directly assessed.

Unfortunately, among commonly used standardized measures, the emphasis on negative perceptions of rape victims has remained. For example, one measure that has been used in the rape victim perception literature is the Case Reaction Questionnaire (Schult & Schneider, 1991). This measure consists of ten items assessing the extent to which participants believe that the victim should accept blame, used poor judgment, blames the assailant, engages in self-blame, contributed to the assault through her behavior, habitually places herself in these situations, caused the rape through her behavior, could have prevented what occurred, is at fault, and had an unconscious desire to be sexually assaulted.

Two additional measures that have often been used to assess individuals’ perceptions of particular rape victims are the Rape-Supportive Attribution Scale (RSAS; Langhinrichsen-Rohling & Monson, 1998) and the Sex-Role Stereotypical Victim Blame Attribution Scale (SRSVBAS; Langhinrichsen-Rohling & Monson, 1998). Often used in conjunction with each other, these measures each consist of four items assessing the extent to which participants believe that a particular rape situation was violent, that the situation was a violation of the victim’s rights, that the incident would be considered rape, that the situation was under the control of the victim, and that the situation was enjoyed by the victim. These measures also assess participants’ perceptions of the victims’ obligation to engage in sexual relations, the victims’ interest in having sexual relations, and the extent of psychological damage experienced by the victims as a result of their specific rape situations.

Finally, other established measures have simply asked participants’ to report the extent to which they consider the crime to be the victim’s fault (e.g., Jones & Aronson, 1973). As with
the unstandardized measures, these and other standardized measures have primarily asked participants to report their negative perceptions of rape victims, providing no opportunities for participants to report positive perceptions. In sum, a review of the measures most commonly used to assess individuals’ perceptions of rape victims has demonstrated that favorable perceptions of rape victims potentially held by individuals remain emulsified in the emphasis on negative perceptions.

**Rape Scripts**

In relation to the research on individuals’ rape-related attitudes, beliefs, and perceptions, one final body of literature has assessed individuals’ belief in and support for stereotypic rape scripts. Research has shown that individuals’ common rape scripts define rape more narrowly than it is reflected in law and in women’s actual experiences. For example, stereotypic rape scripts commonly identified in the rape victim literature include the beliefs that most rapes are spontaneous, violent, and physically injurious attacks perpetrated by strangers in deserted public locations against “respectable” women who show signs of obvious distress when immediately reporting the assault to police (e.g., Du Mont, Miller, & Myhr, 2003; Maier, 2008; Nightingale, 1991; Razack, 1994; Russell, 1980; Weis & Borges, 1973; Williams, 1984). The rape victim literature has found that when rapes fail to conform to these narrow scripts, more blame is attributed to the victims than when rapes do conform to stereotypic scripts (e.g., Peterson & Muehlenhard, 2004). Thus, rape scripts are similar to rape myths in that they reflect individuals’ false beliefs about what “typically” occurs during a rape (Peterson & Muehlenhard, 2004). However, rape scripts are unique from rape myths in that individuals tend to perceive women whose experiences reflect rape myths more negatively, and women whose experiences reflect rape scripts more positively (Hockett, Saucier, & Badke, in press a; also see Hockett, Hanschu,
& Saucier, under review). In other words, a woman’s experience that is consistent with rape scripts cues victim-supportive attitudes because it matches individuals’ stereotypic ideas of what rape “should” be like.

Notably, a recent meta-analysis of the literature on perceptions of rape victims (Hockett et al., in press b) showed that many of the rape vignettes currently used to prime assessments of individuals’ perceptions of and attitudes toward rape victims may actually be limited by their portrayals of women who are raped in ways that are primarily consistent with common rape myth beliefs (e.g., depicting the victim as drinking alcohol uninfluenced by the perpetrator) or stereotypic rape scripts (e.g., depicting the victim as being completely non-intoxicated). Given that many such portrayals used to assess college students’ perceptions have ostensibly depicted college women as victims and college men as perpetrators, these portrayals may be especially limiting when considering potential portrayals that may be more representative of the actual experiences of many women who are raped on college campuses (e.g., depicting the perpetrator as encouraging the victim to become intoxicated as a coercive technique). In general, the meta-analysis concluded that many of the representations of rape utilized throughout the psychological rape victim literature have primarily reflected—and thus potentially reinforced—individuals’ common rape myth beliefs and stereotypic rape scripts rather than reflecting rape scenarios that may be more common among college women (e.g., Lisak, 2010; Lisak & Miller, 2002; McWhorter, Stander, Merrill, Thomsen, & Milner, 2009). Demonstrating further support for this critique of the traditional rape victim literature, recently completed research (Hockett et al., in press a; Hockett et al., under review) demonstrated that indeed, college students tend to have less negative perceptions of female college student rape victims in vignettes that reflect the actual
experiences of many college women who are raped versus those that reflect individuals’ false beliefs (i.e., myths and scripts).

**Reactions to Rape Victims**

Finally, some of the rape victim research has examined the affective and interpersonal reactions experienced by partners and family members of rape victims following the victims’ disclosure of the rapes. In general, the rape victim literature has shown that these reactions are largely negative (for a review, see Ahrens & Campbell, 2000). For example, affective responses have included anger, rage, resentment, physical revulsion, anxiety, concern, hostility, intrusive thoughts, low self-esteem/self-worth, powerlessness, PTSD, vulnerability, guilt, self-blame, helplessness, desires for revenge and retribution, depression, fearfulness, denial, humiliation, resentment, shame, emotional drain, hurt, loss (of security, of view of the world as fair), grief, loss, shock, and feelings of being trapped, of failure to protect the victim, of threats to self-image, of inadequacy (for a review, see Petrak, 2002; Burge, 1983; Emm & McKenry, 1988; Feinauer, 1982; Feinauer & Hippolite, 1987; Figley, 1983; Holmstrom & Burgess, 1979; Miller, Williams, & Bernstein, 1982; Mitchell, 1991; Remer & Elliot, 1988; Riggs & Kilpatrick, 1997; Rodkin, Hunt, & Cowan, 1982; Silverman, 1978; Stone, 1980; White & Rollins, 1981).

Similarly, this research has shown that rape victims’ partners’ and family members’ interpersonal reactions are also negative, including blaming, doubting, resenting, distracting, overprotecting, controlling, patronizing, and withdrawing from victims. Other interpersonal reactions have included keeping the rapes a secret and encouraging the victims’ secrecy, avoiding discussion about the rapes, losing trust in the victims, taking control from the victims for reporting the rapes, rallying support without permission, treating the victims as fragile, feeling neglected by the victims, becoming impatient with the victims’ slow recovery, feeling
confused regarding how to help, and minimizing the victims’ reactions to the rapes. Finally, partners and family members have also reported developing tension in their relationships with the victims, problems communicating with the victims, sexual problems, problems in commitment to and support of the victims, and problems expressing affection to the victims (Burge, 1983; Emm & McKenry, 1988; Feinauer, 1982; Feinauer & Hippolite, 1987; Figley, 1983; Holmstrom & Burgess, 1979; Miller, Williams, & Bernstein, 1982; Mitchell, 1991; Remer & Elliot, 1988; Riggs & Kilpatrick, 1997; Rodkin, Hunt, & Cowan, 1982; Silverman, 1978; Stone, 1980; White & Rollins, 1981). Unfortunately, the rape victim literature has reported only a few positive affective and interpersonal reactions experienced by rape victims’ partners and family members: desires to protect their family (Mitchell, 1991), feeling appreciated and needed by the victim (Figley, 1983), and feeling concern for the victim (Riggs & Kilpatrick, 1997). Clearly, the rape victim literature has supported the conclusion that individuals’ rape-related attitudes, beliefs, perceptions, and behaviors are primarily negative, emphasizing the oppression experienced by women who have been raped.

**Correlates of Attitudes Toward, Beliefs About, and Perceptions of Rape Victims**

Importantly, individuals’ rape-related attitudes, beliefs, perceptions, and behaviors have been shown by the rape victim literature to vary on the basis of a number of factors. Among these factors are characteristics of the rape victims (e.g., her dress, level of intoxication), the crime (e.g., whether it was during the day or at night), and of the perpetrator (e.g., whether he was known to the individual who was raped and to what extent; e.g., Hockett, et al., in press b). Some research has suggested that it may be the case that variations of these characteristics (e.g., more versus less promiscuous clothing) may evoke differential moral evaluations of the victim.
For example, research has shown that moral evaluations form the foundation for individuals’ spontaneous blame attributions, which, in turn, are justified by individuals to themselves through a process of “blame validation” (Alicke, 1992). Through the blame validation process, individuals then make biased secondary, more specific judgments of the intentionality, controllability, and responsibility or causality of the “blameworthy” event (Ditto, Pizarro, & Tannenbaum, 2009). More specifically, individuals are more likely to report that a behavior was performed intentionally if they view it as morally wrong (Leslie, Knobe, & Cohen, 2006; see Knobe, 2006, for a review), and are more likely to perceive that an individual had causal control over an outcome if they view the individuals’ behavior as reprehensible (Alicke, 1992). Even individuals’ memories of the “blameworthy” event may be distorted, such that various elements of the event are misremembered as providing greater apparent justification for the blame than they actually did. For example, in one study, participants who were primed to blame a target for leaving a restaurant without paying his bill misremembered the bill as being higher than participants who were not primed to blame the target (Pizarro, Laney, Morris, & Loftus, 2006). Thus, it may be the case that moral judgments underlie individuals’ reactions to women who are raped, and may be different for rape victims versus rape survivors. Although this possibility has not yet been directly tested, recent research has offered some preliminary support. Specifically, Tatum and Foubert (2009) demonstrated that college men’s rape myth acceptance was negatively correlated with their tendencies to use postconventional moral reasoning (i.e., moral reasoning not from the perspective of social groups or authorities, but from the perspective of all individuals, such that rules are viewed as useful, but not absolute, mechanisms that should protect human rights; e.g., Kohlberg, 1963, 1984; Colby & Kohlberg, 1987), and also that their rape myth acceptance accounted for significant variance in their moral development.
The social identity characteristics of the perceiver have also been related to differential perceptions of rape victims. For example, men versus women (e.g., Anderson, et al., 1997; Hockett et al., in press b) consistently hold more rape-supportive attitudes, beliefs, and perceptions. People of color versus Whites (e.g., Anderson, et al., 1997; Feild, 1978; Suarez & Gadalla, 2010) have also been shown to hold more rape-supportive attitudes and beliefs. Finally, older versus younger participants have been shown by one meta-analysis to hold more rape-supportive attitudes and beliefs across multiple measures (Anderson et al., 1997), although another meta-analysis showed no significant overall age group differences on the RMAS (Suarez & Gadalla, 2010), and a third meta-analysis demonstrated that adolescents versus young adults have more negative perceptions of specific rape victims (e.g., Hockett et al., in press b).

Variation in individuals’ rape-related attitudes, beliefs, and perceptions has been accounted for by various non-demographic individual differences as well. For example, rape-supportive attitudes and beliefs have been correlated with individuals’ beliefs related to other types of violence, conflict, and dominance. Such correlates have included the beliefs that men’s and women’s relationships are inherently adversarial, acceptance of interpersonal violence, sex role stereotyping (e.g., Burt, 1980; Rapaport & Burkhart, 1984; Ward, 1988), negative attitudes toward women (e.g., Deitz et al., 1982), conservative political beliefs, religiousness (e.g., Fischer, 1986; Weir & Wrightsman, 1990), attraction to violent sexuality (e.g., the belief that “sex is more fun if the woman fights a little,” Monto & Hotaling, 2001, p. 283), anticipation of and fantasies about sexual dominance (Chiroro et al., 2004), and support for masculine norms reflecting power over women (Locke & Mahalik, 2005; see Anderson et al., 1997, for a meta-analytic review of correlates of rape-related attitudes and beliefs; also see Abbey & Harnish, 1995; Bohner & Lampridis, 2004; Lopez, Goerge, & Davis, 2007).
Importantly, rape-supportive attitudes and beliefs have also been related to other specific oppressive belief systems, including ageism, classism, racism, religious intolerance, racial dis-identification (that is, being negatively identified with one’s own race; Suarez & Gadalla, 2010), and prejudice against gay men and lesbians (Aosved & Long, 2006). Further, recent research has also found that significant and unique variance in individuals’ rape-related attitudes and beliefs is accounted for by their scores on measures of general intergroup dominance (i.e., right-wing authoritarianism, or the tendency to believe authority figures should be respected and obeyed, and social dominance orientation, or the tendency to believe that group hierarchies should exist) above and beyond participant sex, empathy, political conservatism, belief in a just world, and social desirability (Hockett et al., 2009). Along with meta-analytic correlations between rape-supportive attitudes and beliefs and favorable attitudes toward social status quos (Suarez & Gadalla, 2010), these outcomes have seemed to support feminist theories of power, which have suggested that rape-supportive attitudes and beliefs, along with other unique forms of oppression, are part of the same ideological system of oppressive social power (e.g., Allport, 1954; Hockett et al., 2009; hooks, 1981). Perhaps most startlingly evident of this assertion has been research demonstrating that individuals’ rape-supportive attitudes and beliefs have also been related to higher levels of rape proclivity—that is, individuals’ self-reported likelihood to rape (Ceniti & Malamuth, 1984; Malamuth, 1989a, 1989b; Osland, Fitch, & Willis, 1996; Quackenbush, 1989; also see Bohner, Siebler, & Schmelcher, 2006).7

7 However, other research has also found that men who have and who have not raped women score similarly on measures of rape myth acceptance (e.g., Epps, Haworth, & Swaffer, 1993; Overholser & Beck, 1986), indicating that the possible role of rape-supportive attitudes and beliefs in individuals’ motivations to actually commit rape is deserving of further study.
In addition to its relevance for feminist theories of social power, this body of research has offered support to theories of social dominance (e.g., Pratto et al., 1994; Sidanius et al., 1991) and system justification (e.g., Jost & Banaji, 1994; Jost, Burgess, & Mosso, 2001). Indeed, researchers of attitudes toward rape victims have offered a number of possible explanations fitting into social dominance and system justification frameworks to explain the negative attitudes toward rape victims they often find. For example, Giacopassi and Dull (1986) offered Shaver’s (1970) defensive attribution theory as an explanation for individuals’ tendencies to hold rape mythic beliefs, suggesting that individuals’ accept rape myths due to desires to avoid the association of blame for the rape with their own sex or racial groups. Lonsway and Fitzgerald (1994) theorized about a different motivation for the desire to dissociate from rape. They suggested that acceptance of rape myths may serve to “protect individuals, and society, from confronting the reality and extent of sexual assault” (p. 136; also see Burt, 1991). Similarly, Gilmartin-Zena (1988) offered the just-world hypothesis (e.g., Lerner, 1980; Lerner & Miller, 1978) as an explanation for individuals’ acceptance of rape myths. That is, individuals may accept rape myths to protect their belief that the world is a just place in which bad things (e.g., rape) happen only to people who deserve them (e.g., promiscuous women). These possible self-protective functions of rape myths—avoiding association of blame with in-groups, denying the reality of rape, and supporting a belief in a just world—appear to be related to a false sense of security.

Most notably, a final common theoretical suggestion from the literature has been the possibility that acceptance of rape myths may function as a structural component in maintaining men’s superior social status over women (e.g., Brownmiller, 1975; Burt, 1980, 1983, 1991). This assertion has recently received empirical support in findings by Hockett and colleagues
(2009) that individuals’ attitudes about general intergroup dominance and sex-based oppression significantly and uniquely predicted their acceptance of rape myths. However, research has suggested that social status may be achieved not only through dominance (e.g., fear-based status), but also through prestige (e.g., admiration-based status; Buttermore, 2006). While prestige has not been examined in association with acceptance of rape myths, Bauermeister (1977) suggested that rape itself may serve to aid men in acquiring prestige within their peer groups.

**Outcomes of Attitudes Toward, Beliefs About, and Perceptions of Rape Victims**

Importantly, the rape victim literature has also revealed that women who have been raped may experience social victimization (also known as revictimization or secondary victimization; e.g., Campbell, 1998; Campbell & Raja, 1999; Madigan & Gamble, 1991; Renner, Wackett, & Ganderton, 1988; Russell, 1984; Williams, 1984) as a result of negative responses and treatment by their family, friends, communities, and service-providers. For example, medical service employees, law enforcement officers, and legal professionals have all been shown to hold negative rape-related attitudes and beliefs (Edward & Macleod, 1999; Jordan, 2004).⁸ These and other groups may fail to believe in the experiences of women who have been raped (Yamawaki, 2007), instead blaming the women and holding them responsible (e.g., Calhoun, Selby, & Warring, 1976; Cameron & Stritzke, 2003; Donnerstein & Berkowicz, 1981; Muehlenhard, 1988; Muehlenhard & Rodgers, 1993), and perceiving their experiences as less serious (i.e., less traumatic) than the related outcomes of women who have been raped suggest.

⁸ In contrast, Field (1978) found less accepting attitudes toward rape among rape crisis counselors than among law enforcement officers and other adults.
In other words, these groups may minimize the rape (Yamawaki, 2007; also see Newcombe, Van Den Eynde, Hafner, & Jolly, 2008; Simonson & Subich, 1999), a tendency that may be associated with poorer provision of needed medical and legal services to women who have been raped (e.g., Koss, 2000). The negative experiences of many women who have been raped after being blamed and doubted by others have also been termed the “second rape” (Madigan & Gamble, 1991) and the “second assault” (Martin & Powell, 1994), indicating the extent of psychological and physical trauma that may be caused by this social victimization. Notably, some researchers have suggested that “psychology as a discipline contributes to some degree to this social victimization process both by virtue of what it supports and what it excludes by assumptions about what is legitimate research and service” (Renner et al., 1988, pp. 164-165).

**Attitudes Toward, Beliefs About, Perceptions of, and Behaviors Toward Rape Survivors**

While considerably less research has examined individuals’ rape-related attitudes, beliefs, perceptions, or behaviors in reference to rape survivors (as opposed to referencing rape victims), initial review has seemed to indicate that there may be no differences in the two literatures. For example, of six studies found that assess individuals’ attitudes, beliefs, perceptions, and/or behaviors related to rape survivors, four demonstrated that individuals’ tend to hold mythic beliefs, blaming attitudes and rape minimizing perceptions. These negative beliefs, attitudes, and perceptions were shown to emerge in naturalistic conversations about rape (Anderson, 1999), in relation to other prejudices related to the woman who was raped, such as anti-fat attitudes (Clarke & Stermac, 2011) and racial stereotypes (Donovan, 2007), and even when individuals were instructed to contemplate rape scenarios in which the survivors were close friends or relatives (Ellis, O’Sullivan, & Sowards, 1992). However, these four studies were limited by
critiques similar to those levied against the rape victim literature. Namely, none of these four studies justified or otherwise framed their use of the term “rape survivor,” suggesting that its use may have been neither intentional nor meaningfully (i.e., methodologically or theoretically) differentiated from use of the term “rape victim”. Further, these studies lacked clear theoretical bases; in fact, Anderson (1999) was the only researcher to provide any type of overt theoretical framework guiding the research expectations and methods at all.

In contrast, the remaining studies assessing individuals’ attitudes, beliefs, perceptions and behaviors related to rape survivors showed more positive outcomes. For example, Ahrens and Campbell (2000) found that friends of rape survivors generally responded positively after the rapes were disclosed (e.g., not perceiving the survivors as to blame), although there was significant variation in friends’ reports (e.g., sex differences such that males reported more negative outcomes in their rape-related attitudes, beliefs, perceptions, and behaviors related to their friends who had been raped than did females). Most notably, friends who had been affiliated with the survivors for longer periods of time reported more positive outcomes than did friends who had been affiliated with the survivors for shorter periods of time.

Providing an even greater contrast with the majority of the rape victim literature was the sixth study by Earnshaw, Pitpitan, and Chaudior (2011). The first major difference was that Earnshaw and colleagues’ work was guided by research questions devised to uncover prosocial responses to women who have been raped: “Who participates in anti-rape collective action on college campuses?” and “Who helps survivors of rape?” (p. 382). Earnshaw and colleagues also approached perceptions of rape survivors more broadly than the rape victim literature by assessing individuals’ attributions of blame and responsibility not just to the woman who was raped and the perpetrator, but also to society in general. Partially supporting their hypotheses,
they found that women attributed more fault to society and reported greater desire to engage in anti-rape collective action than men, and that there were no gender differences in participants’ reported likelihood of helping the survivor. Further, Earnshaw and colleagues found that individuals’ more positive attitudes toward feminism, lower levels of rape myth acceptance, and greater perceptions of society’s fault for a specific rape event were predictive of their desires to engage in anti-rape collective action, and that their attributions of fault to the perpetrator and angry reactions to the event were predictive of their intentions to help the survivor. In sum, the research conducted by Earnshaw et al., as well as that conducted by Ahrens and Campbell (2000), revealed more positive outcomes for individuals’ rape-related attitudes, beliefs, perceptions, and behaviors than tend to be found in the rape victim literature.

More broadly, the differences between the summaries presented here from the rape victim and rape survivor literatures have indicated a research opportunity to bridge the two disparate literatures. First, the literature review suggested that differences in individuals’ perceptions of and attitudes toward rape victims and rape survivors should be empirically examined, including exploration of the antecedents and outcomes of these differences. Second, the literature review suggested that more research is needed that assesses individuals’ attitudes, beliefs, perceptions, and behaviors in terms of both negative (i.e., oppressive) and positive (i.e., resistant) outcomes. The current studies sought to fill these gaps. In addition to the justification for the proposed studies provided by the previous literature, four preliminary studies were conducted to begin identification of whether individuals differentially perceive women who are labeled as “rape victims” versus “rape survivors,” offering an initial empirical basis for the primary research.
Preliminary Empirical Basis for the Primary Research

Preliminary Study 1

In the first preliminary study, a pilot study, 48 participants (for whom no demographic information was collected) each listed five characteristics of “rape victims” and five characteristics of “rape survivors.” Two independent judges examined the data and identified three dimensions that emerged consistently through participants’ listed characteristics. The first dimension was the origin of each characteristic—that is, whether each characteristic was personological, existing prior to the rape (e.g., descriptions of the target as “outgoing”); a process, originating as an adaptive or maladaptive coping strategy to deal with the rape (e.g., descriptions of the target as “defensive”); or an outcome, originating as a result of the rape (e.g., descriptions of the target as “afraid”). Identification of a personological element within the origin dimension supported literature demonstrating that individuals tend to make characterological rather than situational attributions for others in general (i.e., the fundamental attribution error; e.g., Jones & Harris, 1967; Ross, 1977) and, more specifically, for women who have been raped (e.g., Levett & Kuhn, 1991; Wakelin, 2003). Identification of a process-related element within the origin dimension reflected one of the fundamental differences in the connotations of the terms “rape victim” and “rape survivor”—that is, the absence (in the former case) or presence (in the latter case) of the ability to adjust, cope with, and adapt to the experience of rape (e.g., Figley, 1985). Finally, identification of an outcome element within the origin dimension suggested that participants may believe some effects of rape are permanent in length and severity, and are thus not effects that may be diminished or eliminated through personological strengths or adaptive coping processes. The second dimension was each characteristic’s inherent attribution of blame and responsibility to the perpetrator (e.g.,
describe the target as “sad”), the woman who was raped (e.g., descriptions of the target as “timid”), or some other group, such as society in general (e.g., descriptions of the target as “uninformed about rape”; e.g., Glenn & Byers, 2009). Finally, the third dimension was each characteristic’s valence—whether it was negative (e.g., descriptions of the target as “gullible”), neutral (e.g., descriptions of the target as “small”), or positive (e.g., descriptions of the target as “caring”) toward the woman who was raped.

**Preliminary Study 2**

In the second preliminary study (reported in Hockett, McGraw, & Saucier, accepted pending revisions), 178 participants (see Table 1 for demographic characteristics) were again asked to list five characteristics of a woman who was raped, but were first randomly assigned to be in either a “rape victim” condition or a “rape survivor” condition. The characteristics provided by participants for the “rape victim” and the “rape survivor” are presented in Figures 1 and 2, respectively, in which larger words represent more frequently reported characteristics. The same two independent judges from the first preliminary study coded participants’ responses on the three dimensions revealed in the first preliminary study (i.e., origin, blame/responsibility, and valence). I conducted chi-square tests of independence to examine the relation between the label used to describe women who have been raped (i.e., “rape victims” versus “rape survivors”) and each of the coded dimensions. The relation between label and characteristic origin was significant, \( \chi^2 (2, N = 806) = 121.67, p < .001 \). As shown in Figure 3, participants were less likely to ascribe personological characteristics to “rape survivors” than to “rape victims” and more likely to ascribe coping characteristics to “rape survivors” than to “rape victims.” The relation between label and valence was also significant, \( \chi^2 (2, N = 808) = 48.716, p < .001 \). As shown in Figure 4, participants ascribed more neutral characteristics to “rape victims” than to
“rape survivors,” and more positive characteristics to “rape survivors” than to “rape victims.”

Finally, the relation between label and attributions of blame/responsibility was not significant, $\chi^2 (2, N = 748) = 1.06, p = .589$—that is, regardless of condition, participants’ characteristics held more inherent attributions of blame/responsibility for the women who were raped than for the perpetrators or others. However, there was a partial association between label and attributions of blame/responsibility for male participants, $\chi^2 (2, N = 338) = 9.28, p = .010$, indicating that the perceivers’ sex impacts whether the label affects the attributions of blame/responsibility. In particular, as shown in Figure 5, although both males and females tended to make inherent attributions of blame/responsibility to the woman who was raped, males, it appears, also tended to attribute more blame/responsibility to perpetrators for “rape survivors” than for “rape victims”.

**Preliminary Study 3**

In the third preliminary study (reported in Hockett et al., accepted pending revisions), 219 participants (see Table 2 for demographic characteristics) reported whether they perceived a woman who has been raped as a “rape victim” or as a “rape survivor” after reading a brief rape vignette in which no categorical descriptors for the woman who was raped were provided, and in which all other elements related to the rape, the woman who has been raped, and the perpetrator were held constant. I used a chi-square goodness of fit test to examine their categorical forced-choice ratings of the woman who was raped, Jenna, as a rape victim ($f = 179$) or as a rape survivor ($f = 40$). Results showed that the difference between the number of participants who labeled Jenna as a “rape victim” and the number of participants who labeled Jenna as a “rape survivor” was significant, $\chi^2 (1) = 88.24, p < .001$ (see Figure 6). More practically, the results showed that approximately four and a half times more participants described Jenna as a “rape
victim” than as a “rape survivor”. This outcome supported my expectations, demonstrating reliance on and reinforcement of common social—and primarily negative—conceptualizations about women who have been raped (e.g., that they are perpetually victims; Thompson, 2000).

**Preliminary Study 4**

Finally, in the fourth preliminary study (reported in Hockett et al., under review), 139 participants (see Table 3 for demographic characteristics) reported their perceptions of a “rape victim,” “rape survivor,” or “woman who has been raped” on a new set of measures designed to provide a broader and more balanced assessment (i.e., assessing both rape-supportive and rape-resistant perceptions) of individuals’ perceptions of women who have been raped than seems to be available in the rape victim literature. After reading a brief rape vignette in which all elements were held constant except for categorical descriptions of the target as a “rape victim,” “rape survivor,” or “woman who has been raped,” participants used a 9-point Likert-type scale from 1 (Disagree very strongly) to 9 (Agree very strongly) to respond to forty-four items (see Appendix A) adapted from previously used victim perception scales (i.e., the RSAS and the SRSV; Langhinrichsen-Rohling & Monson, 1998) or created on the basis of the characteristics ascribed to “rape victims” and “rape survivors” in Preliminary Studies 1 and 2. Thirty-four items were retained to comprise eight new rape perceptions scales identified on the basis of theory (e.g., Lugones, 2003), the results of the two earlier preliminary studies, and previous empirical work (e.g., Feild, 1978; Burt, 1980; Deitz et al., 1982; Ward, 1988). Two of these scales pertained to participants’ perceptions of positive and negative personological characteristics of the woman who was raped, two scales pertained to their perceptions of the extent to which the woman who was raped will engage in coping processes after the rape, two scales pertained to their perceptions of positive and negative outcomes of the rape, and two
scales pertained to their attributions of blame and responsibility to the perpetrator and the woman who was raped for the rape.

The first subscale was comprised of two items and assessed participants’ perceptions of the target’s Positive Personological characteristics (e.g., Jenna is resilient; α = .53). The second subscale was comprised of four items assessed participants’ perceptions of the target’s Negative Personological characteristics (e.g., Jenna is a bad woman; α = .64). The third subscale was comprised of six items and assessed participants’ perceptions of the target’s likelihood of engaging in Adaptive Coping (e.g., Jenna will cope with this experience in healthy ways; α = .70). The fourth subscale was comprised of three items and assessed participants’ perceptions of the target’s likelihood of engaging in Maladaptive Coping (e.g., Jenna will become more reclusive after this experience; α = .48). The fifth subscale was comprised of two items and assessed participants’ perceptions of the target’s likelihood of having Positive Outcomes (e.g., Jenna will be able to help others as a result of this experience; α = .58). The sixth subscale was comprised of six items and assessed participants’ perceptions of the target’s likelihood of having Negative Outcomes as a result of the rape (e.g., Jenna will have difficulty trusting others after this experience; α = .61). The seventh subscale was comprised of five items and assessed participants’ attributions of Perpetrator Blame to Andrew for perpetrating a violent crime (e.g., What Andrew did was bad; α = .54). The eighth subscale was comprised of six items and assessed participants’ attributions of Target Blame to Jenna for precipitating the incident (e.g., Jenna deserves what happened to her; α = .64). All rape-related perceptions were reported on 9-point Likert-type scales from 1 (Disagree very strongly) to 9 (Agree very strongly). All relevant perception items were reverse scored so that higher scores on each scale indicated more positive perceptions of the target. These items retained from the original 44 items are indicated in italics.

48
in Appendix A. After reporting their perceptions of the woman they read about, including their attributions of blame and responsibility to the woman for precipitating the rape, participants completed a number of measures assessing their related attitudes. These measures included assessment of their attitudes toward women who have been raped in general, attitudes toward women in general, and their attitudes related to generalized prejudice.

To analyze the data, I examined how much variation in individuals’ perceptions of the woman they read about was uniquely accounted for by scores representing each of these general factors, as well as by participants’ sex and scores representing their desires to present themselves in socially favorable ways. Analyses of a hierarchical regression showed that participants’ attributions of blame to the woman they read about were first uniquely accounted for by their sex, with males attributing more blame than females ($\beta = -.275, p = .004$). This result supports previous studies, including meta-analytic findings regarding gender differences in perceptions of women who have been raped (Hockett et al., in press b). Analyses also showed that participants’ attributions of blame were uniquely accounted for, beyond participants’ sex, by their attitudes toward women who have been raped in general, with more negative attitudes predicting greater attributions of blame to the specific woman they read about ($\beta = -.388, p < .001$). However, and most interestingly, the label used to describe the woman who had been raped was marginally significant ($p = .053$) in accounting for variation in individuals’ attributions of blame to the woman above and beyond these other factors. Supporting my expectations, I found individuals’ attributions of blame to a “rape victim” were significantly different from their attributions of blame to a “woman who has been raped” ($\beta = .224, p = .033$) and marginally significantly different from their attributions of blame to a “rape survivor” ($\beta = .193, p = .050$), with greater blame being attributed to the woman labeled as a “rape victim” in both cases.
With these four preliminary studies providing an empirical basis, three studies extended this line of research. Studies 1-3 further were expected to provide evidence supporting the assertions that while individuals hold both rape-supportive and rape-resistant perceptions of women who have been raped, they differentially perceive, and report differential intentions to help, “rape victims” versus “rape survivors.”

**Study 1: Predicting Perceptions of “Rape Victims,” “Rape Survivors,” and “Women Who Have Been Raped”**

The goal of the first study was to identify how individuals differentially perceive a woman who has been raped based on categorical descriptions of the target as a “rape victim,” a “rape survivor,” or a “woman who has been raped” (i.e., “Jenna is a rape victim,” “Jenna is a rape survivor,” or “Jenna is a woman who has been raped”; also see Hockett et al., accepted pending revisions). In this study, Hypothesis 1 was based on the results of the first two preliminary studies, as well as past theory and research (e.g., Thompson, 2000) suggesting that the label “rape victim” may be associated with primarily negative connotations (e.g., weakness, powerlessness, vulnerability, immobility, innocence) whereas the label “rape survivor” may be associated with primarily positive connotations (e.g., strength, recovery, adaptive functioning). While such connotations were derived from qualitative research with women who had been raped reflecting on their own self-concepts, my recent review (Hockett & Saucier, under review) demonstrated that these associations generalize across the psychological literature—that is, the label “rape victim” is consistently associated with negative outcomes for and restrictive conceptualizations of women who have been raped, while the label “rape survivor” is consistently associated with more positive outcomes and multidimensional conceptualizations. In that review, we argued that those outcomes reflected social psychological theories of
intergroup dominance (i.e., social dominance theory; Sidanius, et al., 1991), which have suggested that social hierarchies (such as that between men and women) are constructed and maintained via discrimination (whether intentional or not) at individual and intergroup levels (e.g., in which individuals differentially perceive and treat the targets of rape based on the labels representing them).

Thus, Hypothesis 1 was that categorical descriptions of a target who has been raped (i.e., as a “rape victim,” “rape survivor,” or “woman who has been raped”) would be associated with overall differences in participants’ negative and positive perceptions of the woman. Specifically, compared to each other, I predicted that participants exposed to the vignette describing the woman as a “rape victim” would have more negative perceptions of her, and participants exposed to the vignette describing the woman as a “rape survivor” would have more positive perceptions. Less specifically, I offered no predictions regarding the effects of the label “woman who has been raped” on participants’ rape-related perceptions—this label was included exploratorily.

Hypothesis 2 was developed on the basis of feminist theories that rape-related attitudes are primarily driven by intergroup dominance motivations (e.g., Brownmiller, 1975; Burt & Katz, 1987; Chiroro et al., 2004; Ellis, 1989; Ellis, 1991; Groth, Burgess, & Holmstrom, 1977), as well as on the basis of the aforementioned social psychological theories of intergroup dominance (e.g., Sidanius et al., 1991) and on the basis of feminist theories of social power. In particular, feminist theories of social power have conceptualized oppressive social power as “a dynamic or network of non-centralized forces” (Bordo & Heywood, 2004, p. 26) that develops through micro-level (e.g., cognitive, emotional, social learning) processes “in a capillary fashion throughout the social body” (Armstrong, 2006, n.p.), resulting in certain groups and ideologies
achieving systematically (Frye, 2004) dominant statuses. That is, these feminist perspectives have analyzed unique forms of oppressive social power (e.g., attitudes toward rape victims, racism, sexism, heterosexism, classism, ageism) as being inextricably connected within the context of a larger, more general “ideology of domination that permeates Western culture on various levels” (hooks, 2003, p. 51). Previous psychological research has supported the assertions of feminist theories by demonstrating that individuals’ levels of multiple prejudices are positively correlated (e.g., Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson, & Sanford, 1950; Altemeyer, 1996; Aosved & Long, 2006; Bierly, 1985; McFarland, Ageyev, & Abalakina, 1993; Suarez & Gadalla, 2010)—that is, individuals tend to hold generalized prejudice (McFarland, 2010; also see Allport, 1954).

Thus, Hypothesis 2 was that participants’ negative attitudes and false beliefs about rape (i.e., rape myth acceptance; Burt, 1980), as well as their more general attitudes toward women and intergroup dominance attitudes, would be meaningfully associated with their rape-related perceptions. To test these hypotheses, participants completed measures assessing their individual difference attitudes, as well as measures assessing their rape-related perceptions of a “rape victim,” “rape survivor,” or “woman who has been raped.”

**Study 1 Methods**

**Participants**

In partial fulfillment of research requirements for their general psychology courses, 263 undergraduate participants voluntarily signed up for the study using the university’s electronic research participation system. The majority of participants were female (65.8%), heterosexual (95.8%), middle class (86.6%), and first year students (74.9%).

**Materials and Procedure**
Rape vignettes Study 1 employed a 2 (participant sex: Male vs. Female) x 3 (description: Rape Victim vs. Rape Survivor vs. Woman Who Has Been Raped) between-groups design, resulting in the creation of three rape vignettes. Participants were randomly assigned to one of the three conditions. During the 30-minute research sessions (conducted at scheduled times and locations in the Department of Psychological Sciences at a large Midwestern university), participants in groups of approximately 20 were told they would be providing their perceptions of a sexual situation. To minimize the possibility that participants would miss details (i.e., the description of the target as a “rape victim,” “rape survivor,” or “woman who has been raped”), they listened to an audio-recorded, third-person description of a series of interactions between two college students: a male (“Andrew,” the perpetrator) and a female (“Jenna,” the target). Due to the high rates of rape victimization on college campuses, it was likely that many of our participants may have known individuals against whom rape had been perpetrated. Thus, the vignettes portrayed the interactions between the perpetrator and the target in ways that are consistent with what research has shown is common among the experiences of many college women who have been raped—thus, the perpetrator and target were acquainted a very short time before the rape (i.e., a few hours), the perpetrator was a repeat offender who had premeditated the rape, and the perpetrator used multiple forms of coercion (i.e., alcohol, verbal, and physical coercion; e.g., Lisak, 2010; Lisak & Miller, 2002; McWhorter et al., 2009). These elements were held consistent across conditions, with the only manipulations being whether the target was described as a “rape victim,” “rape survivor,” or “woman who has been raped.” The rape vignettes are included in Appendix B. After listening to their randomly assigned audio recording, participants responded to the measures.
**Rape-related perceptions.** Participants completed a series of dependent measures to assess their rape-related perceptions. First, participants wrote a brief description of the target based on what they had heard in the vignette and not on their opinions. This item was included to assess which elements of the target’s description (e.g., her victim or survivor status, her sex, her status as a college student) were most salient to participants.

I used a feeling thermometer (e.g., Haddock, Zanna, & Esses, 1994) to assess individuals’ general perceptions of the woman who was raped in the vignettes. In particular, participants rated how warmly they felt toward the target on a scale of 0 degrees (*Not at all warm*) to 100 degrees (*Very warm*).

Following these individual items, participants reported their rape-related perceptions on revised versions of the eight scales that were initially developed in Preliminary Study 4. Two items comprised the first scale, which assessed participants’ perceptions of the target’s Positive Personological characteristics (e.g., *Jenna is resilient; α = .57*). Four items comprised the second scale, which assessed participants’ perceptions of the target’s Negative Personological characteristics (e.g., *Jenna is a bad woman; α = .68*). Six items comprised the third scale, which assessed participants’ perceptions of the target’s likelihood to engage in Adaptive Coping (e.g., *Jenna will cope with this experience in healthy ways; α = .71*). Three items comprised the fourth scale, which assessed participants’ perceptions of the target’s likelihood to engage in Maladaptive Coping (e.g., *Jenna will become more reclusive after this experience; α = .55*). Two items comprised the fifth scale, which assessed participants’ perceptions of the target’s likelihood of having Positive Outcomes (e.g., *Jenna will be able to help others as a result of this experience; α = .64*). Six items comprised the sixth scale, which assessed participants’ perceptions of the target’s likelihood of having Negative Outcomes as a result of the rape (e.g.,
Jenna will have difficulty trusting others after this experience; \( \alpha = .76 \). Five items comprised the seventh scale, which assessed participants’ attributions of Perpetrator Blame and responsibility for perpetrating a violent crime (e.g., *What Andrew did was bad; \( \alpha = .79 \)). Finally, seven items comprised the eight scale, which assessed participants’ attributions of Target Blame and responsibility for precipitating the rape (e.g., *Jenna deserves what happened to her; \( \alpha = .76 \)). All rape-related perceptions were reported on 9-point scales from 1 (*Disagree very strongly*) to 9 (*Agree very strongly*). Average scores were computed for each scale by reverse scoring all relevant perception items such that higher scores on the scales indicated greater perceptions of each construct. All of the rape perception scales are included in Appendix C.

Rape myth acceptance measure. I assessed rape myth acceptance using the Attitudes Toward Rape Victims Scale (ARVS; Ward, 1988). Participants indicated their agreement with each of 25 items (e.g., *It would do some women good to be raped; \( \alpha = .77 \)) on a 1 (*Disagree very strongly*) to 5 (*Agree very strongly*) scale. Relevant items were reverse-scored so that higher scores indicated more acceptance of (i.e., belief in) rape myths. This scale is included in Appendix D.

Sex-based oppression measure. I assessed sex-based oppression (i.e., the belief that men are superior to women) using the Hostile Sexism and Benevolent Sexism scales of the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory by Glick and Fiske (1996). Each scale consists of 11 items with which participants reported their levels of agreement using scales from 1 (*Disagree very strongly*) to 9 (*Agree very strongly*). The Hostile Sexism (HS) scale assesses negativity toward women (e.g., *Once a man commits, she puts him on a tight leash; \( \alpha = .84 \)), whereas the Benevolent Sexism (BS) scale assesses sexism demonstrated by stereotypic views of women that result in prosocial behavior, such as helping or protection, and that occur with a more positive
tone toward women (e.g., *Women should be cherished and protected by men*; $\alpha = .76$), but which may restrict women to traditional roles that maintain the male-dominant social status hierarchy. Relevant items on each scale were reverse scored so that higher scores indicated higher levels of sexism. These scales are included in Appendix E.

**Intergroup dominance attitude measures.** I assessed intergroup dominance attitudes using four measures. The first two measures assessed attitudes supportive of intergroup dominance, while the second two measures assessed attitudes resistant to intergroup dominance (McFarland, 2010). The first measure was the 16-item Social Dominance Orientation (SDO) scale by Pratto et al. (1994), which assesses individuals’ beliefs that group hierarchies should exist in society. SDO has been shown in previous research (e.g., Hockett et al., 2009) to have strong predictive ability for RMA. Participants indicated their agreement using a scale from 1 (Disagree very strongly) to 9 (Agree very strongly) to statements about the positioning of groups in a social hierarchy (e.g., *To get ahead in life, it is sometimes necessary to step on other groups*; $\alpha = .92$). Relevant items were reverse scored so that higher scores indicated higher levels of SDO. This scale is included in Appendix F.

The second measure selected to assess intergroup dominance attitudes was Altemeyer’s (1988) 30-item measure of Right Wing Authoritarianism (RWA), which assesses individuals’ beliefs that authority and social conventions should be respected and obeyed, and that aggression is an appropriate response to failure to conform to authority and convention. RWA has been positively correlated with sexual aggression (e.g., Begany & Milburn, 2002; Walker, Rowe, & Quinsey, 1993) and rape myth acceptance (Hockett et al., 2009). Participants indicated their agreement with 30 statements (e.g., *It is always better to trust the judgment of proper authorities in government and religion than to listen to the noisy rabble-rousers in our society who are...*
trying to create doubt in people’s minds; \( \alpha = .65 \) using a scale from 1 (Disagree very strongly) to 9 (Agree very strongly). Relevant items were reverse scored so that higher scores indicated higher levels of RWA. This scale is included in Appendix G.

The third measure selected to assess individuals’ intergroup dominance attitudes was Katz & Hass’ (1988) 10-item Humanitarianism-Egalitarianism scale (HE), which assesses individuals’ tendency to adhere “to the democratic ideals of equality, social justice, and concern for the others' wellbeing” (p. 894) and reflects a “moral reasoning that has transcended both self-interest and reliance upon the conventional norms of one’s society and that seeks abstract ethical principles that are just for governing all humanity” (McFarland, 2010, p. 464). I expected that participants who scored higher on HE would be less likely to report negative perceptions of the rape target than individuals who scored lower on HE. To complete this measure, participants reported their agreement with ten items (e.g., Acting to protect the rights and interests of other members of the community is a major obligation for all persons; \( \alpha = .88 \)) on scales from 1 (Strongly disagree) to 9 (Strongly agree). This scale is included in Appendix H.

The final measure selected to assess individuals’ intergroup dominance attitudes was Davis’ (1980) 7-item Empathic Concern and 7-item Perspective Taking Scales (EC-PT). Each scale consists of seven items to which participants reported their levels of agreement using scales from 1 (Does not describe me well) to 9 (Describes me very well). The Empathic Concern (EC) scale assesses individuals’ feelings of sympathy and compassion toward others (e.g., I often have tender, concerned feelings for people less fortunate than me; \( \alpha = .78 \)), while the Perspective-Taking (PT) scale assesses individuals’ tendencies to take the perspectives of others (e.g., Before criticizing somebody, I try to imagine how I would feel if I were in their place; \( \alpha = .81 \)). I expected that participants who scored higher on EC-PT would be less likely to report prejudice.
toward women who have been raped than individuals who scored lower on EC-PT. These scales are included in Appendix I.

**Demographic items.** Participants completed a number of items assessing their demographic information, including their sex, socioeconomic status, and sexual orientation. These demographic items were assessed on the basis of literature showing that individuals’ own social identities may significantly influence their perceptions of women who have been raped. More specifically, I was interested in examining the relationship between participants’ sex and their rape-related perceptions, given the previously discussed feminist theories of rape and social psychological theories of intergroup dominance, as well as the abundant evidence indicating that men tend to hold more rape-supportive attitudes than women (e.g., Anderson, Cooper, & Okamura, 1997; Davies & McCartney, 2003; George & Martínez, 2002; Hockett et al., in press b). These items are included in Appendix J.

**Social desirability measure.** Because rape is a sensitive topic about which individuals may feel motivated to respond in socially acceptable ways, participants’ need for social approval in testing situations was assessed with the Marlowe-Crowne social desirability measure (Crowne & Marlowe, 1964). This scale consists of 33 statements that participants who are motivated to present themselves in socially desirable ways are more likely to report as being true (e.g., *I’m always willing to admit it when I make a mistake*) or false (e.g., *I sometimes feel resentful when I don’t get my way*) of themselves (Kuder-Richardson formula 20 coefficient = .88; Crowne & Marlowe, 1964). Participants’ scores on this measure consisted of the number of socially desirable responses they reported, with higher scores indicating greater need for approval. This scale is included in Appendix K.
Manipulation check question. Finally, a manipulation check question was included at the end of the questionnaire packets, for which participants circled the best identifier ("rape victim," "rape survivor," or "woman who was raped") for the target based only on the description they heard, not on their opinions. This scale is included in Appendix L. After completing this item, participants were thanked for their participation, debriefed regarding the purpose of the research, provided with contact information for local and national sexual assault services (see Appendix M), and dismissed. The research was fully compliant with APA ethical standards, and was approved by the university’s Institutional Review Board.

Study 1 Results and Discussion

Manipulation Check

The majority of participants (64.6%) correctly responded to the manipulation check question asking them to circle the best identifier for the target (i.e., “rape victim,” “rape survivor,” or “woman who has been raped”) based on the description they heard. A chi-square goodness of fit test indicated that participants were significantly more likely to correctly versus incorrectly respond, $\chi^2 (1, N = 263) = 22.54, p < .001$. To examine whether participants’ responses on the manipulation check item varied by condition, I conducted a chi-square test of independence to examine the relation between the condition to which participants were randomly assigned (i.e., the description of the target as a “rape victim,” “rape survivor,” or “woman who has been raped”) and whether they provided a correct or incorrect response. No significant differences emerged, $\chi^2 (2, N = 263) = 2.66, p = .26$, indicating that participants in one condition compared to the others were no more likely to provide correct or incorrect responses. Finally, to assess whether participants’ correct versus incorrect responses on the manipulation check item influenced their responses on the dependent variables, I conducted independent samples $t$-tests.
Results indicated no significant differences, \( ts < |1.80|, ps > .07 \). On the basis of these analyses, participants’ responses to the manipulation check question were excluded from further analyses.

**Participants’ Written Descriptions of the Target**

To assess differences in participants’ responses on the item asking them to write a brief description of the target, I first conducted a chi-square test of independence to examine whether the condition to which participants were randomly assigned (i.e., the description of the target as a “rape victim,” “rape survivor,” or “woman who has been raped”) and their written descriptions of the target were matched versus unmatched. The relation between condition and descriptions was significant, \( \chi^2 (2, N = 263) = 79.32, p < .001 \). As shown in Figure 7, participants in the “woman who has been raped” condition were more likely to provide a written description of the target that was unmatched to their condition compared to participants who were in the “rape victim” or “rape survivor” conditions.

To better clarify this outcome, I examined frequencies of participants’ unmatched responses in the “woman who has been raped” condition. As shown in Figure 8, these participants \( (n = 78) \) most commonly wrote “other” descriptions of the target. In particular, the majority (90.63 percent) of these “other” descriptions referenced the target’s sex/gender without referencing the rape, while the remainder reflected participants’ inferences about other characteristics they imagined the target possessed (i.e., “polite,” “smart and conscious person,” and “strong-willed person”). Sometimes the “other” responses referencing the target’s sex/gender were also made in relation to some additional characteristic participants’ recalled or inferred from the vignette (e.g., “nice woman,” “college female,” “normal girl”), although most (55.17 percent) of the “other” responses referencing the target’s sex/gender did so exclusively (e.g., “woman,” “female,” “girl”). This tendency suggested that participants in the “woman who
has been raped” condition may have perceived the target’s sex/gender as a more salient characteristic than the rape perpetrated against the target. Notably, although one participant wrote that the target was a “rape survivor,” and one participant did not provide a response, the second most common unmatched written description provided by participants in the “woman who has been raped” condition was descriptions of the target as a “rape victim.” This tendency supported the assertion made in previous research (Hockett et al., accepted pending revisions) that individuals tend to rely on common conceptualizations about women who have been raped—in this case, by affixing a label that carries primarily negative connotations.

To determine whether the nature of the written descriptions provided by participants who heard the target described as a “woman who has been raped” affected their responses on the dependent variables, I conducted independent samples t-tests to compare mean scores for participants whose written descriptions of the target were matched versus unmatched to the condition to which they were assigned, within each condition, on each of the dependent measures assessing their rape-related perceptions. First, I compared the rape perception scale scores of participants who described the “woman who has been raped” as a “rape victim” versus as something other (e.g., “nice woman,” “female,” “rape survivor”). Marginally significant differences emerged for Positive Outcomes, \( t (54) = -1.92, p = .06 \). That is, participants who described the “woman who has been raped” as a “rape victim” perceived that she would experience less positive outcomes compared to participants who described the “woman who has been raped” by referencing her sex/gender without referencing the rape. No other differences were significant in the “woman who has been raped” condition, \( ts < |1.53|, ps > .21 \). Within the “rape victim” condition, results indicated a significant difference on the Negative Outcomes scale, \( t (90) = 2.62, p = .01 \), such that matched responses were associated with greater
perceptions that the target would experience more negative outcomes ($M = 6.07, SD = 0.97$) compared to unmatched responses ($M = 5.28, SD = 1.03$). No other differences were significant in the “rape victim” condition ($t < |1.71|, ps > .10$). Within the “rape survivor” condition, results again indicated a significant difference on the Negative Outcomes scale, $t (91) = 2.23, p = .03$, such that matched responses were associated with greater perceptions that the target would experience more negative outcomes ($M = 6.19, SD = 1.18$) compared to participants whose written descriptions did not reflect their condition ($M = 5.52, SD = 1.32$). Additionally, results indicated a marginally significant difference on the Adaptive Coping scale, $t (91) = 1.85, p = .07$, such that matched responses were associated with marginally greater perceptions that the target would engage in more adaptive coping strategies. No other differences were significant in the “rape survivor” condition ($t < |1.85|, ps > .23$).

Given that the majority of the written descriptions that did not reflect participants’ conditions were references to the target’s sex/gender (a tendency that held true in the “rape victim” and “rape survivor” conditions, though not as consistently as in the “woman who has been raped” condition), a tentative conclusion was drawn from this pattern of results. Specifically, individuals who were more focused on the woman’s sex/gender rather than her rape as her defining characteristic expected her to experience more positive outcomes and fewer negative outcomes, though also fewer adaptive coping strategies compared to individuals who were more focused on the rape as the woman’s defining feature. Notably, although this tentative conclusion should be more specifically tested with additional research, it is theoretically plausible, reflecting the motivations of the proponents of person-first language within fields pertaining to individuals with disabilities (e.g., Folkins, 1992; Hadley & Brodwin, 1988; Kailes, 1985; LaForge, 1991; Manus, 1975; National Easter Seal Society, n.d.)—that is, language which seeks to de-objectify
and humanize individuals by emphasizing the person while still recognizing the impairment (c.f., Lum, 2010; Millington & Leierer, 1996; United States National Federation of the Blind, 1993). Moreover, these results reflected and extended Hockett and Saucier’s (under review) conclusions that more complex conceptualizations of women who have been raped have seemed to be associated with better rape-related outcomes compared to more limited, stereotypic conceptualizations. These results further suggest that more complex conceptualizations of women who have been raped (i.e., as “women who have been raped” versus as “rape victims” or “rape survivors”) also appear to be associated with less negative and more positive perceptions of targets of rape—a psychosocial phenomenon which, by extension of the literature pertaining to social victimization, likely influences the health outcomes of women who have been raped.

**Sex Differences on the Measures**

To analyze sex differences on the measures, I conducted independent samples t-tests to compare mean scores for male and female participants on each measure regardless of condition (see Table 4). As expected based on prior research, males scored significantly higher than females on the ARVS, ASI-HS, and SDO scales, as well as marginally significantly higher on the ASI-BS. These sex differences indicated that males held more rape myth beliefs, more hostile beliefs about women, greater support for social hierarchies, and marginally more benevolent sexist beliefs about women. Males also scored higher than females on the Negative Personological and Target Blame perception subscales, indicating that males made more negative personological attributions to the target and attributed greater blame and responsibility to her for precipitating the rape. In contrast, females scored higher than males on the Maladaptive Coping perception subscale, indicating that females perceived that the target would
engage in more maladaptive coping, and on the warmth measure, indicating that females felt more warmly toward the target.

**Relationships Between Measures and Potential Social Desirability Effects**

I examined intercorrelations among all measures regardless of condition (see Table 5). Results showed that participants’ social desirability (SD) scores were significantly positively correlated with their Hostile Sexism, Social Dominance Orientation, Maladaptive Coping, and Target Blame scores, and were significantly negatively correlated with their Humanitarianism-Egalitarianism, Empathic Concern, Perspective Taking, Adaptive Coping, and warmth scores. Thus, SD was included in further analyses to control for its effects.

As expected based on previous research and supporting Hypothesis 2 (that participants’ individual differences would be meaningfully associated with their rape-related perceptions), participants’ rape myth acceptance (as measured by the ARVS) and hostile sexism (HS) scores were associated with more negative perceptions of the target (e.g., higher Negative Personological and Target Blame scores, lower Positive Personological and warmth scores). Interestingly, participants’ HS scores were also significantly negatively correlated with their Negative Outcome scores, indicating that as participants’ attitudes toward women became more negative, they perceived the target as less likely to experience negative outcomes as a result of the rape. While this result may initially appear counterintuitive, it demonstrated that hostile attitudes toward women are associated with minimization of the potentially severe mental and physical health consequences of rape.

Notably, participants’ benevolent sexism (BS) scores were associated with more positive perceptions of the target (i.e., Positive Personological and Positive Outcome scores). This outcome was particularly interesting considering that benevolently sexist attitudes have been
argued to reinforce rape culture by promoting women’s adherence to conventional gender roles (e.g., Glick & Fiske, 2001). Given that previous research has shown BS to predict favorable attitudes toward women in such traditional roles (Glick et al., 1997) and blame to targets of acquaintance rape, who arguably violate those roles (Abrams, Viki, Masser, & Bohner, 2003), I surmised that the more positive rape-related perceptions of our participants higher in BS stemmed from the vignettes’ descriptions of the target as relatively gender typical, and as being overcome by the perpetrator’s coercion. That is, because the target was described in the vignettes as social and friendly, and because she ultimately fulfilled her female-submissive gender role through the perpetrator’s successful attainment of sexual intercourse (albeit via rape), participants higher in BS may have perceived the target more positively. However, because this research was among the first studies to examine explicitly positive perceptions of women who have been raped, future research should further explore the relationship between individuals’ levels of BS and their positive rape-related perceptions.

As expected, participants’ levels of social dominance orientation (SDO) were associated with less positive perceptions of the target (i.e., higher Negative Personological and Target Blame scores, lower Positive Outcome, Perpetrator Blame, and warmth scores). The pattern of correlations for participants’ right-wing authoritarianism (RWA) scores was more interesting, however. In particular, participants’ RWA scores were significantly positively correlated with their Positive Personological, Negative Personological, and Adaptive Coping scores. Although the relationships between RWA and participants’ more positive perceptions of the target were not expected, they may reflect similar attitudes to those that appeared to emerge in the previously discussed relationship between BS and more positive perceptions of the target. That is, because RWA represents participants’ attitudes about both authority and social conventions, participants
higher in RWA may have more positively perceived the target because they interpreted her as embodying conventional, submissive femininity and as submitting to conventional masculine authority via the successfully perpetrated rape. Again, however, these relationships should be further explored and replicated in future research.

Also as expected, participants’ humanitarian-egalitarian attitudes (HE) and their tendencies to feel empathy (EC) and take others’ perspectives (PT) were all associated with more positive perceptions of the target (e.g., higher Positive Personological and warmth scores, lower Negative Personological and Target Blame scores). Interestingly, participants’ HE and EC scores were also significantly positively correlated with their Maladaptive Coping scores. This relationship may suggest that individuals’ broad senses of morality and justice and with greater concern for others’ well-being may recognize that engaging in unhealthy coping may be a reasonable response to trauma, but not to the exclusion of eventual healing as indicated by the significant positive correlation between participants’ HE and Positive Outcome scores.

**Regression Models to Predict Rape Perceptions**

*Analytic strategy.* To test Hypothesis 1 (that the categorical descriptions of the target as a “rape victim,” “rape survivor,” or “woman who has been raped” would be associated with differences in participants’ rape-related perceptions) and to further test Hypothesis 2 (that relevant individual differences would be meaningfully associated with participants’ rape-related perceptions), I used hierarchical multiple regression to predict differences in individuals’ perceptions of the target. For each dependent variable, participants’ social desirability scores were entered in Step 1, along with their sex as a dummy coded variable (1 = males, 0 = females) to control for their effects. For the Negative Outcomes perceptions scale, a dummy coded variable representing whether participants’ written descriptions of the targets did or did not
match the conditions to which they were exposed (1 = match, 0 = did not match) was also entered at Step 1 to control for its effect. Participants’ ARVS scores were entered in Step 2, and their HS and BS scores were entered in Step 3, with the expectation that their proximally-related rape myth beliefs would provide initial prediction that was superseded in prediction by their more general attitudes toward women. Participants’ SDO, RWA, EC, PT, and HE scores were entered in Step 4, with the expectation that these variables would account for unique variance in participants’ rape-related perceptions above and beyond the other related factors, given these variables’ relations to intergroup dominance. Finally, the main effect terms for condition were entered in Step 5 as dummy coded variables so that any effects of the label used to describe the woman who was raped could be assessed beyond the effects of participants’ individual differences. The complete regression results are included in Tables 6-14.

**Step 1: Control variables.** Consistent with predictions, Step 1 significantly or marginally significantly predicted participants’ feelings of warmth toward the target ($R^2 = .091, p < .001$), attributions of positive personological characteristics ($R^2 = .030, p = .036$), attributions of negative personological characteristics ($R^2 = .038, p = .014$), expectations for adaptive coping ($R^2 = .025, p = .064$), expectations for maladaptive coping ($R^2 = .049, p = .004$), and attributions of blame and responsibility to the target for precipitating the rape ($R^2 = .046, p < .006$). In particular, participants higher (versus lower) in social desirability and female (versus male) participants reported feeling more warmth toward the target ($\beta$s = -.159 and -.258, respectively, $ps < .05$); male (versus female) participants attributed less positive personological characteristics ($\beta = -.141, p = .037$) and more negative personological characteristics ($\beta = .192, p = .004$) to the target; participants lower (versus higher) in social desirability reported greater perceptions of the target’s likelihood to engage in adaptive coping ($\beta = -.151, p = .024$); participants higher (versus
lower) in social desirability and female (versus male) participants reported greater perceptions of the target’s likelihood to engage in maladaptive coping ($\beta$s = .135 and -.178, respectively, $ps < .05$); and male (versus female) participants attributed more blame and responsibility to the target ($\beta$ = .185, $p = .006$).

**Step 2: Rape myth acceptance.** Supporting Hypothesis 2, Step 2 significantly improved the predictive models for participants’ feelings of warmth toward the target ($\Delta R^2 = .023$, $p = .019$), attributions of positive personological characteristics ($\Delta R^2 = .025$, $p = .019$), attributions of negative personological characteristics ($\Delta R^2 = .200$, $p < .001$), attributions of blame and responsibility to the perpetrator for perpetrating a violent crime ($\Delta R^2 = .021$, $p = .030$), and attributions of blame and responsibility to the target for precipitating the rape ($\Delta R^2 = .188$, $p < .001$). In particular, participants higher (versus lower) in rape myth beliefs felt less warmth toward the target ($\beta = -.157$, $p = .019$), attributed less positive personological characteristics ($\beta = -.161$, $p = .019$) and more negative personological characteristics ($\beta = .457$, $p < .001$) to the target, attributed less blame and responsibility to the perpetrator ($\beta = -.149$, $p = .030$), and attributed more blame and responsibility to the target ($\beta = .443$, $p < .001$).

**Step 3: Sex-based oppression.** Supporting Hypothesis 2, Step 3 significantly improved the predictive model for participants’ attributions of positive personological characteristics ($\Delta R^2 = .063$, $p = .001$) and marginally significantly improved the predictive model for their expectations for positive outcomes for the target ($\Delta R^2 = .024$, $p = .067$). In particular, participants higher (versus lower) in benevolent sexist attitudes toward women reported greater perceptions of positive personological characteristics of the target ($\beta = .254$, $p < .001$) and positive outcomes for the target ($\beta = .150$, $p = .031$). Although these results were not expected,
they may have occurred for the reasons discussed in the intercorrelations section (i.e., because the target was not portrayed as gender-atypical and because she ultimately fulfilled her female-submissive gender role).

**Step 4: Intergroup dominance attitudes.** Supporting Hypothesis 2, Step 4 significantly or marginally significantly improved the predictive models for attributions of positive personological characteristics to the target ($\Delta R^2 = .072, p = .003$), perceptions of positive outcomes for the target ($\Delta R^2 = .059, p = .020$), attributions of blame and responsibility to the perpetrator for perpetrating a violent crime ($\Delta R^2 = .045, p = .070$), and attributions of blame and responsibility to the target for precipitating the rape ($\Delta R^2 = .040, p = .043$). In particular, participants higher (versus lower) in right wing authoritarianism and perspective taking attributed more positive personological characteristics to the target ($\beta$s = .180 and .303, respectively, $ps < .05$); participants higher (versus lower) in humanitarian-egalitarian attitudes reported greater perceptions of positive outcomes for the target ($\beta = .201, p = .018$) and attributed more blame and responsibility to the perpetrator ($\beta = .175, p = .042$); and participants higher (versus lower) in perspective taking attributed less blame and responsibility to the target ($\beta = -.242, p = .011$).

**Step 5: Condition effects.** Finally, supporting Hypothesis 1, Step 5 significantly improved the predictive model for attributions of blame and responsibility to the target for precipitating the rape ($\Delta R^2 = .022, p = .043$). In particular, participants showed no differences in their attributions of blame and responsibility to the target when she was described as a “rape victim” versus a “rape survivor” ($\beta = -.043, p = .522$), but attributed less blame and responsibility to the target when she was described as a “rape victim” versus as “a woman who has been raped” ($\beta = -.174, p = .015$), or as a “rape survivor” versus as “a woman who has been
raped” (β = -.131, p = .065). Although these results did not support my prediction that differences in participants’ perceptions would emerge between the “rape victim” and “rape survivor” conditions, they were particularly interesting in light of my earlier discussion about the written descriptions participants provided for the target in the “woman who has been raped” condition. More specifically, because participants most commonly described the “woman who has been raped” in terms of her sex/gender without referencing the rape, it may have been the case that this label precluded participants from thinking about her status as either an innocent victim or a strong survivor of a traumatic sexual crime. Without such frames of reference that emphasize, in one way or another, the perpetration of a crime, individuals may be more likely to express blaming attributions to the woman herself.

This finding holds implications regarding how individuals perceive targets of rape, particularly when considered in relation to earlier research. Specifically, my preliminary research (Hockett et al., accepted pending revisions) showed that individuals do not differ in their tendencies to think of characteristics blaming the targets of rape (versus perpetrators or other groups such as society) regardless of whether they are directed to think about characteristics pertaining to “rape victims” or to “rape survivors.” The current research findings may thus suggest that emphasizing the rape rather than the woman’s sex/gender (as in the label “woman who has been raped”) may at least buffer the severity of such blaming attributions. Theoretically, our explanation reflects the notion that women who have been raped may use language as one tool of discursively navigating (e.g., Fahs, 2011; Skjelsbæk, 2006; Wood & Rennie, 1994) the paradox created by balancing multiple identities (Thompson, 2000) and shaping the meanings and effects of those identities within complex social contexts (Lugones 2003; Marshall & Wetherell 1989; Thompson 2000). Practically, individuals who find
themselves—as occurs often in “rape culture”—defending or seeking to avoid social victimization may be able to use labels (e.g., “rape victim,” “rape survivor”) and other linguistic devices that emphasize the occurrence of a crime rather than any characteristics about themselves to evoke desired reactions from others (although additional research pertaining to rape-related labels is certainly warranted, given that this research is among the first to examine individuals’ perceptions of such labels).

**Study 1 Conclusion**

The purpose of Study 1 was to examine differences in individuals’ perceptions of a “rape victim,” “rape survivor,” and “woman who has been raped,” as well as to examine how relevant individual differences (i.e., rape myth acceptance, sex-based oppression, intergroup dominance attitudes) were associated with individuals’ rape-related perceptions. My hypotheses (that categorical descriptions of a target of rape would be associated with differences in individuals’ rape-related perceptions and that relevant individual differences would be meaningfully associated with their rape-related perceptions) were generally supported. Specifically, results revealed that participants blamed a target of rape less when she was described as either a “rape victim” or “rape survivor” versus as “a woman who has been raped.” Additionally, participants’ rape myth acceptance, sex-based oppression, and intergroup dominance attitudes were correlated with and predictive of their rape-related perceptions. Thus, together, the results of Study 1 suggest that the labels “rape victim,” “rape survivor,” and “woman who has been raped” may hold meaningful social consequences for women who are raped, beginning with others’ initial reactions based on those categorizations. However, it remains unclear whether individuals’ initial reactions would actually translate into differential treatment of “rape victims,” “rape
survivors,” and “women who have been raped.” This possibility was addressed in Studies 2 and 3.

**Study 2: Intergroup Helping Intentions for “Rape Victims,” “Rape Survivors,” and “Women Who Have Been Raped”**

My goal in Study 2 was to examine whether individuals report different intentions to support an organization intended to help “rape victims,” “rape survivors,” or “women who have been raped.” Previous research has shown that members of out-groups are evaluated less positively and are less likely to receive help than members of ingroups (e.g., Dovidio et al., 2009; Graziano, Habashi, Sheese, & Tobin, 2007; Piliavin, Dovidio, Gaertner, & Clark, 1981). Thus, Hypothesis 1 of Study 2 was (similar to that in Study 1) that categorical descriptions of the organization (i.e., as working on behalf of “rape victims,” “rape survivors,” or “women who have been raped”) would be associated with overall differences in participants’ helping intentions toward the organization. Specifically, compared to each other, I predicted that participants exposed to the vignette describing the organization as working on behalf of “rape victims” would have fewer helping intentions, and participants exposed to the vignette describing the organization as working in behalf of “rape survivors” would have greater helping intentions. As in Study 1, the term “women who have been raped” was included exploratory. Hypothesis 2 was developed on the basis of Shaver’s (1970) defensive attribution theory, which suggested that when individuals believe they could be in a similar situation as a target, greater feelings of personal similarity to the target are associated with less blame for the target. Previous research pertaining to rape has shown some support for this theory, demonstrating that women’s greater reports of personal similarity to a sexual assault victim are associated with less attributions of blame (Bell, Kuriloff, & Lottes, 1994; Dexter, Penrod, Linz, & Saunders, 1997;
Workman & Freeburg, 1999). Similarly, other research has shown that participants who are themselves victims of sexual assault report less attributions of blame (Coller & Resick, 1987; Jenkins & Dambrot, 1987) and greater perceptions of the incident as rape (Mason, Riger, & Foley, 2004) compared to participants who are not victims—however, these differences only reflected trends, and were not statistically significant. Thus, Hypothesis 2 was that these relationships would be mediated by participants’ perceptions of their affiliation with the targets (i.e., “rape victims” versus “rape survivors” versus “women who have been raped”) helped by the organization. This outcome might suggest that categorizing targets as “survivors” or as “women who have been raped” increases participants’ identification—that is, their sense of similarity—with targets, whereas the labels “rape victim” decreases their identification with targets, and that this identification is central in individuals’ intentions to provide intergroup support to the targets of rape.

**Study 2 Methods**

**Participants**

In partial fulfillment of research requirements for their general psychology courses, 120 undergraduate participants voluntarily signed up for the study using the university’s electronic research participation system. The majority of participants were female (61.7%), heterosexual (94.2%), middle-class (77.5%), White (81.7%), first year students (70.8%) between the ages of 17 and 52 ($M_{age} = 20.29$, $SD = 5.24$).

**Materials and Procedure**

**Organization mission statements.** Study 2 employed a one-way between-groups design in which participants were randomly assigned to one of three Women’s Center mission statement conditions manipulating the categorical description of the organization’s help targets: *Rape*
Victims vs. Rape Survivors vs. Women Who Have Been Raped. Participants completed the study online through the university’s electronic research participation system in sessions lasting approximately 30 minutes, and were told they would be providing their intentions to become involved with various campus organizations. There were forty participants per condition. The mission statements are included in Appendix N. After reading their randomly assigned mission statement, participants completed the following measures.

**Intergroup helping intentions measure.** Participants completed a dependent measure to assess their intentions to help the organization. The response form asked participants to indicate whether or not they wished to support the Women’s Center, and if so, to identify how by checking one or more types of support they would be willing to provide (i.e., obtaining more information for personal use, obtaining more information for a student organization, posting fliers on campus, sidewalk chalking, helping to organize an event, receiving training, staffing an information booth on campus, donating money). If participants selected any of the items, they were then asked to indicate how much time per week they would volunteer to help the Women’s Center with seven options ranging from 15-30 minutes per week (coded as 1) to 10 hours per week (coded as 7). If they selected the item regarding financial donations, they were asked to indicate how much money they would like to donate by writing in an amount. Thus, total number of helping items selected ($\alpha = .84$), the amount of money participants would like to donate, and the amount of time participants would volunteer to help the Women’s Center were the dependent measures of participants’ intentions to help, with more helping items and greater amounts of money and time indicating greater intentions to help. This scale is included in Appendix O.
**Affiliation variables.** To ascertain participants’ perceptions of their affiliations with the targets helped by the Women’s Center, participants responded to two measures. The first measure of affiliation was a modified version of the Inclusion of Self in Other Scale (IOS; Aron, Aron, & Smollan, 1992). Although this scale was originally designed to assess closeness in romantic relationships, variations of it have since been used to assess other forms of connectedness (e.g., Mashek, Cannaday, & Tangney, 2007). The IOS was used in the current study to assess individuals’ perceptions of their connectedness to the targets helped by the Women’s Center (i.e., “rape victims,” “rape survivors,” or “women who have been raped”). Participants were asked to select a picture that best described their affiliation with the group to which they were exposed from a set of seven Venn-like diagrams. These diagrams represent different degrees of closeness via variations in the overlap of two circles—one representing the participant and one representing the targets helped by the Women’s Center. The variations progressed linearly, creating a seven-step, interval-level scale ranging from no overlap between self and other (scored as 1) to complete overlap between self and other (scored as 7). Affiliation was also measured with a single item, *How likely would you be to use the term “we” to describe your affiliation with the [rape victims, rape survivors, or women who have been raped] helped by the Women’s Center?* (i.e., their “We-ness”), to which participants responded on a scale from 1 (Not at all likely) to 9 (Extremely likely). These scales are included in Appendix P.

**Demographic items.** Participants responded to the same demographic items as in the previous study. These items are included in Appendix J.

**Social desirability measure.** Participants’ need for social approval in testing situations was assessed using the same measure as in Study 1. This scale is included in Appendix K. After responding to this final measure, participants then received an electronic debriefing statement.
thanking them for participation, clarifying the purpose of the research, and providing them with contact information for local and national sexual assault services (see Appendix M) and the Women’s Center’s actual mission statement (see Appendix Q). The research was conducted in full compliance with APA ethical standards, and was approved by the university’s Institutional Review Board.

**Study 2 Results and Discussion**

**Sex Differences on the Measures**

To analyze sex differences on the helping items selected by participants regardless of condition, I first conducted chi-square tests of independence to examine the relation between participants’ sex and whether they selected or did not select each helping item. This relation was significant for each of the helping items. As shown in Figure 9, female (compared to male) participants were more likely to select each of the helping items. That is, females were more likely than males to request information about volunteering for the Women’s Center, \( \chi^2 (1, N = 118) = 21.19, p < .001 \); to request information about how to involve another student organization with the Women’s Center, \( \chi^2 (1, N = 118) = 16.41, p < .001 \); and to indicate that they would like to volunteer by posting fliers around campus, \( \chi^2 (1, N = 118) = 19.53, p < .001 \), by sidewalk chalking, \( \chi^2 (1, N = 118) = 36.92, p < .001 \), by helping to organize an event, \( \chi^2 (1, N = 118) = 41.53, p < .001 \), by receiving training, \( \chi^2 (1, N = 119) = 21.86, p < .001 \), by staffing an information booth on campus, \( \chi^2 (1, N = 119) = 63.61, p < .001 \), and by donating money, \( \chi^2 (1, N = 115) = 24.43, p < .001 \).

I then used independent samples \( t \)-tests to compare mean scores for male and female participants on the total number of helping items selected, the amount of time they would be willing to contribute to the organization (among participants who selected at least one of the
helping items), the amount of money they would be willing to donate to the organization (among participants who indicated that they would be willing to donate money), the IOS, and the measure of “We-ness” (see Table 16). As expected on the basis of theory and research, results showed a significant difference in the total number of helping items selected by males versus females, such that females selected more helping items than did males. Results also showed a marginally significant difference in male and female participants’ “We-ness”, such that females were more likely to use the term “we” to describe their affiliation with the targets of rape than were males. No sex differences emerged for the amounts of time or money indicated by participants, nor was there a significant difference between males’ and females’ senses of connectedness with the targets helped by the Women’s Center as measured by the IOS.

**Relationships Between Measures and Potential Social Desirability Effects**

Intercorrelations among all measures regardless of condition were also examined (see Table 17). As expected, the total number of helping items selected by participants was significantly positively correlated with the amount of time they would be willing to help per week, with participants’ “We-ness”, and with their perceptions of connectedness with the targets helped by the Women’s Center as measured by the IOS. Participants’ “We-ness” and their IOS scores were also significantly positively correlated. Finally, participants’ social desirability scores had a significant negative relationship with their “We-ness”, indicating that social desirability should be controlled for in subsequent analyses with the “We-ness” variable.

**Regression Models to Predict Intentions to Help**

**Analytic strategy.** To test Hypothesis 1 (that participants would report fewer intentions to help an organization described as working on behalf of “rape victims” and greater intentions to help the organizations described as working on behalf of “rape survivors”), I used hierarchical
multiple regression to predict differences in individuals’ intentions to support the organization. For each dependent variable, participants’ standardized social desirability scores were entered in Step 1, along with their sex as a dummy coded variable (1 = males, 0 = females) to control for their effects. The main effect terms for condition were entered in Step 2 as dummy coded variables so that any effects of the label used to describe the organization could be assessed above and beyond the effects of participants’ social desirability scores and sex. The complete regression results are included in Tables 17-21.

**Step 1: Control variables.** Consistent with predictions, Step 1 significantly improved the predictive model for the total number of helping items selected by participants ($R^2 = .094, p = .005$) and for participants’ perceptions of “we-ness” with the targets helped by the Women’s Center ($R^2 = .062, p = .030$). In particular, replicating the results of our prior correlational analyses, female (versus male) participants ($\beta = -.311, p = .001$) selected more helping items. Additionally, participants higher (versus lower) in social desirability reported moderately lower perceptions of “we-ness” with the targets helped by the Women’s Center ($\beta = -.186, p = .050$), suggesting that association with the targets of rape may be socially undesirable.

**Step 2: Condition effects.** Supporting Hypothesis 1, Step 2 significantly improved the predictive model for the amount of time participants intended to help the Women’s Center ($\Delta R^2 = .169, p = .018$). However, contrary to predictions, participants showed no differences in their intentions to help the organization targeting “rape survivors” versus “rape victims” ($\beta = .238, p = .522$), nor did they show differences in their intentions to help the organization targeting “rape survivors” versus “women who have been raped” ($\beta = -.268, p = .114$). However, participants did intend to spend more time helping the organization targeting “women who have been raped” versus the organization targeting “rape victims” ($\beta = .475, p = .005$). Although (as in Study 1)
these results did not support my prediction that differences in participants’ intentions to help would emerge between the “rape victim” and “rape survivor” conditions, they may provide implications regarding how women who have been raped are treated within social institutions. In particular, research has shown that institutional help provided to women who have been raped varies in its actual helpfulness, sometimes contributing to women’s improved health outcomes and sometimes contributing to their secondary victimization (e.g., Campbell, Wasco, Ahrens, Sefl, & Barnes, 2001; for a review, see Hockett & Saucier, under review). By showing that the rape-related labels used within an institutional setting (i.e., a campus organization) are related to differences in the amounts of time individuals intend to contribute to the institution, the current study suggested that labels may be one factor that may contribute to differences such outcomes. That is, the effect of labels on well-intentioned individuals’ organizational contributions may result in differences in the resources that are available to the constituents of that organization to support their recovery from the effects of rape.

*Test of Mediation*

To test Hypothesis 2 (that the effect of condition on participants’ intentions to help the organizations would be mediated by participants’ perceptions of their affiliation with the targets helped by the organization), I used Hayes and Preacher’s (2013) test of mediation for multicategorical independent variables. Although the path in which condition predicted the amount of time participants indicated they were willing to help the target was significant ($R^2 = .19, p = .03$), the path in which condition predicted participants’ perceptions of affiliation was not significant, for either their IOS scores ($R^2 = .03, p = .73$) or for their perceptions of “we-ness” ($R^2 = .05, p = .54$). Thus, Hypothesis 2 was not supported—that is, the effect of condition on participants’ intentions to help the organization was not mediated by their perceptions of
affiliation with the targets represented by the organization. However, it remains important for future research to continue examining other potential processes by which labels such as “rape victim,” “rape survivor,” and “woman who has been raped” may evoke more empowering or objectifying responses from perceivers.

**Study 2 Conclusion**

The purpose of Study 2 was to examine individuals’ intentions to provide intergroup help to an organization depending on whether it was identified as existing to support “rape victims,” “rape survivors,” or “women who have been raped,” as well as to examine whether this expected effect was mediated by participants’ perceptions of affiliation with the organizations’ constituents. Hypothesis 1 (that categorical descriptions of the organization’s constituents would be associated with differences in individuals’ helping intentions toward the organization) was partially supported by our finding that participants intended to spend more time helping the organization targeting “women who have been raped” versus the organization targeting “rape victims.” However, Hypothesis 2 (that the effect of condition on participants’ intentions to help the organizations would be mediated by their perceptions of their affiliation with the organization’s constituents) was not supported. Thus, the results of Study 2 confirm those of Study 1, suggesting that the labels “rape victim,” “rape survivor,” and “woman who has been raped” may hold meaningful social consequences for women who are raped. However, the mechanism explaining differences in individuals’ helping intentions remained unclear. Thus, Study 3 was intended to further explore possible mediators of the label effects found in Studies 1 and 2, as well as to examine differences in individuals’ perceptions of a target of rape when the rape-related labels were used in more complex interpersonal contexts.
Study 3: Interpersonal Helping Intentions for “Rape Victims” and “Rape Survivors”

In the third study, I assessed differences in the extent to which individuals reported their intentions to provide interpersonal help to the target of rape based on descriptions of a woman as a “rape victim” or as a “rape survivor” using a helping paradigm adapted from Batson et al. (1988). As in Studies 1 and 2, these descriptions included categorical labels (i.e., “Jenna is a rape victim” or “Jenna is a rape survivor”). However, on the basis of the theory and research suggesting that women who have been raped might intentionally use language to navigate identity-constricting dominant constructions of reality (Lugones, 2003) to construct their identities and inform how they are perceived by others within complex social contexts (e.g., Fahs, 2011; Lugones 2003; Marshall & Wetherell 1989; Skjelsbæk, 2006; Thompson 2000; Wood & Rennie, 1994), I also varied qualitative descriptions based on the first and second preliminary studies’ analyses of characteristics participants believe to be common for “rape victims” versus “rape survivors.” In this study, Hypothesis 1 was that these categorical and qualitative descriptions would be associated with overall differences in interpersonal helping intentions for, as well as negative and positive perceptions of the target. Specifically, compared to each other, I predicted that participants exposed to the vignette categorically and qualitatively describing the woman as a “rape victim” would have fewer intentions to help the target, and participants exposed to the vignette categorically and qualitatively describing the woman as a “rape survivor” would have more intentions to help the target. I also assessed whether participants’ motivations to help the woman mediate—that is, account for the effect of—the relationship between the description of the woman who was raped and participants’ intentions to help. Thus, Hypothesis 2 was that participants’ motivations to help the woman would partially
mediate the relationship between the description of the woman who was raped and their intentions to help (Alicke, 1992; Pizarro et al., 2006).

**Study 3 Methods**

**Participants**

In partial fulfillment of research requirements for their general psychology courses or in exchange for extra credit in upper level courses (i.e., Personality Psychology, Social Psychology, and Psychology of Humor), 142 undergraduate participants voluntarily signed up for the study using the university’s electronic research participation system. The majority of participants were female (57%), heterosexual (93%), middle-class (84.5%), White (74.6%), first year students (33.8%) between the ages of 18 and 42 ($M_{age} = 20.89$, $SD = 2.84$).

**Materials and Procedure**

“News from the Personal Side” recorded interview vignettes. Study 3 employed a 2 (participant sex: Male vs. Female) x 2 (categorical description: Rape Victim vs. Rape Survivor) x 2 (qualitative description: Rape Victim vs. Rape Survivor\(^9\)) between-groups design, resulting in the creation of four vignettes. During the 30-minute research sessions (conducted at scheduled times and locations in the Department of Psychological Sciences at a large Midwestern university), participants in groups of up to approximately 20 were told they would be pilot testing a new university radio program, “News From the Personal Side,” as in Batson et al. (1988). Participants were told that the program attempted to go beyond the facts of local news events “to report how these events affect the lives of the individuals involved and to rally the community in their support.” Participants listened to an audio-recorded interview vignette

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\(^9\) Because participants in Preliminary Studies 1 and 2 provided characteristics only for “rape victims” and “rape survivors,” I did not include conditions manipulating descriptions of “women who have been raped” in Study 3.
between a male (“Jeremy Fischer,” the radio disc jockey), and a female (“Jenna Banks,” a junior at the University and the target of a recent rape). In the interview, the target described the circumstances leading up to and following her rape, as well as how the rape caused her emotional and physical traumatic symptoms that were making it difficult for her to maintain good academic standing. As in Study 1, the vignettes portrayed the rape perpetrated against the target in ways that are consistent with what research has shown is common among the experiences of many college women (i.e., the perpetrator and target were acquaintances, the perpetrator was a repeat offender, and the perpetrator used multiple forms of coercion; e.g., Lisak, 2010; Lisak & Miller, 2002; McWhorter et al., 2009). These elements were held consistent across conditions, with the manipulations being the interviewer’s and the target’s categorical descriptions of the target as either a “rape victim” or as a “rape survivor” and their descriptions of the target in terms consistent with characteristics participants in the first and second preliminary studies associated with “rape victims” (e.g., free-spirited, naïve) or “rape survivors” (e.g., self-controlled, knowledgeable). In particular, there were four conditions: “rape victim”-“rape victim” (RV-RV), “rape survivor”-“rape survivor” (RS-RS), “rape victim”-“rape survivor” (RV-RS) and “rape survivor”-“rape victim” (RS-RV). The interview vignette transcripts are included in Appendix R. After listening to their randomly assigned audio recording, participants received requests to provide interpersonal help to the target.

Requests for help. As in Batson et al. (1988), each participant read two letters requesting help for Jenna. The first letter requesting help for the target was ostensibly from one of her professors. The professor’s letter thanked participants for participating in the research and explained that it had occurred to him that some participants may want to help the target, given that the rape caused her emotional and physical traumatic symptoms that were making it difficult
for her to maintain good academic standing. The second letter was from the target, who presented a request for help to participants and described various ways that she needed help (i.e., transportation, class notes, picking up and turning in assignments, typing research papers, dropping of meals). These letters are included in Appendix S. After reading the requests for help, participants responded to the measures.

**Cover story items and interview perceptions.** To ensure participants believed the cover story regarding the radio program pilot test, they completed thirteen items ostensibly assessing their perceptions of the “News From the Personal Side” broadcast, as in Batson et al. (1988). Nine of these items assessed how often participants’ listened to the university student radio station, how much they enjoyed listening to interviews in general, whether they supported the radio station including the program in their regular programming, whether they enjoyed the disc jockey, and their expectations for future episodes of the program. Imbedded within these cover story items were four items that that assessed participants’ perceptions of the specific interview they heard, including the extents to which they perceived the broadcast as interesting, informative, relevant to their lives, and as making them feel more connected to the target. All of these items were reported on 9-point scales from 1 (Disagree very strongly) to 9 (Agree very strongly). Participants’ scores on the four specific interview items were averaged to create a dependent variable of participants’ interview perceptions (α = .74), such that higher scores indicated more positive perceptions of the interview between the disc jockey and the target. These items are included in Appendix T.

**Interpersonal helping intentions response form.** As in Batson et al. (1988), participants received a response form on which they were asked to indicate whether or not they wished to help Jenna. To ensure that participants did not feel that they are Jenna’s only option for
receiving help, the experimenters made it clear that each participant’s response form was not the only response form, and that Jenna’s request was presented to other research participants. The response form asked participants to indicate whether or not they wished to help Jenna, and if so, to identify how they would like to help by checking one or more types of help they would be willing to provide (i.e., providing transportation, dropping off notes, picking up and turning in assignments, typing research papers, dropping of meals) and, given seven options ranging from 15-30 minutes per week (coded as 1) to 10 hours per week (coded as 7), to identify the amount of time they wished to volunteer per week. These items were the dependent measures of participants’ intentions to help, with a desire to help, more helping items (α = .80), and greater amounts of time selected indicating greater intentions to help. These items are included in Appendix U.

**Interpersonal helping motivation variables.** To ascertain participants’ motivations in helping Jenna, participants indicated their agreement with 64 items created from Batson’s (1998) review of predictors for prosocial and altruistic behaviors using a scale from 1 (Disagree very strongly) to 9 (Agree very strongly). Eight items comprised each of eight scales assessing Social Learning Motivations (e.g., *I was taught to help others who need it;* α = .79), Tension-Reduction Motivations (e.g., *Jenna’s situation makes me uncomfortable;* α = .68), social and personal Norms and Roles Motivations (e.g., *It is my social responsibility to help Jenna;* α = .76), Exchange and Equity Motivations (e.g., *Jenna might help me with something if I help her;* α = .80), self and other Attributions Motivations (e.g., *I am a kind and caring person;* α = .76), enhancement and maintenance of Esteem Motivations (e.g., *Helping Jenna would make me a better person;* α = .83), Moral Reasoning Motivations (e.g., *It would be immoral not to help Jenna;* α = .91), and Empathy Motivations (e.g., *I can imagine how Jenna’s experience has
affected her life; $\alpha = .75$). As indicated by the internal consistencies, these scales were reliable. These scales are included in Appendix V.

**Demographic items.** Participants responded to the same demographic items as in Studies 1 and 2. These items are included in Appendix J.

**Social desirability measure.** Participants’ need for social approval in testing situations was assessed using the same measure as in Study 1. This measure is included in Appendix K. After completing this measure, participants were thanked for their participation, debriefed regarding the purpose of the research, provided with contact information for local and national sexual assault services (see Appendix M), and dismissed. The research was fully compliant with APA ethical standards, and was approved by the university’s Institutional Review Board.

**Study 3 Results and Discussion**

**Sex Differences on the Measures**

To analyze sex differences on the helping items selected by participants regardless of condition, I first conducted chi-square tests of independence to examine the relation between participants’ sex and whether they selected or did not select each helping item. This relation was significant for each of the helping items. As shown in Figure 10, and contrary to expectations, male and female participants were not different in their reports that they would like to provide help to the target, $\chi^2 (1, N = 142) = .43, p = .51$, that they would like to provide transportation to the target, $\chi^2 (1, N = 142) = .77, p = .38$, that they would like to deliver notes to the target, $\chi^2 (1, N = 142) = .29, p = .59$, that they would like to pick up and turn in assignments for the target, $\chi^2 (1, N = 142) = .31, p = .58$, that they would like to type research papers for the target, $\chi^2 (1, N = 142) = .13, p = .72$, or that they would like to deliver meals to the target, $\chi^2 (1, N = 142) = .02, p = .89$. 

86
I then used independent samples $t$-tests to compare mean scores for male and female participants on the interview perceptions scales, the total number of helping items selected, the time they would be willing to contribute to help the target, the helping motivations scales, and the measure of social desirability (see Table 22). As expected on the basis of theory and research, results showed a significant difference on the Empathy Motivations scale, such that females (versus males) were more motivated to help the target for reasons pertaining to being able to relate to the target’s struggle, imagining how the experience has affected her life, understanding her needs, expressing care, and desiring to inspire hope in the target. Results also showed a marginally significant difference on the Attributions Motivations scale, such that females (versus males) were more motivated to help the target for reasons pertaining to their perceptions of her as undeserving of what happened, as deserving of help, as innocent, and as a good person, as well as for reasons pertaining to perceptions of themselves as kind and caring, the types of people who cannot refuse help but who provide help in such situations, and as good people. No other significant sex differences emerged.

**Relationships Between Measures and Potential Social Desirability Effects**

I examined intercorrelations among all measures regardless of condition (see Table 23). Results showed that participants’ social desirability (SD) scores were significantly positively correlated with their Attributions Motivations scores. Thus, SD was included in further analyses with this variable to control for its effects. Additionally, as expected, participants’ helping motivations were generally associated with greater amounts of time they intended to help, as well as with more positive perceptions of the interview.

**Differences in Intentions to Help**
Analytic strategy. To help control for Type 1 errors, I conducted a factorial 2 (Categorical label: Rape Victim vs. Rape Survivor) x 2 (Qualitative description: Rape Victim vs. Rape Survivor) between-groups multivariate analysis of co-variance (MANCOVA) controlling for the effects of social desirability, with participants’ interview perceptions, total number of helping items selected, and the amount of time participants intended to help as my dependent variables. Contrary to Hypothesis 1, I found no significant main effects for either the labels (multivariate $F(3, 124) = .990, p = .40$) or qualitative descriptions (multivariate $F(3, 124) = .261, p = .85$) on the participants’ helping motivations, nor did I find any interaction effects (multivariate $F(3, 124) = .186, p = .91$). I then conducted chi-square tests of independence to examine the relation between condition and whether participants selected or did not select each helping item. As shown in Figure 11, and contrary to Hypothesis 1, condition was not significantly associated with differences in individuals intentions to provide help to the target in general, $\chi^2 (3, N = 142) = .03, p = 1.00$, to provide transportation to the target, $\chi^2 (3, N = 142) = 3.14, p = .37$, to deliver notes to the target, $\chi^2 (3, N = 142) = 1.44, p = .70$, to pick up and turn in assignments for the target, $\chi^2 (3, N = 142) = .17, p = .98$, to type research papers for the target, $\chi^2 (3, N = 142) = .76, p = .86$, or to deliver meals to the target, $\chi^2 (3, N = 142) = 1.70, p = .64$.

Test of mediation. Because the effect of condition on the dependent variables was not significant, Hypothesis 2 (that the effect of condition on participants’ intentions to provide interpersonal help to the target would be mediated by participants’ motivations to help the target) could not be tested. However, I conducted a factorial 2 (Categorical label: Rape Victim vs. Rape Survivor) x 2 (Qualitative description: Rape Victim vs. Rape Survivor) between-groups MANCOVA controlling for the effects of social desirability, with participants’ helping motivations as my dependent variables. I found no significant main effects for either the labels
(multivariate $F (8, 115) = .343, p = .95$) or qualitative descriptions (multivariate $F (8, 115) = .910, p = .51$) on the participants’ helping motivations, nor did I find any interaction effects (multivariate $F (8, 115) = .759, p = .64$).

I also conducted a series of regression analyses to examine the effects of participants’ helping motivations on each of the dependent variables. As expected, results indicated that participants’ helping motivations, entered as a group in the regression model, significantly improved the predictive models for their interview perceptions ($R^2 = .389, p < .001$; Social Learning Motivations $\beta = .252, p = .014$; Empathy Motivations $\beta = .217, p = .040$), their intentions to provide help in general ($R^2 = .392, p < .001$; Tension-Reduction Motivations $\beta = -.183, p = .047$; Norms and Roles Motivations $\beta = -.319, p = .005$; Esteem Motivations $\beta = .484, p = .004$; Moral Reasoning Motivations $\beta = .409, p = .016$), the total number of items participants selected ($R^2 = .405, p < .001$; Social Learning Motivations $\beta = .275, p = .007$; Norms and Roles Motivations $\beta = -.254, p = .024$; Esteem Motivations $\beta = .360, p = .031$; Moral Reasoning Motivations $\beta = .406, p = .016$), as well as for their more specific desires to provide transportation ($R^2 = .213, p < .001$; Tension Reduction Motivations $\beta = -.250, p = .018$), deliver notes ($R^2 = .263, p < .001$; Social Learning Motivations $\beta = .354, p = .002$; Esteem Enhancement and Maintenance Motivations $\beta = .400, p = .032$), pick up and turn in assignments ($R^2 = .230, p < .001$; Social Learning Motivations $\beta = .410, p < .001$), type research papers ($R^2 = .140, p = .015$; Moral Reasoning Motivations $\beta = .517, p = .011$), and deliver meals ($R^2 = .225, p < .001$; Social Learning Motivations $\beta = .227, p = .048$).
**Study 3 Conclusion**

The purpose of Study 3 was to examine individuals’ intentions to provide interpersonal help to a target of rape depending on how she was categorically (as a “rape victim” or as a “rape survivor”) and qualitatively (in terms consistent with stereotypes of “rape victims” versus “rape survivors”) identified, as well as to examine whether this expected effect was mediated by participants’ helping motivations. Hypothesis 1 (that these categorical and qualitative descriptions would be associated with overall differences in the negative and positive perceptions of the target) was not supported. Although contrary to my expectations, I believe this lack of effect is theoretically meaningful. It may suggest that when a woman who has been raped uses other aspects of language beyond labels to discursively navigate (e.g., Fahs, 2011; Skjelsbæk, 2006; Wood & Rennie, 1994) the “victim-survivor” paradox (Thompson, 2000), her resistance to the identity-constricting dominant construction of reality (Lugones, 2003) does indeed influence how she is perceived within complex social contexts (Lugones 2003; Marshall & Wetherell 1989; Thompson 2000). In particular, by qualitatively describing her experiences as a “rape victim” and/or as a “rape survivor,” a woman who has been raped may avoid the potentially negative perceptions associated with the use of categorical labels alone.

Due to the lack of support for Hypothesis 1, Hypothesis 2 (that participants’ motivations to help the target would partially mediate the relationship between the description of the woman who was raped and their intentions to help) could not be tested. However, different helping motivations were significantly associated with individuals’ perceptions of a target of rape and their intentions to help her. In particular, the pattern of results suggested that individuals’ social learning, tension-reduction, esteem, and moral reasoning motivations may be especially relevant to understanding individuals’ interpersonal helping intentions toward a woman who has been raped. However, depending on other characteristics of the targets (e.g., race, socioeconomic
status), the situations (e.g., interpersonal or intergroup, emergency versus non-emergency), and the individuals themselves (e.g., world views, cognitive biases), different motivations may inspire different degrees and types of help. Thus, future research should more thoroughly investigate the role of helping motivations in individuals’ helping intentions.

**General Discussion**

Together, these three studies assessed differences in individuals’ rape-related perceptions (Study 1), intergroup helping intentions (Study 2), and interpersonal helping intentions (Study 3) pertaining to “rape victims,” “rape survivors,” and “women who have been raped.” My results generally supported feminist (e.g., Lugones, 2003), social psychological (Pratto et al., 1994; Sidanius et al., 1991), and linguistic (e.g., Bourdieu, 1991) theories of social power, as well as my hypotheses based on these theories that differences would emerge in individuals’ rape-related perceptions and helping intentions based on the labels to which participants were exposed. Specifically, my results suggested that participants’ free response descriptions of a rape target, which focused primarily on her gender, were associated with perceptions that she would experience more positive and less negative outcomes, but also that she would engage in fewer adaptive coping strategies (Study 1). Additionally, the label “woman who has been raped” was associated with more blame than the “rape victim” and “rape survivor” labels (Study 1), as well as with greater intentions to provide intergroup help to a Women’s Center (Study 2). In both Studies 1 and 2, emphasizing the target’s identity as a woman in the label “woman who has been raped” may have made the target’s sex/gender more salient than the fact that a rape crime was perpetrated. Although the label “woman who has been raped” was included exploratorily, these results are generally consistent with the concept of person-first language (e.g., Folkins, 1992; Hadley & Brodwin, 1988; Kailes, 1985; LaForge, 1991; Manus, 1975; National Easter Seal
Society, n.d.; c.f., Lum, 2010; Millington & Leierer, 1996; US National Federation of the Blind, 1993). That is, in Studies 1 and 2, the person against whom the crime of rape was perpetrated was centralized in individuals’ perceptions. The different outcomes associated with the label “woman who has been raped” across the two studies likely reflect the importance of context (i.e., e.g., asking questions about blame attributions versus asking for intergroup help) in shaping individuals’ cognitive responses to the person-first label.

For example, research has shown that when individuals think about rape, they may be cognitively motivated to distance themselves from the likelihood of being the target of rape (e.g., Giacopassi & Dull, 1986; Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1995; Shaver, 1970) by telling themselves that bad things (e.g., rape) only happen to deserving individuals (Gilmartin-Zena, 1987; Lerner, 1980; Lerner & Miller, 1978). Thus, centralizing the target’s identity as a woman rather than centralizing the rape that was perpetrated against her may have provided participants in Study 1 with the cognitive justification (Crandall & Eshleman, 2003) needed to blame the target—a justification they were motivated to seek due to their own desires to avoid rape, and one they were enabled to act upon when asked specifically about their attributions of blame. This explanation is especially tenable when considering that participants in Study 1 described the “woman who has been raped” primarily in terms of her sex/gender, but secondarily as a “rape victim”—a term (as discussed in the introduction) with many negative connotations that have consistently been associated with negative (e.g., blaming) outcomes (Hockett & Saucier, under review).

However, research has also shown that women, compared to men, are both helped more often and perceived to be more in need of help (e.g., Eagly & Crowley, 1986). Thus, centralizing the identity of the organization’s constituents as women rather than centralizing the
rapes perpetrated against them in Study 2 may have inspired participants to act on benevolent attitudes toward women. This explanation is also particularly tenable when considering that past research has shown benevolent sexism to be associated with favorable attitudes toward women fulfilling traditionally feminine roles (Glick et al., 1997). That is, although we did not assess participants’ levels of BS in Study 2, participants may have reported greater helping intentions due to the combination of emphasis on the targets’ womanhood and the targets’ positions in the traditionally feminine role of needing help.

These cognitive tendencies may help explain the variations in results across Studies 1 and 2, but again, I assert that these (or similar) cognitive mechanisms were likely triggered by the different helping contexts. Indeed, highlighting the importance of context in understanding individuals’ rape-related perceptions and helping intentions, my results also suggested that qualitative descriptions of women’s post-rape experiences as “victims” or “survivors” may counteract—that is, resist—the differentiating effects of the labels themselves (Study 3). This conclusion is particularly tenable as well given that past research has shown that women who have been raped may use language (including labels) to resist rape-related oppression (e.g., Fahs, 2011; Skjelsbæk, 2006; Thompson, 2000; Wood & Rennie, 1994). Thus, despite the variations across my three studies, the pattern of results supports the assertion that more complex conceptualizations of women who have been raped versus more limited, stereotypic conceptualizations are associated, overall, with better rape-related outcomes (Hockett & Saucier, under review).

These outcomes may hold meaningful implications for the lived experiences of women who have been raped, both intrapersonally and in society. Although the “rape victim” research has sought to objectively assess individuals’ rape-related attitudes, beliefs, and perceptions, the
way it is framed may instead bias the results and generate some of the negative attitudes and perceptions it “finds” (Hockett & Saucier, under review). Institutionalized modes of inquiry have historically shaped how people think and behave in society (e.g., Peters, 1996). Indeed, as linguistic theorist Bourdieu (1991) states, “What creates the power of words and slogans, a power capable of maintaining or subverting the social order, is the belief in the legitimacy of words and of those who utter them. And words alone cannot create this belief” (p. 70). Thus, in turn, the assessment of primarily “rape victims” and negative perceptions by the psychological literature, as well as the broad social reliance on the institutionally-legitimized “rape victim” label, may have a negative influence on the way women who have been raped navigate their lived worlds in relation to others (e.g., the justice and medical systems, other women who have been raped, friends and family). In particular, a “rape victim”-focused perspective may contribute to a social power hierarchy in which exist barriers to women’s abilities to construct empowering self-conceptualizations. Additionally, an orientation solely to studying oppression could also contribute to barriers to women’s abilities to obtain the support they may need to successfully transition from being “rape victims,” whose lives are dominated by their rapes, to being “rape survivors,” who are able to cope with their traumatic experiences in healthy ways, and to being able to express multidimensional conceptualizations of their identities.

By examining differences in individuals’ perceptions of “rape victims” versus “rape survivors,” this work is especially significant to feminist theory and research in its intention to produce work that recognizes resistance alongside oppression, as these elements of being exist in relation to each other in the lived world (Lugones, 2003). This research has demonstrated that both positive and negative perceptions and helping intentions exist in relation to women who
have been raped, but may be drawn out differentially by the way women who have been raped are labeled and described.

Reflecting the practical implications of this research, Lugones (2003, p. 15) calls for feminist research to be enacted as social and worldly rather than as simply an academic pursuit. In an article emphasizing the need for redefinition of feminist questions and feminist answers in psychological research, Rutherford (2007) suggested that the mainstream approach to questions of psychological differences “obfuscates an analysis of situational constraints—especially systemic ones” (p. 460) and fails to recognize the dominant-centric attitudes that pervade the social science disciplines (e.g., Unger, 1979). Moreover, some researchers have suggested that simply continuing in the status quo of psychological research supports the unwarranted scientific legitimization of privilege for dominant groups (Hare-Mustin & Marecek, 1992). Women of color feminist scholars have similarly critiqued stereotypic images of Black women as being “essential to the political economy of domination fostering Black women’s oppression” (Collins, 1990, p. 67). Thus, the intention of this work was not only to recognize resistance along oppression, but also to enact feminist subversion within the traditionally dominant-centric area of empirical investigation. In the same vein as other feminist psychologists, I hope my methods and results will challenge other researchers to reconceptualize how social psychological research may be conducted.

Despite the feminist intentions of this work, there are important limitations to consider in the interpretation this research. One limitation comes from the current work’s emphasis on the victim/survivor dichotomy. Previous research has noted that both the terms “rape victim” and “rape survivor”
are thwart with difficulties. For example, whilst a political commitment to the notion of women as survivors is vital to the positive evaluation of women’s lives, as a theoretical category it fails to capture the structural location of women in particular and other powerless (oppressed) groups in general (Walklate, 1994, p.11).

That is, the term “rape victim” falls short as a descriptor in that it limits women’s agency and associates them with perpetual powerlessness, and the term “rape survivor” also falls short in that it erases the victimization perpetrated by the offender and denies the complex intersectionality among women’s socially constructed identities (i.e., of gender, race, class, etc.) in which the crime against them was embedded (e.g., Phipps, 2009). Further, Marilyn Nissim-Sabat (2009) argued that the concept of transitioning from victim to survivor “is a function of forces of oppression” (p. 166) because

defending certain values may necessitate that one must endure not surviving, that is, that defending certain values in circumstances where no better options are available ethically supersedes survival….thus, to believe that survival is the terminus ad quem, the only goal for human existence, is to believe that it is ethically sound to sacrifice any or all other values in the interest of survival: truth, justice, love, and so on (p. 165).

Similarly, Tami Spry (1995) argued that the terms “victim” and “survivor” narrowly define the complex and diverse experiences that women have with sexual violence, as well as deny the agency of a woman who was raped in that her “body is viewed as an object that something was done to, that was ultimately overpowered. A body that is not under her power is not, in a very real sense, her own” (n.p.). Thus, in the real world, both terms may have the effect of disempowering women rather than recognizing “the depth and breadth of the woman’s evolving sense of self” (Philips & Daniluk, 2004, p. 178; for additional critiques of the terms “victim” and
“survivor,” also see Alcoff & Gray, 1993; Courtois, 1988; Draucker, 1992; Grossman, Cook, Kepkep, & Koenen, 1999; Koyama, 2011; Herman, 1992).

Instead of these terms, Spry has suggested that a “liberatory epistemology” should emphasize women’s narratives of their experiences “where she—her body—is the locus of meaning for her experience.” Indeed, as discussed, research findings by Wood and Rennie (1994) demonstrate that women who have been raped may adopt neither the “victim” nor the “survivor” identity, but may instead discursively formulate their experiences with rape in their own ways “to claim and reject various identities for themselves and others and to construct multiple versions of control, blame, and responsibility” (p. 144). In a literature review assessing the core components of healing as described by qualitative studies on women who had experienced sexual violence in childhood or adulthood, Draucker et al. (2009) also found that individuals (both men and women) construct multidimensional identities through complex processes of remembering, relating to others, constructing worlds for themselves that are safe, and reevaluating their senses of self.

To better assess individuals’ attitudes, beliefs, and perceptions of women who have been raped, future research should build from my methods used in Study 3 to further explore the utility of presenting the actual narratives of women who have been raped to research participants. Such an approach may offer further insight regarding individuals’ real world (i.e., beyond the research setting) responses to women who have been raped. It may also be revelatory regarding the processes in which individuals may engage to reconstruct and interpret women’s narratives within the confines of the dominant discourses surrounding rape. Similarly, future research should also contribute to a more thorough understanding of individuals’ rape-related perceptions by examining the effects of emphasizing various characteristics of targets of rape (e.g., their
sex/gender, their gender role typicality or atypicality, the subjective experience of the rape),
versus emphasizing various characteristics of the perpetrator (e.g., by exploring the labels “rape
perpetrator” versus “man who perpetrated rape”), versus emphasizing various characteristics of
the situation (e.g., the rape, the recovery process, the social victimization process) across
descriptions of rape scenarios. As noted previously, important correlates to examine in future
research include belief systems that may be associated with different rape-related perceptions
depending on the context, such as benevolent sexism and right wing authoritarianism. Finally,
important outcomes variables to examine in future research, as noted previously, include
individuals’ helping motivations and intentions, as well as individuals’ actual helping behaviors.

In addition to the limitations of focusing on the victim/survivor dichotomy, the
generalizability of this work’s outcomes may be limited by the research methods. For example,
although the use of vignettes in research, such as the current studies, offers a way to examine
complex issues among a large number of participants (Finch, 1987), vignettes have been
criticized as being poor approximations of real events and resulting in artificial judgments.
However, rebutters have counter-argued that the use of vignettes—particularly those used in
research on sensitive topics—may be effective when the vignettes “appear real and conceivable
to participants” (Renold, 2002, p. 4)—as they were designed to do in the current studies.
Another potential pitfall of vignette research, which I also sought to avoid here, is overstating the
implications for individuals’ behaviors based on their attitudinal and perceptual reactions to such
imaginary scenarios. Given that research has been inconclusive regarding the relationship
between attitudes assessed in vignette research and actual behavioral outcomes (e.g., Faia, 1979),
applications derived from the present research should be implemented with great consideration.
An additional limitation related to my research methods is apparent in Study 1’s rape perception scales’ alpha values. In particular, several of these values fell below the widely accepted .70 coefficient alpha cut-off for adequate reliability, suggesting that additional research is necessary to construct more reliable measures (particularly of their perceptions of a rape target’s negative personological characteristics, as well as in their expectations for her maladaptive coping and positive outcome experiences). However, it is notable that this alpha standard, as it was originally described by Nunnally (1978), is more important in applied research, where “it is frightening to think that any measurement error is permitted” (p. 246), than in basic research (as applies to the present studies), in which “the concern is with the size of correlations and with the differences in means for different experimental treatments” (p. 246). Thus, while additional research will be useful to validate my rape perception scales, the significant relationships that emerged in the present basic research provide an initial rebuttal to this concern.

A final limitation produced by my methods is that the outcomes of the current empirical research are likely revelatory only regarding the attitudes, beliefs, and perceptions of primarily White, heterosexual, first-year college students due to the homogeneity of my samples. By focusing on White, heterosexual, first-year college students in both the rape vignettes and the samples in the current research, my results have been shaped in ways that would be different for other groups. White, heterosexual, college students who are raped are still in positions of racial, sexual, and economic privilege compared to other groups despite the violence perpetrated against them.

Indeed, the “rape victim” literature has shown that their stories are more likely than the reports of Black women, gay men, and lesbians to be perceived by others as credible, serious,
and “real” (e.g., Estrich, 1987; Ugwuegbu, 1979; Wyatt, 1992). Regarding issues of rape and class, the literature has been largely silent (Phipps, 2009). Given additional resources (e.g., time, research funding, a more diverse research participant pool, psychology colleagues of color and non-heterosexual identities), my future research will seek to obtain data that might hold direct implications for broader groups, as well as for other specific marginalized groups (e.g., by assessing the “actual rape experiences” of women of color, lesbians, and men; by assessing perceptions of those experiences in contrast with perceptions of stereotypically assumed experiences).

Despite these limitations, however, my findings offer important theoretical contributions. Specifically, by assessing both rape-supportive perceptions (e.g., attributions of blame) and rape-resistant perceptions (e.g., intentions to help), the current research supports Lugones’ (2003) suggestion that assessing both oppression and resistance may provide insight into how individuals may step beyond oppression (e.g., by managing their identities in ways that elicit positive perceptions from others). Further, by demonstrating that the label applied to women who have been raped may elicit different reactions from others, depending on the context, my research also reflects Lugones’ conceptualization of reality and identity as being complex and multiple (also see Thompson, 2000). Finally, my results showed further support for feminist theories that rape-related attitudes are primarily driven by intergroup dominance motivations (e.g., Brownmiller, 1975; Burt & Katz, 1987; Chiroro et al., 2004; Ellis, 1989; Ellis, 1991; Groth, Burgess, & Holmstrom, 1977), as well as for social psychological theories (e.g., Sidanius et al., 1991) that discrimination at individual and intergroup levels may contribute to social hierarchies (e.g., in which individuals differentially perceive and treat the targets of rape based on the labels representing them).
More practically, my findings may also provide some initial implications regarding possible ways to maximize the likelihood that individuals will provide support to women who have been raped, at interpersonal and intergroup levels. In particular, reflecting the idea that women who have been raped may discursively navigate their post-rape realities (e.g., Fahs, 2011; Skjelsbæk, 2006; Wood & Rennie, 1994), the present research may suggest that emphasizing different aspects of the identities (Studies 1 and 2) and experiences (Study 3) of women who have been raped, such as their sex/gender versus their status as a victim/survivor of rape, may influence individuals to express different, but predictable, emotional, cognitive, and motivational reactions (e.g., attributions of blame, intentions to help). These reactions may then, in turn, influence individuals’ behavioral treatment of women who have been raped, contributing to the women’s social victimization and/or to their healing. For example, psychological practitioners could move beyond simply referring to clients who had been raped as survivors (McCarthy, 1986) by asking them to discursively define themselves in relation—and perhaps as importantly, out of relation—to their rape experiences. Similarly, media campaigns could be initiated to encourage supporters of individuals who have been raped to recognize potential biases in their own language, and to begin discussions of alternatives to the labels “rape victim” or “rape survivor.” Such campaigns could be particularly useful in the context of college campus Safe Zone program training, through which the goal is to create safe communities where individuals with concerns related to their safety and wellbeing—including concerns related to sexual violence, gender identity, and sexual orientation—can safely go for support and assistance. Although these possibilities are offered cautiously given the limitations described in extrapolating results of vignette and survey research to the real world, they may offer a starting point from which the present research may begin to be applied meaningfully.
In light of Study 3’s null results, however, it is especially important to consider that women who have been raped may experience oppression (e.g., social victimization) and empowerment (e.g., social support) in multiple and conflicting ways in relation to their complex identities (e.g., rape-related status, race, sexual orientation, nationality) as well as in relation to rape-related labels. Thus, the labels themselves are insufficient to describe the complex experiences and identities of women who have been raped. Instead, reliance on the labels alone may, in some contexts, reproduce oppression without providing insight into opportunities for women who have been raped and others in society to resist such oppression (e.g., Lugones, 2003). Future research should continue examining the complex interrelationships among experiences, identities, and rape-related labels to better inform community service practitioners (e.g., police officers, legal representatives, doctors, therapists, rape crisis counselors), policymakers, and the general public in order to contribute to the healing, rather than the social victimization, of women who have been raped.

Conclusions

The current research demonstrated that the labels “rape victim,” “rape survivor,” and “woman who has been raped” influence individuals’ rape-related perceptions and helping intentions. My results showed that such labels may contribute to the objectification of women who have been raped by eliciting negative reactions from others that could limit women’s abilities to “define their own reality, establish their own identities, name their history” (hooks, 1989, p. 42). However, our results suggested that such labels may also contribute to the de-objectification of women who have been raped by eliciting helping intentions from others that could empower women to recover from rape trauma.
As human beings who long to fully experience and define our own complex identities and realities, it is both desirable and a moral obligation for us to contribute to others’ abilities to do the same. As creative and critical scientists, scholars, and educators, we are empowered to make these contributions through our research. Thus, this work acts as witness—that is, as a mode of courageously told truth (Alcoff & Gray, 1993)—to oppression and resistance in individuals’ rape-related attitudes, beliefs, perceptions, and behaviors. Rather than dispassionately focusing on either oppression or resistance alone, this and future research that witnesses oppression and resistance in relation to each other may better “face down” (Ziegenmeyer, 1992, p. 218) oppression and deploy resistance in the lived experiences of women who have been raped and in the reactions of others whom they encounter in society. In sum, our duty is to the subjects of our research—subjects who are not, and who should not be treated as, objects. With this responsibility and opportunity in mind, future research and practice must be informed by the fact that the labels we use have real and meaningful consequences.
References


(Original work published in 1984)


Burt, M. R., & Katz, B. L. (1985). Rape, robbery, an burglary: Responses to actual and feared criminal victimization, with special focus on women and the elderly. *Victimology, 10*(1-3).


crises and experiences of loss in adulthood (pp. 497-5180. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.


### Appendix A - Initial Rape Perceptions Items

Please use the 9 point scale below to indicate your agreement with each statement.

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1. ______ Jenna’s behavior in this situation was immoral.*
2. ______ What Jenna did was bad.*
3. ______ Andrew’s behavior in this situation was immoral.
4. ______ What Andrew did was bad.
5. ______ This situation was violent.
6. ______ Jenna will be psychologically damaged from this experience.*
7. ______ Andrew’s actions were a violation of Jenna’s rights.
8. ______ This incident would be considered rape.
9. ______ Jenna had control in this situation.*
10. ______ Jenna enjoyed this situation.*
11. ______ Jenna was obligated to engage in sexual relations in this case.*
12. ______ Jenna was interested in having sexual relations.*
13. ______ Jenna deserves what happened to her.*
14. ______ Jenna should blame herself for what happened.*
15. ______ Andrew should be blamed for what happened.
16. ______ Jenna is the kind of person who gets into these types of situations.*
17. ______ Jenna is a resilient person.
18. ______ Jenna is a weak person.*
19. ______ Jenna is an independent person.
20. ______ Jenna is “damaged goods.”*
21. ______ Jenna is a brave person.
22. ______ Jenna is a bad woman.*
23. ______ Jenna will recover quickly from this experience.
24. ______ Jenna will have difficulty trusting others after this experience.*
25. ______ Jenna will seek help and support to recover from this experience.
26. ______ Jenna will be paralyzed by this experience.*
27. ______ Jenna will be able to help others as a result of this experience.
28. ______ Jenna will become more reclusive after this experience.*
29. ______ Jenna will learn a lot from this experience.
30. ______ Jenna’s sexual desire will disappear after this experience.*
31. ______ Jenna will cope with this experience in healthy ways.
32. ______ Jenna will have low self-esteem after this experience.*
33. ______ Jenna will tell somebody about this experience.
34. ______ Jenna will use alcohol and other drugs to cope with this experience.*
35. ______ Jenna will have a similar experience again in the future.*

* These items were reverse scored.
36. ______ Jenna will not tell anybody about this experience.*
37. ______ Jenna will have healthy relationships with men in the future.
38. ______ Jenna feels depressed about this experience.*
39. ______ Jenna feels hopeful about this experience.
40. ______ Jenna feels angry about this experience.*
41. ______ Jenna will be better able to defend herself after this experience.
42. ______ Jenna feels regretful about this experience.*
43. ______ Jenna will be able to lead a normal life after this experience.
44. ______ Jenna feels guilty about this experience.*
Appendix B - Vignette Transcripts

Jenna, a university student, is a rape victim/rape survivor/woman who has been raped. In this audio recording, we will describe the events leading up to and including her experience with Andrew, another university student. These events begin with a conversation between Andrew and his roommate as they were getting ready to go to a party:

Roommate: “Dang, Andrew, is that the expensive cologne you just sprayed?”
Andrew: “You bet it is—I want to smell sexy if I’m gonna get laid tonight!”
Roommate: “Yeah right, by who?”
Andrew: “Just because I don’t know who I’m gonna have sex with yet doesn’t mean I’m not going to do it with somebody.”
Roommate, laughing: “Well, hopefully you can find somebody whose standards are as low as yours.”
Andrew: “I don’t care about her standards! Whoever she is, she’ll take what she gets, whether she thinks she wants it or not!”
Roommate: “You always sound so sure it’s going to happen for you.”
Andrew: “Because I know it will—I’ve got a system, man.”
Roommate: “Oh yeah? What kind of system ensures you get laid whenever you want?”
Andrew: “It’s simple: you just find out which girls are going to be staying the night at the party house—there’s always at least one. If she’s easy, then it’s easy; if she’s not easy…well, first off, that’s what liquor is for, and secondly, let’s just say that she’s gonna get tired and want to go to bed at some point, and when she does, she’ll have company.”
Roommate, laughing: “And what if she wants sleep, not company?”
Andrew: “Trust me—they always say no at first, but they never mean it!”

After Andrew arrived at the party, he saw Jenna, who he did not know, walk through the door with some of her friends. “Who is that?” Andrew asked the host of the party. The host replied, “Oh, that’s my friend Jenna! I’m so glad she came—she’s from out of town and I wasn’t sure if she’d be able to make it or not. Come say hi to her with me!” Before Andrew joined the host to greet Jenna, he pointed her out to his roommate. “She even looks a little like the girl I gave my “company” to last weekend—just my type. I’m going to have sex with her.” Andrew approached Jenna with the host and introduced himself to her.
Andrew and Jenna chatted casually for a while as they stood in line at the cooler to fill their cups with the party host’s complementary Jungle Juice, a common alcoholic party drink containing various liquors (such as Everclear, rum, vodka, and tequila) as well as Kool-Aid to help mask their strong flavor. As they chatted, Andrew asked if Jenna might be interested in hooking up with him later. Jenna replied that she was just there to have a good time with friends, not to get laid, and Andrew seemed to get the message that she was not interested.

Later during the party, Andrew, who was in line to fill his cup again, got Jenna’s attention and joked that she looked thirsty. “You better hurry up and finish your drink and get a refill—this line’s only going to keep growing! In fact, why don’t you just let me refill it for you since I’m already in line.” Jenna finished her drink and Andrew refilled it for her.

As Jenna mingled, Andrew appeared to refill her cup several times, encouraging her to loosen up and enjoy herself. At one point, Jenna declined appreciatively, but Andrew replied by telling her that she was supposed to be having fun at the party, and if she didn’t drink the Jungle Juice offered to her, the beverage would go to waste.

After a while, Jenna decided that she was done partying and went to the guest room, which her friend, the host, had set up for her to stay the night. Jenna closed the door, turned off the lights, lay down and immediately fell asleep.

A short while later, Andrew came into the room and woke Jenna up by climbing into the bed. Jenna reiterated that she was not interested in having sex. Andrew replied, “But I really like you. I respect you and promise this isn’t just a one-night stand.” Andrew caught one of Jenna’s hands and laced their fingers together, holding her hand down against the bed.

Andrew carried on kissing her for a while, then he pulled down her pajama pants and underwear. Jenna tried to move away and pushed Andrew away with her free hand, telling him to stop. “You got me so turned on all night, you can’t just leave me like this,” Andrew said, “I know you want this.” Andrew pulled his pants down as well, then caught Jenna’s free hand. Holding both of Jenna’s hands down against the bed, Andrew penetrated her, and intercourse occurred. Now, Jenna is a rape victim/rape survivor/woman who has been raped.
Appendix C - Written Response Measure, Warmth Measure, and Rape Perception Scales

Written Response Measure

Please write in your response:

Based only on the description you heard (not your opinion), Jenna is a ________________.

Warmth Measure

Please write in your response to the following item.

On a scale of 0 to 100 degrees, indicate how warm your feelings toward Jenna are: _______

Rape Perceptions Scales

Please use the 9 point scale below to indicate your agreement with each statement.

1  2  3  4  5  6  7  8  9

Disagree Very Strongly  Agree Very Strongly

Positive Personological Attributions

______ Jenna is a resilient person.
______ Jenna is an independent person.

Negative Personological Attributions

______ Jenna is a weak person.*
______ Jenna is “damaged goods.”* 
______ Jenna is a bad woman.*
______ Jenna is the kind of person who gets into these types of situations.*

Adaptive Coping

______ Jenna will seek help and support to recover from this experience.
______ Jenna will tell somebody about this experience.
______ Jenna will cope with this experience in healthy ways.
______ Jenna will use alcohol and other drugs to cope with this experience.*

* Indicates an attitude that may be considered potentially harmful to the survivor.
Jenna will have healthy relationships with men in the future.
Jenna will be able to lead a normal life after this experience.

**Maladaptive Coping**
Jenna will become more reclusive after this experience.*
Jenna will feel regretful about this experience.*
Jenna will feel guilty about this experience.*

**Positive Outcomes**
Jenna will be able to help others as a result of this experience.
Jenna will learn a lot from this experience.

**Negative Outcomes**
Jenna will be psychologically damaged from this experience.*
Jenna will have difficulty trusting others after this experience.*
Jenna will lose her sexual desire after this experience.*
Jenna will be paralyzed by this experience.*
Jenna will feel depressed about this experience.*
Jenna will have low self-esteem after this experience.*

**Attributions of Blame/Responsibility to Andrew for Committing a Violent Crime**
Andrew’s behavior in this situation was immoral.
What Andrew did was bad.
Andrew’s actions were a violation of Jenna’s rights.
This incident would be considered rape.
Andrew should be blamed for what happened.

**Attributions of Blame/Responsibility to Jenna for Precipitating the Rape**
Jenna’s behavior in this situation was immoral.*
What Jenna did was bad.*
Jenna had control in this situation.*

* These items were reverse scored.
Jenna enjoyed this situation.*

Jenna was interested in having sexual relations.*

Jenna deserves what happened to her.*

Jenna should blame herself for what happened.*
Appendix D - Attitudes Toward Rape Victims Scale

Please use the 5 point scale below to indicate your agreement with each statement. State your agreement with the following statements as honestly as you can.

1  2  3  4  5
Strongly Disagree           Strongly Agree

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

* These items will be reverse scored.
Appendix E - The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory

Please use the 9 point scale below to indicate your agreement with each statement.

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**Hostile sexism**

1. ______ Women exaggerate problems at work.
2. ______ Women are too easily offended.
3. ______ Most women interpret innocent remarks as sexist.
4. ______ When women lose fairly, they claim discrimination.
5. ______ Women seek special favors under the guise of equality.
6. ______ Feminists are making reasonable demands.*
7. ______ Feminists are not seeking more power than men.*
8. ______ Women seek power by gaining control over men.
9. ______ Few women tease men sexually.*
10. ______ Once a man commits, she puts him on a tight leash.
11. ______ Women fail to appreciate all men do for them.

**Benevolent sexism**

12. ______ A good woman should be set on a pedestal.
13. ______ Women should be cherished and protected by men.
14. ______ Men should sacrifice to provide for women.
15. ______ In a disaster, women need not be rescued first.*
16. ______ Women have a superior moral sensibility.
17. ______ Women have a quality of purity few men possess.
18. ______ Women have a more refined sense of culture and taste.
19. ______ Every man ought to have a woman he adores.
20. ______ Men are complete without women.*
21. ______ Despite accomplishment, men are incomplete without women.
22. ______ People are often happy without heterosexual romance.*

* These items will be reverse scored.
# Appendix F - Social Dominance Orientation Scale

**Please use the 9 point scale below to indicate your agreement with each statement.**

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1. ______ Some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups.
2. ______ In getting what you want, it is sometimes necessary to use force against other groups.
3. ______ It’s OK if some groups have more of a chance in life than others.
4. ______ To get ahead in life, it is sometimes necessary to step on other groups.
5. ______ If certain groups stayed in their place, we would have fewer problems.
6. ______ It’s probably a good thing that certain groups are at the top and other groups are at the bottom.
7. ______ Inferior groups should stay in their place.
8. ______ Sometimes other groups must be kept in their place.
9. ______ It would be good if groups could be equal.*
10. ______ Group equality should be our ideal.*
11. ______ All groups should be given an equal chance in life.*
12. ______ We should do what we can to equalize conditions for different groups.*
13. ______ There should be increased social equality.*
14. ______ We would have fewer problems if we treated people more equally.*
15. ______ We should strive to make incomes as equal as possible.*
16. ______ No one group should dominate in society.*

* These items will be reverse scored.
Appendix G - Right Wing Authoritarianism Scale

Please use the 9-point scale below to indicate your agreement with each statement.

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Disagree Very Strongly  Agree Very Strongly

1. _______ What our country really needs instead of more “civil rights” is a good stiff dose of law and order.
2. _______ It is important to protect the rights of radicals and deviants in all ways.*
3. _______ The real keys to the “good life” are obedience, discipline, and sticking to the straight and narrow.
4. _______ Homosexual long-term relationships should be treated as equivalent to marriage.*
5. _______ A “woman’s place” should be wherever she wants to be. The days when women are submissive to their husbands and social conventions belong strictly to the past.
6. _______ It is good that nowadays young people have greater freedom "to make their own rules” and to protest against things they don't like.*
7. _______ The withdrawal from tradition will turn out to be a fatal fault one day.
8. _______ Obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children should learn.
9. _______ Being virtuous and law-abiding is in the long run better for us than permanently challenging the foundation of our society.
10. _______ What our country really needs is a strong determined leader who will crush evil, and take us back to our true path.
11. _______ There is no such crime to justify capital punishment.*
12. _______ People should develop their own personal standards about good and evil and pay less attention to the Bible and other old, traditional forms of religious guidance.*

* These items will be reverse scored.
Appendix H - Humanitarianism-Egalitarianism Scale

Please use the 9-point scale below to indicate your agreement with each statement.

1  2  3  4  5  6  7  8  9

Disagree Very Strongly                 Agree Very Strongly

1. _____ One should be kind to all people.
2. _____ One should find ways to help others less fortunate than oneself.
3. _____ A person should be concerned about the well-being of others.
4. _____ There should be equality for everyone—because we are all human beings.
5. _____ Those who are unable to provide for their basic needs should be helped by others.
6. _____ A good society is one in which people feel responsible for one another.
7. _____ Everyone should have an equal chance and an equal say in most things.
8. _____ Acting to protect the rights and interests of other members of the community is a major obligation for all persons.
9. _____ In dealing with criminals the courts should recognize that many are victims of circumstances.
10. _____ Prosperous nations have a moral obligation to share some of their wealth with poor nations.
Appendix I - Empathic Concern and Perspective Taking Scales

Please use the 9-point scale below to indicate your agreement with each statement.

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Does NOT Describe | Describes Me Very
Me Well | Me Well

Empathic Concern

1. _____ I often have tender, concerned feelings for people less fortunate than me.
2. _____ Sometimes I don't feel very sorry for other people when they are having problems.*
3. _____ When I see someone being taken advantage of, I feel kind of protective towards them.
4. _____ Other people's misfortunes do not usually disturb me a great deal.*
5. _____ When I see someone being treated unfairly, I sometimes don't feel very much pity for them.*
6. _____ I am often quite touched by things that I see happen.
7. _____ I would describe myself as a pretty softhearted person.

Perspective Taking

8. _____ I sometimes find it difficult to see things from the "other guy's" point of view.*
9. _____ I try to look at everybody's side of a disagreement before I make a decision.
10. _____ I sometimes try to understand my friends better by imagining how things look from their perspective.
11. _____ If I'm sure I'm right about something, I don't waste much time listening to other people's arguments.*
12. _____ I believe that there are two sides to every question and try to look at them both.
13. _____ When I'm upset at someone, I usually try to "put myself in his shoes" for a while.
14. _____ Before criticizing somebody, I try to imagine how I would feel if I were in their place.

* These items will be reverse scored.
Appendix J - Demographic Items

Your age: ______  Your ethnicity: __________________

Please circle one response for each of the following items:

1. Your sex:
   Male  Female

2. Your sexual orientation:
   Heterosexual  Homosexual  Bisexual  Other

3. Your hometown:
   Rural  Suburban  Urban

4. Your class year:
   First year  Sophomore  Junior  Senior

5. Your family’s socioeconomic status:
   Lower class  Middle class  Upper class
Appendix K - Social Desirability Measure

Read each statement below concerning personal attitudes and traits and decide whether the statement is true or false as it pertains to you personally.

Write “T” (for true) or “F” (for false) beside each item number to indicate your answers.

1. ______ Before voting I thoroughly investigate the qualifications of all the candidates.
2. ______ I never hesitate to go out of my way to help someone in trouble.
3. ______ It is sometimes hard for me to go on with my work if I am not encouraged.*
4. ______ I have never intensely disliked someone.
5. ______ On occasion I have had doubts about my ability to succeed in life.*
6. ______ I sometimes feel resentful when I don’t get my way.*
7. ______ I am always careful about my manner of dress.
8. ______ My table manners at home are as good as when I eat out in a restaurant.
9. ______ If I could get into a movie without paying and be sure I was not seen, I would probably do it.*
10._______ On a few occasions, I have given up doing something because I thought too little of my ability.*
11._______ I like to gossip at times.*
12._______ There have been times when I felt like rebelling against people in authority even though I knew they were right.*
13._______ No matter who I’m talking to, I’m always a good listener.
14._______ I can remember “playing sick” to get out of something.*
15._______ There have been occasions when I took advantage of someone.*
16._______ I’m always willing to admit it when I make a mistake.
17._______ I always try to practice what I preach.
18._______ I don’t find it particularly difficult to get along with loud mouthed, obnoxious people.
19._______ I sometimes try to get even, rather than forgive and forget.*
20._______ When I don’t know something I don’t at all mind admitting it.
21._______ I am always courteous, even to people who are disagreeable.
22._______ At times I have really insisted on having things my own way.*
23._______ There have been occasions when I felt like smashing things.*
24._______ I would never think of letting someone else be punished for my wrongdoings.
25._______ I never resent being asked to return a favor.
26._______ I have never been irked when people expressed ideas very different from my own.
27._______ I never make a long trip without checking the safety of my car.
28._______ There have been times when I was quite jealous of the good fortune of others.*
29._______ I have almost never felt the urge to tell someone off.
30._______ I am sometimes irritated by people who ask favors of me.*
31._______ I have never felt that I was punished without cause.

* These items will be reverse scored.
32. ______ I sometimes think when people have a misfortune that they only got what they deserve.*
33. ______ I have never deliberately said something that hurt someone’s feelings.
Appendix L - Manipulation Check Question

**Circle one response:**

Based only on the description you heard (not your opinion), Jenna is a

Rape victim       Rape survivor       Woman who has been raped
Thank you for your participation in this study. This research would not be possible without your input. Although topics related to rape may be sensitive in nature, this research aims to demonstrate the importance of understanding individuals’ attitudes toward rape victims 1) to further understand rape victimization and how it is responded to by medical and legal services, as well as by society in general, and 2) to further our theoretical understandings of social power.

Also, please be aware that the scenario at the beginning of this study was not real. The report was created to appear realistic to better enable you to report your true perceptions of the rape and of rape victims.

If you wish to find out more about this study, including its results, or to make a comment or complaint about the study, please contact Dr. Donald Saucier, the study’s lead investigator, by email at saucier@ksu.edu, by phone at (785) 532-6881, or in person at 468 Bluemont Hall.

Additional contact information for the IRB is included on the informed consent.

If you, a friend, or family member has been a victim of sexual assault and/or rape, or if you feel distressed for any other reason, you can contact the following services for immediate help. These facilities are also capable of answering any questions you may have regarding sexual assault and/or rape.

KSU Women’s Center (206 Holton Hall) (785) 532-6444
After Hours Emergency Phone: (785) 313-6344
www.k-state.edu/womenscenter/

Lafene Women’s Clinic (785) 532-6544
Crisis Center (785) 539-2785
1-800-727-2785

Mercy Health Center (785) 776-3322
National Sexual Assault Hotline 800-656-HOPE (800-656-4673)
If you are a victim of sexual assault and/or rape DO NOT SHOWER OR CHANGE CLOTHES. Seek medical attention immediately to prevent pregnancy and sexually transmitted diseases. If you suspect you have been drugged ask for a urine test to be taken. Date rape drugs leave the body quickly and need be tested for immediately following the assault. NOTE: You do not have to file a police report to have a rape kit conducted in the state of Kansas. Ask for a specially trained SANE/SART nurse to perform the exam.
Appendix N - Organization Mission Statements

On behalf of rape victims/rape survivors/women who have been raped, the K-State Women’s Center engages in advocacy, presentations, academic classes, training, and referrals. The Women's Center sexual assault advocate provides 24-hour assistance for K-State students who are rape victims/rape survivors/women who have been raped. Staff members work with individuals who are filing complaints under K-State's Policy Prohibiting Sexual Violence and with offices and agencies on and off campus who can help students with law enforcement, legal, medical, and academic concerns related to their status as rape victims/rape survivors/women who have been raped. Typically, rape victims/rape survivors/women who have been raped who receive help from the Women’s Center are college women between the ages of 18-22.
Appendix O - Intergroup Helping Intentions Response Form

Below is a list of ways you could help with the Women’s Center’s mission to help *rape victims/rape survivors*. If you DO wish to help with the K-State Women’s Center’s mission, this sheet will be given directly to organizers of the Women’s Center and will be kept separate from your responses on the questionnaire.

**If you DO wish to help with the K-State Women’s Center mission to assist *rape victims/rape survivors/women who have been raped*, please indicate how you would like to help by checking one or more of the options below:**

- I would like more information about volunteering for the Women’s Center.
- I would like to know how the student organization I belong to can be more involved in Women’s Center events.
- I would like to volunteer by posting fliers on campus.
- I would like to volunteer by sidewalk chalking.
- I would like to volunteer by helping to organize an event.
- I would like to volunteer by receiving training.
- I would like to volunteer by staffing an information booth on campus.
- I would like to donate money to the Women’s Center to help fund their projects to help *rape victims/rape survivors/women who have been raped* (please indicate how much money you would be willing to donate: $_____.____).
If you DO wish to help with the K-State Women’s Center mission to assist *rape victims/rape survivors/women who have been raped*, please indicate below approximately how much time per week you can help by checking one of the options below:

_________ 15-30 minutes per week

_________ 45 minutes – 1 hour per week

_________ 2-3 hours per week

_________ 4-5 hours per week

_________ 6-7 hours per week

_________ 8-9 hours per week

_________ 10 hours per week

If you DO wish to help with the K-State Women’s Center mission to assist *rape victims/rape survivors/women who have been raped*, please write in your name and contact information below:

Full Name: ____________________________________________________________________

Email Address: __________________________________________________________________

Phone Number: __________________________________________________________________
Appendix P - Affiliation Variables

IOS Scale
Please circle the picture that best describes your affiliation with THE RAPE VICTIMS/RAPE SURVIVORS/WOMEN WHO HAVE BEEN RAPED HELPED BY THE WOMEN’S CENTER.

We-ness Scale
Please use the 9 point scale below to indicate your agreement with each statement.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Not at all likely Extremely likely

_____ How likely would you be to use the term “we” to describe your affiliation with the rape victims/rape survivors/women who have been raped helped by the Women’s Center?
Appendix Q - Actual Organization Mission Statement and Contact Information

- The K-State Women's Center works to promote a safe and equitable work and learning environment for women and all people through advocacy, presentations, academic classes, training, and referral. Social justice is our unifying mission for a variety of individual and community efforts. Since 1973, this office has supported the well-being of K-State women by providing advocacy and promoting gender equity. More recent initiatives involve campus culture change efforts such as nonviolence education, the Empty Bowls Project, and programs for men. Over 200 K-State men and women from all majors comprise W.A.R. (Wildcats Against Rape), a student group dedicated to raising awareness of campus sexual violence.

- Our focus has moved upstream from acts of violence. We no longer simply react to crises, but work to change the environment of our community. An harmonious community naturally will display less violence.

- We work with the K-State Campaign for Nonviolence (CNV) on many justice-related projects such as Movies on the Grass, Noontime Yoga and Evening Meditation for faculty, staff, students and community members & the SafeZone project, a campus-wide volunteer organization created to improve reporting of sexual assault and other discriminatory or hateful acts and crimes, as well as to provide allies for GLBT students, faculty and staff with concerns.

- On the academic side, we work with the College of Arts and Sciences on the development of its new 15-hour Nonviolence Studies Certificate Program. The P.E.E.R.S. (Proactive Educators for the Elimination of Rape and Sexual Violence) class is taught by the Women's Center director and is founded on the belief that students can effectively educate each other on issues concerning rape and sexual/relationship violence. PEERS is offered as a two-semester, 3 credit seminar, providing in-depth training about the cultural, psychological, medical, criminal, and legal system aspects of sexual assault, followed by opportunities to present to organizations, living groups and classes.

- The Women's Center sexual assault advocate provides 24-hour assistance for K-State students who have been victimized by violence or who are threatened by biased, hateful, or criminal behavior. Staff members work with individuals who are filing complaints under K-State's Policy Prohibiting Sexual Violence and with offices and agencies on and off campus who can help students with law enforcement, legal, medical, and academic concerns.

- The office in 206 Holton is open to all faculty, staff, and students; a Women's Center/CNV Kiosk is located in the K-State Union Monday through Friday from 10-3 for more information.
Appendix R - Interview Vignette Transcripts

*Rape victim (rape survivor) condition*

Interviewer: What’s up K-State?! This is Jeremy Fischer for the Wildcat 91.9, your K-State student radio. I am excited to be bringing you the first radio broadcast of a new show, “News From the Personal Side,” where we go beyond the facts of local news events to report on how these events affect the lives of the individuals involved and to rally the community in their support. Today I’m talking with Jenna Banks—Hi Jenna (Jenna: Hi Jeremy)—a junior in the A. Q. Miller School of Journalism and Mass Communications. Jenna, first of all, thank you for coming in. I know our topic today is difficult for you to talk about, so if at any point you feel too uncomfortable, just let me know. You’ve recently had an experience that statistics suggest is all too common on college campuses—you’re a *rape victim (rape survivor)*, is that right?

Jenna: You’re right Jeremy—it’s kind of ironic, but I just learned in an Intro to Women’s Studies class that my adviser suggested I take last semester that around 2.8% of women on college campuses like K-State are raped in any given semester. I just never thought that I would be one of the *rape victims (rape survivor)* those statistics talk about.

Interviewer: Definitely. So, Jenna, can you tell us a little about yourself—

Jenna: I’ve always been a *free-spirited (self-controlled)* type of person, and generally *naïve (knowledgeable)*. My family has *never been really supportive (always been really supportive)*, so maybe that’s why. I’ve always had *bad (good) self-esteem*, so *I think I was (I don’t think I was) an easy target.*

Interviewer: Can you describe what happened when the assault occurred, in as much detail as you’re comfortable with?

Jenna: Do you want the whole story? Like my whole day?

Interviewer: Sure, anything leading up to it.
Jenna: Well, one of my friends was having a party to celebrate this awesome new job she got, and since she lives out of town, we made plans for me to stay the night at her place. So I get there, and you know, people are hanging out and dancing and drinking and having a good time. Well, at the party, this guy comes up and starts talking to me while I was waiting in line to get a drink from the cooler. Well, he was pretty obviously hitting on me at first, but when I told him I was just there to have a good time with my friend and not to get laid, he seemed to get the message that I wasn’t interested. We chatted off and on throughout the night, and he acted cool with just being friendly—you know, he refilled my drink a couple of times, and joked around that if I didn’t drink my Jungle Juice, it would be a waste and that I needed to loosen up and have fun, but it wasn’t a big deal, you know? So I had a couple of drinks, but I had to go home the next day, so I called it quits at a reasonable time and went to my friend’s guest room and went to sleep. I don’t know how long I was asleep, but at some point that guy came into the room and laid down next to me. I woke up, kind of out of it—you know, because I’d been drinking and sleeping already, and reminded him that I wasn’t there to have sex once I realized who it was.

Interviewer: Did he say anything to you?

Jenna: He said that he liked me and respected me, and that it would be a one-night stand, then he started kissing me.

Interviewer: And you were okay with that?

Jenna: Yeah, that was alright—you know, he was pretty cute and seemed like a nice guy.

Interviewer: But he didn’t just want to kiss.

Jenna: Right. While he was kissing me, he was like holding my hand, but then he started to pull my pants down and wouldn’t let me go. I tried to push him away and told him to stop, but he said that I had turned him on all night and couldn’t just leave him like that. That’s when he said he
knew I wanted it. He pulled his pants down and held both of my hands against the bed, and he raped me.

Interviewer: How has the experience impacted you?

Jenna: In lots of ways. I was like totally shocked that a person could do that to someone else—that you could say no and they could say “No, you really mean yes.” Now, I’m ruined (renewed), I feel more vulnerable than I did before (stronger than I did before). I feel lost (hopeful) and confused (understanding), and I’ve been depressed about it (overcoming it).

Interviewer: Has it affected your relationships with people?

Jenna: Oh yeah—I feel alone, like I’m dealing with all of it by myself (supported, like I’m not dealing with all of it by myself). I also think maybe I’ll never be able to have good relationships with men (I’ll be able to have healthy new relationships with men).

Interviewer: Have you told other people about it?

Jenna: It’s not something I really want to tell people about (It’s something I want to tell people about) because I don’t want others to see me negatively (to have the same experience). I told my friend whose house it was at after it happened.

Interviewer: Did you report the rape to the police?

Jenna: Yes, my friend did (I did). I didn’t want to do anything about it (wanted to do something about it), but she called the police (so I called the police). I didn’t think what had happened was rape (I knew what had happened was rape). But basically, there wasn’t enough evidence for us to pursue it—you know, he didn’t drug me or like leave bruises or anything like that.

Interviewer: So is there something you feel like the community should know?
Jenna: I feel like people should know that rape isn’t just perpetrated by strangers in dark alley, but sometimes by men who seem regular. People should also know that even if there aren’t scars on the outside, there are scars inside—I’m traumatized (healing), and I’m living with the effect of (finding ways to cope with) this awful thing I endured.

Interviewer: Jenna, I know it’s tough for you to talk about your experience as a rape victim (rape survivor), so I just want to say thank you again on behalf of the Wildcat 91.9, K-State’s student radio, and on behalf of the community. I’m sure your willingness to talk about your experience as a rape victim (rape survivor) will have a positive impact on other students out there on campus.

Jenna: Thank you, Jeremy.

Interviewer: Alright, you just heard “News From the Personal Side,” and this is Jeremy Fischer, signing off for the Wildcat 91.9, your K-State student radio.
Appendix S - Requests for Help

Letter from professor

Dear student,

I am instructor in the A. Q. Miller School of Journalism and of Mass Communications here at Kansas State University, and wanted to thank you for your participation in the research on the Wildcat 91.9’s new radio program, “News From the Personal Side.” In fact, I am especially grateful for your participation, as the broadcast you just listened to was an interview with one of my students, Jenna Banks, who is a rape victim/rape survivor. When Jenna told me she would be interviewed for the program, it occurred to me that some participants in the pilot test might like to help Jenna. Thus, I have encouraged her to write a letter describing ways you could help if you wish.

Sincerely,
William J. Nielson, Ph.D.
Kansas State University
Journalism and Mass Communications
Kedzie 211
Manhattan, KS 66506-5302
(785) 532-6818
wjnielson@ksu.edu

Letter from Jenna

Dear participant,

You just listened to a pilot broadcast of a new radio program, “News From the Personal Side,” which featured an interview with me about my experience as a rape victim/rape survivor. As you heard, I’m having a tough time dealing with the physical and emotional effects of what happened, and I could really use a little help to get through the rest of the semester. If I don’t pass my classes this semester, I could lose my scholarship—that means I would have to quit my part-time job here in town, move home with my parents, and try to find some kind of job without...
any degree. One of my professors, Dr. Bill Nielson, suggested that I should see if any of you might be willing to help me out.

I don’t have a car, so one of the things I could use help with is transportation to my follow-up doctors appointments and therapy sessions a few times a week. I also don’t have a computer at my place (I’ve always just used the ones in Hale Library), which makes it hard to keep up with classes right now, so I need someone to bring me class notes from my instructors, type some research papers for me, and turn in my assignments. Also, I have a friend who cooks at a restaurant and has offered to make me dinners, but she works in the evening so she can’t bring them to me, so I need someone to drop meals off too. If you can help out in any way, I’d really appreciate it.

Sincerely,

Jenna Banks
Appendix T - Cover Story and Interview Perception Items

Please use the 9 point scale below to indicate your agreement with each statement.

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11. ______ I regularly listen to the Wildcat 91.9.
2. ______ I enjoy listening to interviews.
3. ______ “News From the Personal Side” should be a regular program on the Wildcat 91.9.
4. ______ I would enjoy hearing more interviews and personal stories from people in the K-State/Manhattan area on “News From the Personal Side.”
5. ______ I enjoyed listening to the disc jockey who presented the broadcast.
6. ______ This episode of “News From the Personal Side” was interesting.
7. ______ This episode of “News From the Personal Side” was informative.
8. ______ This episode of “News From the Personal Side” was relevant to my life.
9. ______ This episode of “News From the Personal Side” made me feel more connected to the person the news was about.
10. ______ I would expect future episodes of “News From the Personal Side” to be interesting.
11. ______ I would expect future episodes of “News From the Personal Side” to be informative.
12. ______ I would expect future episodes of “News From the Personal Side” to be relevant to my life.
13. ______ I would expect future episodes of “News From the Personal Side” to make me feel more connected to the people the news is about.
Appendix U - Interpersonal Helping Intentions Response Form

Please circle one of the two options below to indicate whether or not you wish to help Jenna. Please remember that your response will not be the only response Jenna receives—other research participants will receive the same opportunity to help.

I DO wish to help Jenna. I DO NOT wish to help Jenna.

Below is a list of ways you could help Jenna, who is a rape victim/rape survivor. If you DO wish to help Jenna, this sheet will be given directly to her and will be kept separate from your other responses on the questionnaire.

If you DO wish to help Jenna, please indicate how you would like to help by checking one or more of the options below:

- _________ Providing transportation
- _________ Dropping off notes
- _________ Picking up and turning in assignments
- _________ Typing research papers
- _________ Dropping off meals

If you DO wish to help Jenna, please indicate below approximately how much time per week you can help by checking one of the options below:

- _________ 15-30 minutes per week
- _________ 45 minutes – 1 hour per week
________ 2-3 hours per week

________ 4-5 hours per week

________ 6-7 hours per week

________ 8-9 hours per week

________ 10 hours per week

If you DO wish to help Jenna, please write in your name and contact information below:

Full Name: ___________________________________________________________________

Phone #: _____________________________________________________________________

Email: _____________________________________________________________________
Appendix V - Interpersonal Helping Motivations Scales

Please use the 9 point scale below to indicate your agreement with each statement.

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<th>1</th>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Agree Very Strongly</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Social Learning Motivations**

1. ______ I have had positive experiences helping in situations like this before.
2. ______ I have seen others help like this before.
3. ______ I know and respect others who have helped like this before.
4. ______ I was taught to help others who need it.
5. ______ Helping Jenna would set a good example for others.
6. ______ I have seen even a little help have significant positive consequences.
7. ______ Helping Jenna would show her that there are still good people in the world.
8. ______ I think I could learn something from helping Jenna.

**Tension-Reduction Motivations**

9. ______ Jenna’s situation makes me uncomfortable.
10. ______ Jenna might feel bad if I don’t help.
11. ______ I would feel bad if I didn’t help Jenna.
12. ______ I don’t want Jenna to feel stressed anymore.
13. ______ Helping Jenna would ease her concerned professor’s mind.
14. ______ Helping Jenna would relieve some of her distress and discomfort.
15. ______ Others may not provide help to Jenna even though she needs it.
16. ______ Helping Jenna would show her that the world really is a just place where good things balance out the bad.

**Norms and Roles Motivations**

17. ______ I should help Jenna.
18. ______ Jenna’s professor (Dr. Nielson) expects me to help.
19. ______ It is my social responsibility to help Jenna.
20. ______ I should help Jenna because she is a woman.
21. ______ I should help Jenna because she is a K-State student.
22. ______ Jenna is counting on my help.
23. ______ Other people would help Jenna.
24. ______ Jenna and I are similar.

**Exchange and Equity Motivations**

25. ______ Helping Jenna might encourage her to help someone else in the future.
26. ______ Jenna had a really bad experience and thus really needs help.
27. _______ Helping Jenna might help her recover from a really bad experience.
28. _______ Jenna might help me with something if I help her.
29. _______ Jenna would be very grateful for my help.
30. _______ Helping Jenna might help her help herself.
31. _______ I’ve received helped before in bad situations, so I should “pay it forward.”
32. _______ It would be easy to help Jenna.

Attributions Motivations

33. _______ Jenna didn’t deserve what happened to her.
34. _______ Jenna deserves help.
35. _______ Jenna is innocent.
36. _______ I am a kind and caring person.
37. _______ I am the type of person to help in this type of situation.
38. _______ I just can’t say “no” when people ask for help.
39. _______ I am a good person.
40. _______ Jenna is a good person.

Esteem Motivations

41. _______ I am able to help Jenna.
42. _______ I would feel sad if I didn’t help Jenna
43. _______ I would feel mean if I didn’t help Jenna.
44. _______ I would feel good if I helped Jenna.
45. _______ I would feel happy if I helped Jenna.
46. _______ Helping Jenna would make me a better person.
47. _______ I was raised to help those who are “less fortunate.”
48. _______ Others would think poorly of me if I didn’t help Jenna.

Moral Reasoning Motivations

49. _______ Helping Jenna is the right thing to do.
50. _______ Helping Jenna is the just thing to do.
51. _______ Helping Jenna is the fair thing to do.
52. _______ It would feel wrong not to help Jenna
53. _______ It would be immoral not to help Jenna.
54. _______ I would regret not helping Jenna.
55. _______ I am morally responsible for helping Jenna.
56. _______ Helping others is an important principle to follow.

Empathy Motivations

57. _______ I can relate to Jenna’s struggle.
58. _______ I can imagine how Jenna’s experience has affected her life.
59. _______ I understand Jenna’s need to keep her scholarship.
60. _______ I understand Jenna’s need for help.
61. _______ Jenna must be going through a difficult time.
62. _______ Jenna might feel more hopeful if I helped.
63. _______ Helping Jenna is a caring thing to do.
64. _______ I can empathize with Jenna.
Figure 1 Preliminary Study 2: Word cloud of characteristics ascribed to “rape victims.”
Figure 2 Preliminary Study 2: Word cloud of characteristics ascribed to “rape survivors.”
Figure 3 Preliminary Study 2: Number of personological, process, and outcome characteristics ascribed to “rape victims” versus “rape survivors.”
Figure 4 Preliminary Study 2: Number of negative, neutral, and positive characteristics ascribed to “rape victims” versus “rape survivors”.

![Bar graph showing the number of negative, neutral, and positive characteristics ascribed to rape victims and survivors.](image-url)
Figure 5 Preliminary Study 2: Number of characteristics inherently blaming the woman, the perpetrator, or some other ascribed to "rape victims" versus "rape survivors" by male and female participants.

![Bar chart showing the number of characteristics blamed on woman, perpetrator, or other by male and female participants for both rape victims and rape survivors.](image-url)
Figure 6 Preliminary Study 3: Frequency of participants who labeled the woman a “rape victim” versus a “rape survivor.”
Figure 7 Study 1: Percent of participants whose written descriptions of the target were matched and unmatched with their condition.
Figure 8 Study 1: Percent of each type of unmatched response provided by participants who heard the target described as a "woman who has been raped."

- Other: 1.28%
- Rape victim: 1.28%
- Rape survivor: 42.31%
- Left blank: 29.49%
Figure 9 Study 2: Percent of male and female participants who selected each intergroup helping option.
Figure 10 Study 3: Percent of male and female participants who selected each interpersonal helping option.
Figure 11 Study 3: Percent of participants by condition who selected each interpersonal helping option.
Table 1 Preliminary Study 2: Participants’ Demographic Characteristics

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Table 4 Study 1: Means, Standard Deviations, and t-test Results for Male and Female Participants Regardless of Condition

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Note. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$. †$p = .058$. 

196
### Table 5 Study 1: Correlations Among All Measures Regardless of Condition

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*Note. *$p < .05$. **$p < .01$. ***$p < .001$. 
Table 7 Study 1: Hierarchical Regression Analysis Predicting Negative Personological Attributions to the Target

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*Note. *\( p < .05 \). **\( p < .01 \). ***\( p < .001 \).*
Table 8 Study 1: Hierarchical Regression Analysis Predicting Perceptions of the Target’s Likelihood of Engaging in Adaptive Coping

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Note. *$p < .05$. **$p < .01$. ***$p < .001$. †$p = .064$. 
Table 9 Study 1: Hierarchical Regression Analysis Predicting Perceptions of the Target’s Likelihood of Engaging in Maladaptive Coping

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*Note.* *$p < .05$. **$p < .01$. ***$p < .001$. 
Table 10 Study 1: Hierarchical Regression Analysis Predicting Perceptions of the Target’s Positive Outcomes

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Note. *$p < .05$. **$p < .01$. ***$p < .001$. †$p = .067$. 
Table 11 Study 1: Hierarchical Regression Analysis Predicting Perceptions of Target’s Negative Outcomes

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*Note. *$p < .05$. **$p < .01$. ***$p < .001$.**
Table 12 Study 1: Hierarchical Regression Analysis Predicting Attributions of Blame and Responsibility to the Perpetrator for Perpetrating a Violent Crime

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*Note.* *p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001. †p = .070.
Table 13 Study 1: Hierarchical Regression Analysis Predicting Attributions of Blame and Responsibility to the Target for Precipitating the Rape

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Note. *$p < .05$. **$p < .01$. ***$p < .001$. †$p = .065$. 

Table 14 Study 1: Hierarchical Regression Analysis Predicting Participants’ Feelings of Warmth toward the Target

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*Note. *p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001.*
Table 15 Study 2: Means, Standard Deviations, and t-test Results for Male and Female Participants Regardless of Condition

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<th>df</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total # of Helping Items Selected</td>
<td>0.98 (1.88)</td>
<td>2.48 (2.43)</td>
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<td>“We-ness”</td>
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Note. *p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001. †p = .059.
Table 16 Study 2: Correlations Among All Measures Regardless of Condition

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*Note.* *p* < .05. **p** < .01.
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*Note. *$p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001.*
Table 18 Study 2: Hierarchical Regression Analysis Predicting the Amount of Money Participants Intended to Donate to the Organization

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*Note. *p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001.*
Table 19 Study 2: Hierarchical Regression Analysis Predicting Amount of Time Participants Intended to Spend Helping the Organization

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*Note.* *p* < .05. **p** < .01. ***p** < .001.
Table 20 Study 2: Hierarchical Regression Analysis Predicting Participants’ Sense of Connectedness to the Targets Helped by the Organizations

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*Note. *$p < .05$. **$p < .01$. ***$p < .001$.**
Table 21 Study 2: Hierarchical Regression Analysis Predicting Participants’ Perceptions of "We-ness" With the Targets Helped by the Organizations

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Note. *$p < .05$. **$p < .01$. ***$p < .001$. 
Table 22 Study 3: Means, Standard Deviations, and t-test Results for Male and Female Participants Regardless of Condition

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<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Males’ $M$ ($SD$)</th>
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<td>Amount of Time Willing to Help</td>
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<td>Social Learning Motivations</td>
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Note. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$. † $p = .055$. 
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*Note.* *p* < .05. **p** < .01. ***p*** < .001.