

Rape Myth Acceptance: Exploration of Its Structure and Its Measurement Using the *Illinois Rape Myth Acceptance Scale*

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A series of six studies were conducted to explore the structure underlying rape myths and to develop the 45-item *Illinois Rape Myth Acceptance Scale* ("IRMA"). In the first study, 604 participants (mean age 18.8 years, 53% women) rated their level of agreement with 95 pretested rape myth statements. Exploratory and confirmatory multivariate analyses revealed a structure consisting of both a general myth component and seven subcomponents. This structure was replicated in a second study using a new sample and paired comparisons methodology. Study 3 details the development procedures for the IRMA and presents statistics demonstrating its good psychometric properties. Finally, Studies 4–6 support the construct validity of the IRMA. Findings are discussed in terms of their implications for theory, measurement, future research, and intervention. © 1999 Academic Press

INTRODUCTION

The concept of rape myths was first introduced in the 1970s by sociologists (e.g., Schwendinger & Schwendinger, 1974) and feminists (e.g., Brownmiller, 1975) who described a complex set of cultural beliefs thought to support and perpetuate male sexual violence against women. As Brownmiller (1974) described:

The male myths of rape appear as cornerstones in most pseudoscientific inquiries into female sexuality; they are quoted by many so-called "experts" on the sex offender. They crop up in literature; they charge the cannons of the dirty jokesters. They deliberately obscure the true nature of rape. (p.312)

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The Schwendingers discussed several common myths which state that rape is impossible without the consent of the victim, that women “ask for rape,” and that rape is a result of uncontrollable male passions. Brownmiller (1975) similarly mentioned a number of myths regarding rape, including “the beautiful victim,” the prevalence of false charges, the existence of female masochism, and the characteristics of both “typical” rapists and “vengeful” women.

Although Brownmiller (1975) and Schwendinger and Schwendinger (1974) provided examples with varying content, both theorized that the cultural mythology surrounding rape serves to perpetuate male sexual aggression against women. This was thought to be achieved by simultaneously blaming the victim, absolving the perpetrator, and minimizing or justifying the aggression. In this regard, rape myths were seen as functioning in a similar manner to other constructs prominent in the social scientific literature, including Lerner’s (1980) notion of just world beliefs and Ryan’s (1976) ideology of blaming the victim.

SOCIAL SCIENTIFIC CONCEPTUALIZATION AND MEASUREMENT

Although the construct was introduced during the era of second wave feminism, it was not until 1980 that Martha Burt published the first social scientific examination of rape myth acceptance. In an article entitled, *Cultural myths and supports for rape*, Burt (1980) defined rape myths as “prejudicial, stereotyped, or false beliefs about rape, rape victims, and rapists” and theorized that they serve to create a climate “hostile to rape victims” (p.217). She asserts:

The hypothesized net effect of rape myths is to deny or reduce perceived injury or to blame the victims for their own victimization. (Burt, 1980, p.217)

In this way, the definition of rape myths echoed a previously existing emphasis on cultural function by normalizing sexual victimization and blaming its victims.

The Rape Myth Acceptance Scale (RMAS)

In addition to defining the construct of rape myths, Burt (1980) also presented the first tool for measuring individual levels of endorsement—the RMAS—which remains the most widely used in the field. Scores on the RMAS were examined in relation to a large number of background, personality, experiential, and attitudinal variables. Results suggested that only the cluster of attitudinal variables were correlated with the scale, including the acceptance of traditional sex role stereotypes, interpersonal violence, and adversarial sexual beliefs. In reference to this cluster of cultural beliefs and attitudes, Burt (1980) concluded that:

The data presented here suggest that the combination of pressures of sex role stereotyping and the psychological availability of violence have helped to produce a rape rate in the United States that is the highest of any industrialized country. (p.229)

This original description has since informed the majority of empirical research with rape myths, much of which has utilized the attitudinal measures originally presented in Burt (1980).

Empirical Research with the RMAS

Since Burt's (1980) original research, a large number of studies have been conducted with the RMAS and other measures of rape myth acceptance. Many have simply replicated Burt's (1980) results, whereas others have expanded the literature by exploring the relationship of rape myth acceptance with a wide range of beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors (see Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994, for a review of the rape myth research). Despite the extant research, however, this literature has produced what is perhaps a disappointing number of robust conclusions. For example, although men are invariably found to be more accepting of rape myths than women, virtually no other demographic or background variable has shown a consistent pattern of relation (Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994). Furthermore, a number of beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors have been linked to the construct of rape myth acceptance, yet "many of these relationships appear to reflect simple common sense, as well as a certain circularity" (Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994, p.148).

RECONCEPTUALIZATION OF RAPE MYTH ACCEPTANCE

For all of these reasons, in a series of previous articles, Lonsway and Fitzgerald (1994, 1995) sought to provide a redefinition and reconceptualization of the rape myth construct. This began with examining the concept of myth from a variety of intellectual disciplines and noting three elements that are common and therefore presumably central. Within the traditions of psychology, sociology, anthropology, and philosophy, the concept of myth is theorized to constitute (1) false or apocryphal beliefs that (2) explain some cultural phenomenon and (3) whose importance lies in maintaining existing cultural arrangements. When this idea of myth was then combined with the cultural theory of rape, the following definition was proposed:

Rape myths are *attitudes and beliefs that are generally false but are widely and persistently held, and that serve to deny and justify male sexual aggression against women.* (Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994, p.134).¹

¹ The reader will notice that this definition of rape myths focuses exclusively on male violence against women. Although we recognize that women can rape and men can be victimized, our definition of rape myths specifically focuses on male violence against women for two reasons. First, the overwhelming majority of adult rape victims are female and an even larger proportion of rape perpetrators are male (e.g., Poppen & Segal, 1988). Second, there exists no corresponding set of cultural beliefs that serve to deny and justify the existence of female

Such a definition of rape myths bears more than a coincidental similarity to the notion of stereotypes. Like stereotypes, the importance of rape myths lies not in their ability to truthfully characterize any particular instance of sexual violence; rather, the significance of cultural rape myths is in their overgeneralized and shared nature as well as their specified psychological and societal function.

Rape Myths as an Example of Stereotyping

This twin focus on shared beliefs and cultural function are not new to the stereotyping literature. For example, although stereotypes were originally thought simply to represent false or overgeneralized beliefs (Ashmore & Del Boca, 1981),² more recent conceptualizations emphasize their nature as beliefs shared by a community or broader society (Gardner, 1994). This emphasis on shared beliefs is reflected in the first part of the rape myth definition, specifying that they are “widely and persistently held.”

In addition, stereotyping research has begun to return to an earlier focus on psychological and cultural *function*, and this idea is reflected in the second part of the rape myth definition—that they “serve to deny and justify male sexual aggression against women.” Such an emphasis on function is particularly useful because it affords at least a partial answer to the pernicious question of why otherwise good people hold such harmful ideas about rape. That is, a functional analysis suggests that we cling to stereotypic conceptions of the world because they serve a number of psychological motivations. These motivations include (1) maintaining cognitive economy by simplifying incoming information; (2) protecting self-esteem with downward comparison and the derogation of others; and (3) helping people “fit in and identify” with social and cultural groups (Snyder & Miene, 1994, p.36). As these authors have noted, the functions served by stereotypes can thereby “allow their holders to dismiss, ignore, or otherwise detach themselves from the targets of these attitudes and actions” (Snyder & Miene, 1994, p.47).³

Illustrations of Rape Myth Content and Function

Two examples provided in Lonsway and Fitzgerald (1994) serve to illustrate several important elements of the theoretical definition. For example, common rape myths suggest that women routinely lie about rape and that

violence or male victimization. Because the rape myths themselves focus exclusively on male sexual aggression against women, so too does our theoretical definition for the construct.

² This notion of stereotypes is reflected in the original definition of rape myths, that they are “prejudicial, stereotyped, or false beliefs about rape, rape victims, and rapists” (Burt, 1980, p.217).

³ This theorized function of stereotyping is similar to the concept of “empathy avoidance,” an hypothesized motivation to actively avoid empathizing in order to evade the obligation of responding with assistance (Shaw, Batson, & Todd, 1994).

only “certain kinds of women” are victimized. In both cases, it is clear that any individual instance might conform to the characteristics described in cultural rape mythology. For example, there is undeniably some percentage of women who report false charges of sexual victimization and there are certain situational or personal characteristics that differentiate women who have been raped from those who have not.

Despite their generally false nature, these ideas are thought to constitute myths based on their exaggeration, emphasis, and function. The idea that women “cry rape” functions to deny the widespread prevalence of sexual victimization, whereas the notion that only “certain kinds of women” are raped serves “to obscure and deny the personal vulnerability of all women by suggesting that only other women are raped” (Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994, p.136). Thus, although the functions of rape mythology appear many and multilayered, these examples illustrate that primary among these functions are denial and justification, made possible by a complex set of cultural beliefs meeting the above definitional criteria.

STRUCTURAL ISSUES

Despite extant theoretical and empirical work with the construct of rape myths, comparatively little research has focused on the questions of underlying structure and conceptual mapping. One notable exception is Feild’s (1978) study, in which the author presented results of a factor analysis with his commonly used *Attitudes Toward Rape Scale*. In this study, eight factors were extracted, accounting for 50% of the variance. These factors were labeled (1) *Woman’s responsibility in rape prevention*; (2) *Sex as motivation for rape*; (3) *Severe punishment for rape*; (4) *Victim precipitation of rape*; (5) *Normality of rapists*; (6) *Power as motivation for rape*; (7) *Favorable perception of a woman after rape*; and (8) *Resistance as woman’s role during rape*.

A second exception is the work of Briere, Malamuth, and Check (1985), who factor analyzed the most widely used instrument in the field—the *Rape Myth Acceptance Scale* (Burt, 1980). The authors reported a four-factor structure which accounted for 57.4% of the total variance. These factors were (1) *Disbelief of rape claims*; (2) *Victim responsible for rape*; (3) *Rape reports as manipulation*; and (4) *Rape only happens to certain kinds of women*.

The Importance of Structural Investigation

Despite the lack of attention structural questions have received, they are important to examine for two reasons. First, it is clear that prior work has neglected to address significant aspects of the rape myth construct including, for example, the issues of victim deservedness and characterization or motivation of perpetrators. Second, structural investigations are important because it seems unlikely that all rape myths would function in the same way

across all individuals and groups. For instance, it may be that men are relatively more accepting of myths that justify rape, whereas women are more likely to endorse those that deny their personal vulnerability to rape (Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1995). In addition, issues of structure and dimensionality may help to explain certain counterintuitive findings, such as the suggestion that personal experience of sexual victimization is unrelated to overall level of rape myth acceptance (Muehlenhard & Linton, 1987; Muehlenhard & MacNaughton, 1988; Mynatt & Allgeier, 1990; Reilly, Lott, Caldwell, & DeLuca, 1992). Perhaps the experience of victimization reduces acceptance of certain rape myths (e.g., those that deny the pervasiveness of rape) but increases acceptance of others (e.g., those that involve victim blaming). Such important and differential effects would only “wash out” with the kind of global assessment that has always been used to tap rape myth acceptance.

The Present Research: Studies 1 and 2

The first goal of the present work was therefore to address these shortcomings and conduct the first large-scale investigation into the question of rape myth structure. Specifically, two empirical studies are described that use conceptually and analytically distinct approaches to explicating the structure of cultural rape mythology. The first (Study 1) examines the structure of rape myth endorsement using standard multivariate techniques, such as cluster analysis and structural equations modeling. The second (Study 2) then investigates perceptions of the similarity of cultural rape myths using the technique of individual differences scaling (INDSCAL; Carroll & Chang, 1970).

MEASUREMENT CONSIDERATIONS

The second goal of this work was to develop and explore the validity of an innovative measure of rape myth acceptance—the *Illinois Rape Myth Acceptance (IRMA) Scale*. This endeavor involved the careful consideration of a number of important issues, including representation of the rape myth construct, wording and clarity of items, colloquial phrases, and response sets. Each of these issues is discussed in turn below.

Representation of the Rape Myth Construct

Arguably, the most important consideration in the development of any psychometric measure is accurate representation of the construct, which entails three interrelated properties: (1) a well-defined, theoretically based construct, (2) a clearly articulated domain of content, and (3) a comprehensive understanding of the domain structure. Existing measures of rape myth acceptance are limited by all three of these factors.

A review of the rape myth literature, for example, identified 24 different instruments designed to assess rape myth acceptance, all of which varied significantly in their definitions of the construct and representation of the

content domain (Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994).⁴ Burt's (1980) *Rape Myth Acceptance Scale* focuses almost exclusively on the characteristics and role of the victim, whereas Field's (1978) *Attitudes Toward Rape Scale* assesses more general attitudes regarding society's role in preventing rape. Additionally, most rape myth acceptance scales do not have items devoted to characteristics of the rapist, and some items from these scales seem to be tapping ideas not generally considered part of the rape myth domain. For example, there is an item on Larsen and Long's (1988) measure which states that: "Young girls (under 12) cannot act seductively." This is a problem that cannot be resolved by a "flight into statistics"; preliminary work must adequately define the construct and delineate the domain before a measure can be created.

Wording and Clarity of Items

On a more concrete level, existing measures of rape myth acceptance are also problematic with regard to wording and clarity of items. Clearly, scale reliability and validity depend on wording that is clear and uniformly understood by all respondents, yet this is often not the case with rape myth scales. Consider the following item: "If a woman gets drunk at a party and has intercourse with a man she's just met there, she should be considered 'fair game' to other males at the party who want to have sex with her, whether she wants to or not" (Burt, 1980). Such an item is far too complex to be answered reliably as it contains several separate ideas; endorsement could indicate agreement to any one of its several statements. In addition, it describes a scenario that is much too specific to be considered a common rape myth. In developing a rape myth measure, therefore, the original item pool must be carefully created and pretested to avoid such difficulties with item wording and clarity.

Colloquial Phrases

A related concern is the use of colloquial phrases in rape myth items. Phrases such as "taught a lesson" or "necking" are often seen in rape myth scales, despite the fact that they tend to quickly outdate the scale, frequently have different meanings for different people, and limit the cross-cultural applicability of the measure (Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994). Unfortunately, these problems are difficult to avoid, as sexual communication in our culture relies heavily on such euphemisms and colloquial wordings. In addition, sexual phrases like "teach her a thing or two," "put out," and "score" have important connotations that are difficult to capture absent slang terminology.

When developing our current measure, a compromise position was taken

⁴ More scales have been introduced since the publication of that review (e.g. Johnson, Kuck, & Schander, 1997).

on this particular question by including both types of items—those using traditional wording as well as those with euphemisms or cultural slang. It was reasoned that the meaning of such phrases as “teach her a thing or two” would be relatively clear in the context of other items explicitly referring to rape, and there is also an ancillary benefit that respondents will not be inundated with the word “rape” in every item in the scale.

Response Sets

A final issue in the IRMA development was that of minimizing the potential for response bias. Typically, scales are written so that approximately half their items are negatively worded. Most existing rape myth measures use such an approach to minimize the potential bias of response sets. However, we argue that it is inappropriate to include negatively worded statements in a rape myth acceptance scale, as such statements are not rape myths per se. The alternative used in the IRMA was to include a number of statements that are negatively worded, in the sense that they contain anti-rape statements, but do not directly contradict any particular rape myth and do not contribute to the total scale value. These “filler items” are included only to inhibit response sets and are therefore discarded before conducting any statistical analysis. Examples of such filler items include: “Self-defense classes should be available without charge to women” and “Newspapers should not release the name of a rape victim to the public.”

The Present Research: Studies 3–6

In the present article, we introduce a measure of rape myth acceptance that was developed to address the considerations outlined above. Specifically, items for the IRMA Scale were based on a clear and concise definition of rape myths, and the scale was designed to represent the content and structure of the rape myth domain as delineated in Studies 1 and 2. Attention was paid to the wording and polarity of items, and colloquial phrases were used sparingly but intentionally. As a result, Study 3 consists of the delineation of scale development procedures and the introduction of the 45-item IRMA and its 20-item short form (IRMA-SF).

Whereas the content validity of the IRMA was addressed by methods of construction, its construct validity was examined in Studies 4 through 6. Study 4 examines the relationship of the IRMA to measures of closely related constructs, Study 5 contrasts IRMA scores in groups training for positions traditionally known to differ in their levels of rape myth acceptance, and Study 6 examines IRMA scores in relation to the actual use of cultural rape mythology in an open, narrative task.

DEVELOPMENT OF RAPE MYTH ITEM POOL AND DATASET

To begin our investigation of the structure of cultural rape mythology, and to subsequently develop a measure of rape myth acceptance reflecting

this structure, we first created a large pool of rape myth items based on a thorough review of the literature and discussion with experts in the field. From this work, we developed 120 items which were pretested in several student samples utilizing traditional psychometric analysis as well as non-parametric techniques, including multidimensional scaling and cluster analysis (see Payne, 1993, for a description of this pretesting). Based on this pretesting, items were eliminated or revised, resulting in a rationally derived structure of 19 rape myth categories with five items assessing each category (total, 95 items). Labels for these 19 categories are provided in the Appendix, along with the 19×19 correlation matrix of within-category item sums. An example of a rape myth category is "Women lie about rape," which is represented by items such as "A lot of women lead a man on and then cry rape."

Item Pool Data Collection

Participants. The item pool data collection involved administering these 95 rape myth items to 780 undergraduate students at a large Midwestern university, all of whom participated in the study in partial fulfillment of course requirements for psychology or educational psychology. These data were collected in two phases, with Phase I surveying 604 respondents and Phase II surveying 176 respondents. Data from Phase I were used in Studies 1 and 3, whereas data from Phase II were used in Study 4. Demographic information on the samples from the two phases are described in the studies in which the data are used.

Procedure. The procedures for both phases in the item pool data collection were identical. Specifically, items were administered in same-sex groups of eight or less, each with a same-sex experimenter. Included in the administration of the 95 rape myth items were 9 oppositely worded "filler" items (as described previously) that concern rape but are not themselves rape myths. These 9 filler items were interspersed throughout the 95 rape myth statements and were not scored for subsequent analyses; they served only to discourage response sets. An example of a filler item is "It should be required that a female police officer be present when a woman reports a rape." Other questionnaires were also administered during the item pool data collection, and these are described in the studies (below) in which they were used.

The 780 participants responded to all items via an interactive computer program that presented each item on the screen. Respondents were asked to rate their level of agreement to the 104 rape items using a 7-point Likert scale, anchored by 1 (*not at all agree*) and 7 (*very much agree*). To minimize order effects, the rape items were randomly ordered eight different times. Each of these eight random orders was then slightly modified to ensure that (1) the 9 filler items were well-spaced throughout the rape myth items, (2) 1 filler item was among the first 5 presented to the participant, and (3) the

first 3 items clearly referred to rape (e.g., used the word “rape” rather than “asking for trouble”). For each participant, the computer used one of these eight modified random orders when presenting items.

The computer program required each participant to wait at least 3 s before entering his or her response; premature responses elicited a beep and a statement telling the person to “slow down,” and the original item was then re-presented for rating. Out-of-range values elicited a similar error response. Finally, 20% of the rape myth items were repeated to a subset of participants to obtain an estimate of immediate test–retest stability. The correlation between the first and second presentation of items was $r(495) = .90, p < .001$, indicating good test–retest stability.

THEORETICAL STRUCTURE OF THE RAPE MYTH CONSTRUCT

The first two studies of this series of six were designed to explicate the structure of cultural rape mythology using two different empirical methods that are conceptually and analytically distinct. Study 1 examines the structure of rape myth endorsement using standard multivariate techniques, such as cluster analysis and structural equations modeling. Study 2 investigates perceptions (rather than endorsement) of cultural rape myths using the technique of individual differences scaling (INDSCAL; Carroll & Chang, 1970).

Study 1: Structure of Rape Myth Acceptance

Participants. The 604 respondents from Phase I data collection on the rape myth item pool were utilized in this study. For this study, the sample was randomly divided (within sex) to produce two separate subsamples labeled, respectively, *Sample A* (160 women and 142 men) and *Sample B* (160 women and 142 men). The mean age for Sample A was 19.0 years ($SD = 3.0$) and for Sample B was 18.6 years ($SD = 2.4$).

Preliminary structural analyses. Preliminary analyses were conducted with Sample A to refine both the item pool and the rape myth concept itself. Iterative exploratory factor analyses yielded 11 rape myth components that consistently appeared as factors across analyses and item sets; six poorly functioning items were also identified and removed from the item pool (analyses were conducted on Pearson product–moment correlations, using SPSS/PC+, Version 4.0, Norusis & SPSS, Inc., 1990). Examination of these 11 components revealed them to be theoretically meaningful and easily interpretable. They were thus labeled: *She was careless*; *She implicitly agreed*; *She deserved it*; *It wasn't really rape*; *He didn't mean to*; *She wanted it*; *She lied*; *Rape is a trivial event*; *Rape is a deviant event*; *Rape is natural*; and *Rape is inevitable*.

An additional set of multivariate analyses was conducted in the interest of parsimony and further refinement of the construct. Cluster analysis and principal component analysis (using SYSTAT, Version 4.0, Wilkinson,

1988) of the correlations among the 11 components indicated that *Rape is inevitable* and *Rape is natural* were not highly related to the other components and therefore, presumably, not to the general rape myth acceptance construct. In addition, these components contained only two items each. Given these considerations, it was reasoned that these components had limited utility and were therefore eliminated from subsequent analyses.

Results also suggested that the three components *She implicitly agreed*, *She was careless*, and *She deserved it* could be consolidated with little loss of information; all three appear to be subtypes of a more general component describing victim precipitation, with only subtle distinctions among them (for instance, the component *She deserved it* conveys an element of anger or contempt not present in the other two components). We decided parsimony was more important than preserving these subtle distinctions and these facets were consolidated in subsequent analyses. The final set of components included these seven: *She asked for it*; *It wasn't really rape*; *He didn't mean to*; *She wanted it*; *She lied*; *Rape is a trivial event*; and *Rape is a deviant event*.

Comparison of three structural models. Based on the above results, we constructed three competing models of rape myth acceptance which were then evaluated in a separate sample of participants (Sample B) via structural equations models. The first model conceptualizes rape myth acceptance as a single unidimensional construct. Consistent with the assumption underlying the majority of the rape myth acceptance literature, this model posits that one general factor accounts for the majority of the variance among the various rape myths and that distinctions among them are inconsequential. We termed this the "Unidimensional" model. The second model reflects the opposite assumption, that the seven individual components are distinct and unrelated to one another and that the contribution of a general factor is trivial. This model is equivalent to ordinary confirmatory factor analysis with orthogonal factors and is termed the "Multidimensional" model. Finally, we hypothesized a third model, against which the previous two were compared. This model, a synthesis of the Unidimensional and Multidimensional models, posits (1) a general rape myth acceptance factor underlying all of the myths, as well as (2) distinct rape myth acceptance components accounting for a substantial amount of the variance among the rape myths. We labeled this model the "Hierarchical model." Path diagrams representing the three models appear in Fig. 1.

In all of these structural models, each rape myth component (or "latent variable") was represented by three separate observed variables (or "indicators") formed by summing across non-overlapping sets of items from within each component. For example, if the component *She asked for it* were represented by items A, B, C, D, E, F, and G from the original item pool, one of the three indicators for this component may have been formed by summing

Unidimensional Model

Multidimensional Model

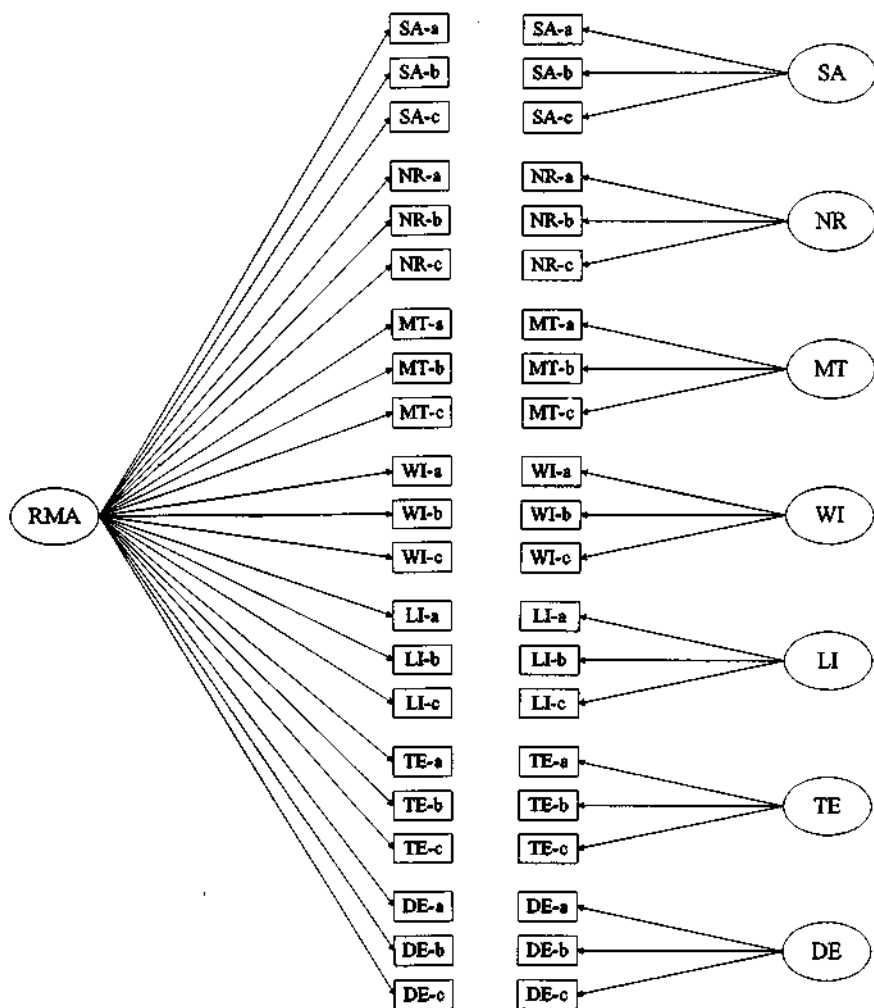


FIG. 1. Three models of rape myth acceptance: (1) The Unidimensional model, (2) the multidimensional model, and (3) the hierarchical model: SA, *She asked for it*; NR, *It wasn't really rape*; MT, *He didn't mean to*; WI, *She wanted it*; LI, *She lied*; TE, *Rape is a trivial event*; DE, *Rape is a deviant event*.

Hierarchical Model

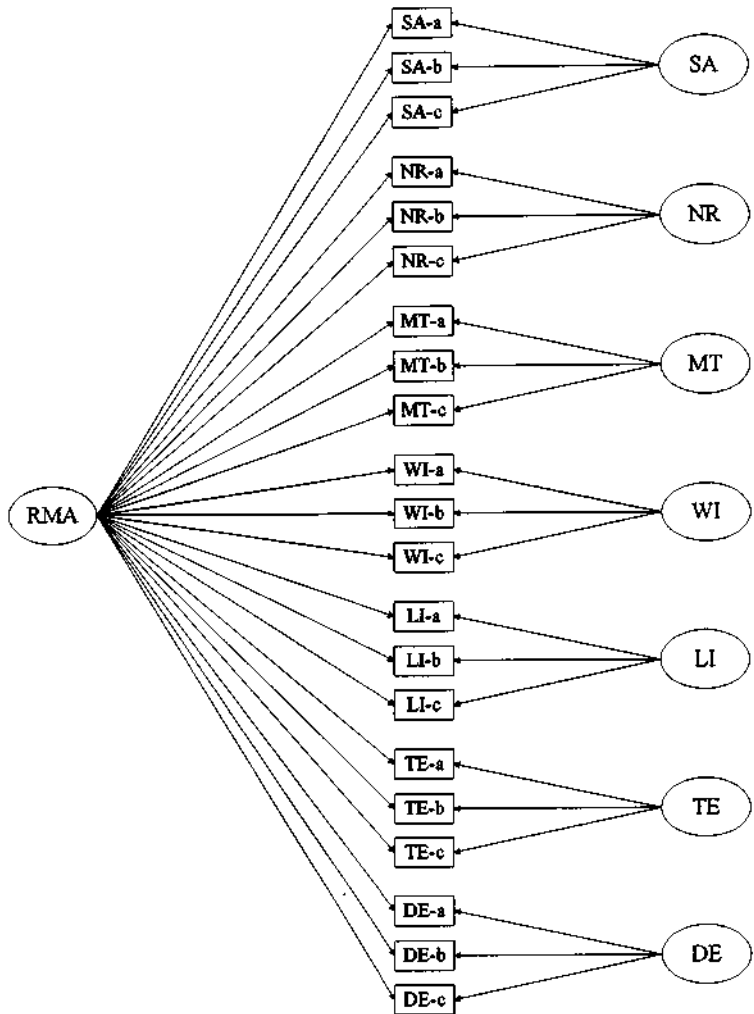


FIG. 1—Continued

items A, D, and E, another by items B and G, and the third by items C and F. Each indicator was constructed such that it contained items covering the range of content areas within the component, with at least one high-variance item and one item strongly related to its respective component. Indicators were constructed in this “subscale” manner to possess greater stability than indicators at the item level.

TABLE 1
 λ Values for Three Models of Rape Myth Acceptance

Observed variable	Model			
	Unidimensional: λ General factor	Multidimensional: λ Subcomponent	Hierarchical	
			λ General factor	λ Subcomponent
SA-a	.87	.94	.46	.83
SA-b	.85	.89	.37	.81
SA-c	.87	.91	.36	.84
NR-a	.60	.82	.54	.60
NR-b	.60	.73	.44	.59
NR-c	.42	.67	.54	.41
MT-a	.58	.72	.44	.57
MT-b	.52	.71	.50	.50
MT-c	.63	.84	.55	.63
WI-a	.76	.87	.45	.75
WI-b	.70	.87	.53	.69
WI-c	.67	.85	.55	.65
LI-a	.75	.84	.37	.75
LI-b	.76	.88	.50	.74
LI-c	.76	.78	.26	.75
TE-a	.42	.52	.32	.41
TE-b	.72	.88	.49	.72
TE-c	.70	.77	.34	.71
DE-a	.53	.68	.44	.52
DE-b	.50	.63	.40	.49
DE-c	.55	.83	.65	.54

Note. λ , coefficient relating latent variable to indicator (observed variable); SA, *She asked for it*; NR, *It wasn't really rape*; MT, *He didn't mean to*; WI, *She wanted it*; LI, *She lied*; TE, *Rape is a trivial event*; DE, *Rape is a deviant event*. "Observed variable" refers to variables that were constructed by summing over non-overlapping sets of items that tap a particular content domain.

PC-LISREL, Version 6.11 (Jöreskog & Sörbom, 1984) was used to examine the fit of the models depicted in Fig. 1. All analyses were conducted with Sample B ($n = 302$) using the 21 summed-item indicators, with Pearson correlation matrices, and maximum-likelihood estimation. In these analyses, the ϕ matrix (the covariance matrix of the latent variables) was constrained to equal an identity matrix to provide a scale for the latent variables. λ coefficients (analogous to "factor loadings") for each of the three models are presented in Table 1.

Model 1, the Unidimensional model, yielded a χ^2 (189, $N = 302$) of 1112, indicating a poor fit of the model to the data. The goodness-of-fit index (GFI) and the adjusted goodness-of-fit index (AGFI) were 0.70 and 0.63, respectively, confirming the poor fit of this model. These results suggest that con-

conceptualizing rape myth acceptance as a general unitary construct does not adequately capture its nature. Examination of the Multidimensional model yielded comparable results with regard to fit: χ^2 (189, $N = 302$) = 1446, GFI = 0.59, and AGFI = 0.49. Thus, conceptualizing rape myth acceptance solely as a set of as distinct, unrelated components also appears to be inadequate. The Hierarchical model, on the other hand, demonstrated a good fit to the data, with χ^2 (168, $N = 302$) = 380, GFI = 0.91, and AGFI = 0.87. In addition, the λ values (coefficients relating indicators to latent variables) of all 21 indicators were large for both general and specific factors, with all t -values greater than 3.5 and 80% over 7.0. These results confirm the existence of both a substantial general factor and strong specific components of rape myth acceptance. In sum, neither the Unidimensional model nor the Multidimensional model was well supported by the present data. Rather, the results indicate that a more accurate conceptualization must recognize rape myth acceptance as a cohesive construct on its own, with the incremental utility of distinct components. In the following section, we examine whether this structure holds equally well for men and women.

Comparison of structures across gender. For a topic such as rape, it is reasonable to suggest that the structure of the construct (the relationships among the latent variables and indicators) may differ by gender. To examine this possibility, we conducted multigroup LISREL analyses on the entire sample (Sample A + Sample B), thus ensuring sufficient sample sizes within groups (284 men and 320 women). Because men and women were represented in proportionately equal numbers in Samples A and B, any biases that may result from such sample reuse would affect each group equally. The indicators used for these analyses were constructed using the same sets of summed items described previously.

In a multigroup analysis, the obtained χ^2 and parameter values are the result of a simultaneous analysis of all groups in the analysis, conditional on the constraints placed between groups. In the analyses conducted here, the patterns of relationships among variables were constrained to be equal in the two gender groups; that is, responses of men and women were both fit to the Hierarchical model shown in Fig. 1. However, in the first analysis, the parameter values were allowed to differ across gender, whereas in the second analysis, these values were constrained to be equal. The logic of the procedure is this: if the structure of rape myth acceptance were indeed the same for men and women, the difference between the results of these two analyses should be minimal (e.g., the difference in χ^2 values of these two models relative to their difference in degrees of freedom should be small, equaling 1 or 2).

In the first analysis, where the parameter values were allowed to differ, the resulting χ^2 (336, $N = 604$) was found to equal 560. In the second analysis, where the parameter values were constrained to be equal across gender,

the χ^2 (399, $N = 604$) equaled 663. In comparing the two results, the difference in χ^2 is 103 and the difference in degrees of freedom is 63. The ratio of these values is 1.6, indicating that the relationships among rape myths are highly similar across gender.

Summary of Study 1. Study 1 examined the structure of rape myth endorsement using multivariate techniques, including cluster analysis, factor analysis, and structural equations models. The results of this series of analyses indicated that rape myth acceptance is most adequately conceptualized as consisting of both a general component and seven distinct myth components: *She asked for it; It wasn't really rape; He didn't mean to; She really wanted it; She lied; Rape is a trivial event; and Rape is a deviant event.* Multigroup LISREL analyses indicated that this structure applies equally well for men and women. To further explore this structure as well as to test its stability, Study 2 utilized a new sample of participants, a different methodology, and a different analytic strategy from Study 1. Specifically, Study 2 examined the structure of perceptions of rape myths via paired comparisons and the method of individual-differences scaling. Thus, whereas Study 1 examined the structure of agreement to these rape myth items, this paired-comparisons methodology looks at the structure of their *perceived similarity*, regardless of level of agreement.

Study 2: Structure of Rape Myth Perceptions

Participants and procedure. Twenty-four men and 23 women participated in this study; their average age was 25.5 years ($SD = 10.8$). Thirty-one (66%) participated in partial fulfillment of an introductory psychology course requirement and 16 (34%) were university employees recruited for the study and paid \$10.00 for their participation.

As with Study 1, all experimental sessions were conducted in same-sex sessions by a same-sex administrator, and no more than six individuals were present in any one session. Participants completed similarity ratings of all possible pairs of a set of rape myth statements via an interactive computer program. For these ratings, 19 items were derived from the original 95-item pool, with 1 item from each of the 19 original categories (see Appendix for labels describing these 19 categories). Participants were informed that their task was to make judgements of the *similarity* of pairs of statements concerning rape on a 9-point rating scale, ranging from 1 = *not at all similar* to 9 = *very similar*. They were instructed to try to use the full range of the scale when making their ratings and to base their judgments on the content of the statements as opposed to whether they agreed with them.

To familiarize participants with the range of statements they would be rating, items were presented on the computer screen for 8 s each. Participants were then asked to make practice ratings on several pairs of these 19 items; this was done to further familiarize them with both the items and the rating

task itself. Participants were given a maximum of 50 practice trials, but were required to complete at least 10 before beginning the actual rating task. The mean number of practice ratings was 12.5 (SD = 4.2).

For the actual rating task, all possible pairs of statements were presented to participants. The total number of pairs was 171 [$n(n-1)/2$, where $n = 19$]. Order of presentation was determined by a Ross matrix (Ross, 1939; Wells, 1991) to ensure that the statements were counterbalanced with respect to order and that intervals between presentations of the same item were maximized (the initial ordering used by the Ross matrix was random). The computer was programmed such that if a subject entered an out-of-range value, a message flashed on the screen informing the participant of their error, and the pair was re-presented for rating. Task completion time generally ranged between 30 and 45 min.

INDSCAL analyses of the "stimulus space" in two dimensions. Individual differences scaling ("INDSCAL," Carroll & Chang, 1970) is a procedure that finds the most salient or important dimensions that participants use to make their rating decisions by capitalizing on, rather than averaging over, the differences among participants' ratings. Unlike ordinary multidimensional scaling, the dimensions identified from INDSCAL are fixed and nonarbitrary and presumed to be psychologically meaningful; resulting dimensions are therefore not rotated for interpretation. INDSCAL analyses were conducted on our paired-comparisons data using the computer program SINDSCAL (Pruzansky, 1975).

The "stimulus space" that emerges from an INDSCAL solution is, for the most part, conceptually the same as the product of regular two-way multidimensional scaling. That is, the stimulus space from INDSCAL is an n -dimensional structural representation of the relationships among the objects (stimuli) that were compared. The stimulus space that emerged for our rape myth comparison task was a two-dimensional solution accounting for 29% of the variance among the data; this structure is shown graphically in Fig. 2. Letters in this figure represent the category from which each item was derived (see Appendix for category labels; note that the labels themselves are not the items that were compared).

The first dimension appears to separate items according to whether they *Deny versus Justify Rape*, whereas the second appears to distinguish those that have a *Victim versus Perpetrator Focus*. To examine the components within this representation, a complete-link cluster analysis was then conducted on the matrix equal to the sum of the 47 individual subject matrices. Nine clusters were identified through this analysis and embedded in the figure representing the INDSCAL stimulus space (Fig. 2).

Six of the nine clusters were labeled as follows: (1) the cluster containing items M, E, and N was labeled *Male absolution*; (2) the cluster containing items O and R was labeled *Women lie about rape*; (3) the cluster with item

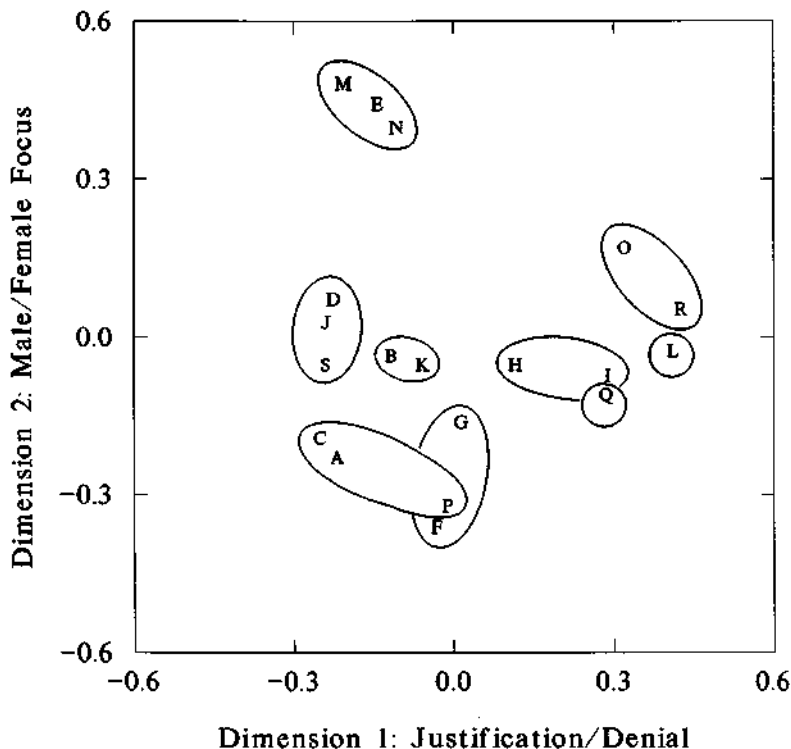


FIG. 2. INDSCAL Stimulus Space: A two-dimensional representation of relationships among 19 rape myth items. Letters represent item category, as listed in the Appendix.

L was labeled *Women exaggerate about the effects of rape*; (4) the cluster with items H and I was labeled *It's not rape if . . .*; (5) the cluster containing item Q was labeled *Rape only occurs in the bad part of town*; and (6) the cluster containing items G and F was labeled *She wanted it or enjoyed it*. These six clusters correspond almost exactly to six of the seven components found in the Study 1, minus the Study 1 component *She asked for it*. The remaining three clusters contain the following item sets: (7) D, J, and S labeled *She led him on*; (8) B and K labeled *The woman is responsible for preventing the rape*; and (9) C, A, and P labeled as *She was a tease/promiscuous*. These latter three clusters appear to be subtypes of the more general *She asked for it* component of Study 1. Considering the complexity of the stimuli in this paired comparison task, as well as the small number of items used, these similarities between Studies 1 and 2 are quite remarkable.

Comparison of rape myth perceptions across gender. Study 1 revealed no significant gender differences in the underlying structure of rape myth acceptance. The present set of analyses examined whether the salience of

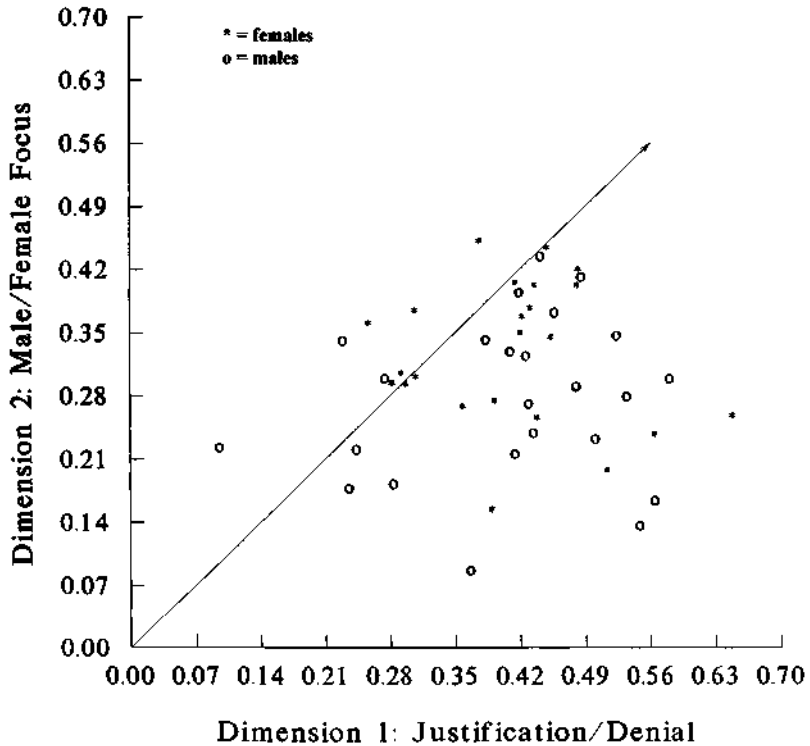


FIG. 3. INDSICAL Subject Space: Graphical representation of dimension salience to individual raters.

dimensions used to evaluate the *similarity* of rape myth statements might differ by gender. That is, regardless of their level of agreement, did men and women pay attention to the same aspects of the rape myth statements in making these comparisons?

The salience of dimensions used by each participant is represented by the "subject space" in the INDSICAL solution. Individuals' weights in this subject space range between 0 and 1, with higher numbers representing greater salience, or use, of that dimension. Figure 3 represents the subject space for the two-dimensional solution, with men identified by "o" and women identified by "*".

In Fig. 3, a line depicting a 45° angle to the X axis separates individuals according to whether they emphasized dimension 1 over dimension 2 (those below the line) or dimension 2 over dimension 1 (those above the line) in making their comparisons. In addition, the graph depicts the fit of the two-dimensional model for each individual, such that respondents closest to the

origin have a poorer fit to the model; that is, they make relatively little use of either dimension compared to individuals further from this point.

Two strategies were used to determine whether gender influenced dimension use. First, we simply examined whether the dimension weights themselves predict gender (i.e., does one gender tend to use either dimension more than the other gender?). Informal inspection of Figure 5 suggests that there are no systematic differences among gender. Confirming this observation, a discriminant function analysis using the dimension weights to predict gender was not significant, $F(2, 44) = 1.9, p > .05$). That is, men and women did not differ in their use of the two dimensions.

Because dimension weights are confounded with overall fit of the model for the individual, our second approach to examining gender differences used the ratio of the dimension weights. This approach asks, for example, does one gender tend to weigh the dimensions in different proportions than the other gender? To examine whether relative dimension salience differentiates the genders, a t test was performed on the log of the dimension 1-to-dimension 2 ratio.⁵ This result was not significant, $t(45) = 1.1, p > .05$, indicating that men and women did not differ in their relative use of the two dimensions when making their paired comparisons.

Discussion of Studies 1 and 2

In Study 2, 47 participants made paired comparison ratings of 19 rape myth statements. These data were analyzed using INDSCAL and complete-link cluster analysis, revealing a structure with nine clusters represented in two dimensions. These results paralleled the structure identified in Study 1. In addition, just as Study 1 found no gender differences in rape myth acceptance structure, Study 2 revealed no significant gender differences in rape myth dimension salience. This duplicated structure of the rape myth construct, consistent across both genders, served as a framework for the development of our rape myth acceptance scale.

THE IRMA SCALE

Study 3: Scale Construction Procedures

This study details the development of the IRMA Scale, including the criteria for item selection from the original item pool, psychometric properties of the scale, fit to the "Hierarchical model" of rape myth acceptance from Study 1, and a description of a "short-form" of the IRMA.

⁵ The log of the ratio is used because, unlike straight ratios, the log ratio possesses the property of being perfectly negatively related to the log of the inverse ratio.

Participants. Data from the 604 university students (320 women and 284 men) of the Phase I item pool data collection were used for the scale development procedures presented here. The mean age of this sample was 18.9 years ($SD = 2.2$).

Criteria for item selection. The starting point for scale development was the specification of criteria for determining which items should be included. The first criterion was that of *structural integrity*. This was considered one of the most critical, as it helped ensure that the scale conform to the structure of the best-fitting structural equations model identified in Study 1. Briefly, items were favored for inclusion that were highly related to both general rape myth acceptance and one of the seven specific components (as indicated by item-to-total correlations, item-to-subscale correlations, and LISREL analyses).

The second criterion was *clarity*, which refers to efforts to choose items that are simple, straightforward, and clearly worded. Third, items were also selected to ensure that each subscale covered the appropriate range of content (*content coverage*). In a few instances, however, this criterion was found to be at odds with the first. For example, items concerning the use of weapons were not as highly related as others to the component *It wasn't really rape*, yet review of the literature and discussion with experts revealed that this issue is a significant element of this domain and therefore should be represented in the scale. Thus, the "best" of the weapon items was selected with respect to other criteria for inclusion in the scale.

Reliability and content weighting considerations guided the number of items included in each subscale. Reliability requires that a sufficient number of items be selected to ensure that each subscale possesses an adequate alpha (i.e., greater than .75). Because some components contained relatively few items in the original pool, it was necessary to include all or nearly all their items regardless of other properties. Content weighting implies that the number of items within each subscale should reflect the breadth and centrality of the component. We reasoned that accurate representation of the domain would require that broader and more central components contribute proportionately more to the final scale score than other components. Because both components *She asked for it* and *Rape is a deviant event* were broad and central to the construct of rape myth acceptance, these subscales were allocated several more items than were the others. Finally, we attempted to avoid demand characteristics and capitalize on colloquial terminology by ensuring that at least some items employed euphemistic phrases such as "asking for trouble" instead of the word "rape."

The 45-item IRMA. Based on these six criteria, 40 rape myth items were selected for inclusion in the final IRMA Scale. Five of the seven components identified in Studies 1 and 2 were represented by 5 items each, whereas the

two components *She asked for it* and *Rape is a deviant event* contained 8 and 7 items, respectively. These 40 items, along with 5 additional “filler items” to help control response sets, constitute the 45-item IRMA scale. Table 2 presents these final scale items in their designated order of administration; item labels are also included to indicate the subscale structure.

Descriptive statistics. Once items were selected for inclusion, the first step in analysis of the IRMA was to examine traditional item and subscale statistics. Table 3 lists the corrected item-to-total correlations computed within each subscale as well as the total scale. As this table depicts, the corrected item-to-subscale correlations are all acceptably high, ranging from .41 to .72. The item-to-total-scale correlations are slightly lower (as would be expected), ranging from .31 to .68, though still of acceptable magnitude.

Table 4 presents scale and subscale statistics. As can be seen, overall α of the final scale is .93; subscale α s ranged from .74 to .84 and averaged .79. Correlations of each subscale to the total scale score (excluding that particular subscale) ranged from .54 to .74, indicating that the subscales are, as expected, highly related to general rape myth acceptance. Table 4 also presents the means and standard deviations for men and women on the IRMA and its subscales using the 7-point response scale, where 1 = *not at all agree* and 7 = *very much agree*.

Fit to the Hierarchical model. As a final step in our analysis, we fit these item-level data to the Hierarchical model of rape myth acceptance presented in Study 1, the model that formed the theoretical frame for the development of the scale. A diagram of this model appears in Fig. 4. LISREL analyses using PC-LISREL, Version 6.11 (Jöreskog & Sörbom, 1984), produced the following results: $\chi^2(700, N = 604) = 1311$, the GFI = .90, and the AGFI = .88, indicating a good fit of the model, particularly for item-level data. Analyses were conducted on the correlation matrix using maximum-likelihood estimation, and the ϕ matrix was set to an identity matrix to provide a scale for the latent variables. λ coefficients from this LISREL analysis are displayed in Table 3 next to the item-to-total correlations. Inspection of these values shows that they are quite high for both general rape myth acceptance and their specific components; over 80% of the t values are greater than 7.0 and only 4 of the 80 (5%) have t values less than 4.0.

Description of the Illinois Rape Myth Acceptance Scale, Short Form. Psychometric analyses indicate that the 45-item IRMA is theoretically sound and statistically well functioning. However, its length could limit the use of this scale, particularly in research with significant time constraints. To address this issue and allow wider applicability of the scale, a “short form” of the IRMA scale (hereafter referred to as IRMA-SF) was also created. As with the IRMA, the IRMA-SF was designed to possess an adequate α (i.e., greater than .80), provide an accurate representation of the domain of rape myths, and meet the criteria outlined above for the full 45-item scale. How-

TABLE 2
IRMA and IRMA-SF Items

Label	Number	Item
SA-3*	1.	If a woman is raped while she is drunk, she is at least somewhat responsible for letting things get out of control.
WI-5*	2.	Although most women wouldn't admit it, they generally find being physically forced into sex a real "turn-on."
MT-3	3.	When men rape, it is because of their strong desire for sex.
TE-5*	4.	If a woman is willing to "make out" with a guy, then it's no big deal if he goes a little further and has sex.
LI-4	5.	Women who are caught having an illicit affair sometimes claim that it was rape.
FI-1	6.	Newspapers should not release the name of a rape victim to the public.
LI-3	7.	Many so-called rape victims are actually women who had sex and "changed their minds" afterwards.
WI-1*	8.	Many women secretly desire to be raped.
DE-5	9.	Rape mainly occurs on the "bad" side of town.
DE-4	10.	Usually, it is only women who do things like hang out in bars and sleep around that are raped.
FI-2*	11.	Most rapists are not caught by the police.
NR-1*	12.	If a woman doesn't physically fight back, you can't really say that it was rape.
DE-2*	13.	Men from nice middle-class homes almost never rape.
TE-1	14.	Rape isn't as big a problem as some feminists would like people to think.
SA-2	15.	When women go around wearing low-cut tops or short skirts, they're just asking for trouble.
LI-2*	16.	Rape accusations are often used as a way of getting back at men.
NR-5	17.	A rape probably didn't happen if the woman has no bruises or marks.
WI-4	18.	Many women find being forced to have sex very arousing.
SA-4	19.	If a woman goes home with a man she doesn't know, it is her own fault if she is raped.
MT-5	20.	Rapists are usually sexually frustrated individuals.
FI-3*	21.	All women should have access to self-defense classes.
DE-3*	22.	It is usually only women who dress suggestively that are raped.
WI-2	23.	Some women prefer to have sex forced on them so they don't have to feel guilty about it.
NR-3*	24.	If the rapist doesn't have a weapon, you really can't call it a rape.
SA-6	25.	When a woman is a sexual tease, eventually she is going to get into trouble.
TE-3	26.	Being raped isn't as bad as being mugged and beaten.
DE-7*	27.	Rape is unlikely to happen in the woman's own familiar neighborhood.
DE-1	28.	In reality, women are almost never raped by their boyfriends.
TE-2*	29.	Women tend to exaggerate how much rape affects them.
MT-2	30.	When a man is very sexually aroused, he may not even realize that the woman is resisting.

TABLE 2—Continued

Label	Number	Item
LI-1*	31.	A lot of women lead a man on and then they cry rape.
FI-4*	32.	It is preferable that a female police officer conduct the questioning when a woman reports a rape.
LI-5	33.	A lot of times, women who claim they were raped just have emotional problems.
NR-2	34.	If a woman doesn't physically resist sex—even when protesting verbally—it really can't be considered rape.
DE-6	35.	Rape almost never happens in the woman's own home.
SA-5*	36.	A woman who "teases" men deserves anything that might happen.
SA-8*	37.	When women are raped, it's often because the way they said "no" was ambiguous.
TE-4	38.	If a woman isn't a virgin, then it shouldn't be a big deal if her date forces her to have sex.
MT-1*	39.	Men don't usually intend to force sex on a woman, but sometimes they get too sexually carried away.
FI-5	40.	This society should devote more effort to preventing rape.
SA-1*	41.	A woman who dresses in skimpy clothes should not be surprised if a man tries to force her to have sex.
MT-4*	42.	Rape happens when a man's sex drive gets out of control.
SA-7	43.	A woman who goes to the home or apartment of a man on the first date is implying that she wants to have sex.
WI-3	44.	Many women actually enjoy sex after the guy uses a little force.
NR-4	45.	If a woman claims to have been raped but has no bruises or scrapes, she probably shouldn't be taken too seriously.

Note. * Indicates IRMA-SF (short-form) items; item label prefix refers to the subscale corresponding to the item: SA, *She asked for it*; NR, *It wasn't really rape*; MT, *He didn't mean to*; WI, *She wanted it*; LI, *She lied*; TE, *Rape is a trivial event*; DE, *Rape is a deviant event*; FI, filler item (not scored).

ever, the IRMA-SF differs from the 45-item IRMA in that it was designed to assess only general rape myth acceptance and not any of the specific rape myth components.

To create the IRMA-SF, half or just below half of the items were included from each of the seven IRMA subscales. Items were selected to optimize statistical and content-related properties. Seventeen rape myth items were selected from the 45-item IRMA, including 4 from *She asked for it*, 3 from *Rape is a deviant event*, 2 each from the remaining five subscales, and 3 negatively worded filler items to help control response sets. These 20 short-form items are identified by a "*" in Tables 2 and 3. As shown in Table 4, α for IRMA-SF is .87, and the corrected item-to-total correlations of the IRMA-SF range from .34 to .65. Finally, the uncorrected correlation between the full 45-item IRMA scale and the 20-item IRMA-SF scale is $r(602) = .97, p < .001$, indicating that IRMA-SF is a more than sufficient proxy for

TABLE 3
Item Level Statistics for the IRMA and IRMA-SF

Subscale label	Item label	Corrected item-to-total correlations			LISREL λ values	
		Item to subscale	Item to scale	Item to IRMA-SF	λ Component	λ General
<i>She asked for it</i>	SA-1*	.69	.63	.60	.49	.61
	SA-2	.62	.59	—	.39	.58
	SA-3*	.59	.54	.51	.37	.53
	SA-4	.57	.52	—	.36	.51
	SA-5*	.60	.65	.65	.14	.69
	SA-6	.56	.50	—	.42	.48
	SA-7	.47	.50	—	.12	.51
	SA-8*	.48	.54	.53	.07	.57
<i>It wasn't really rape</i>	NR-1*	.59	.52	.47	.38	.54
	NR-2	.56	.50	—	.33	.52
	NR-3*	.48	.43	.42	.32	.46
	NR-4	.56	.49	—	.47	.49
	NR-5	.63	.50	—	.61	.50
<i>He didn't mean to</i>	MT-1	.49	.49	—	.30	.47
	MT-2*	.45	.43	.47	.29	.42
	MT-3	.55	.43	—	.52	.45
	MT-4*	.62	.47	.43	.71	.43
	MT-5	.41	.35	—	.35	.32
<i>She wanted it</i>	WI-1*	.55	.46	.43	.41	.46
	WI-2	.61	.60	—	.38	.59
	WI-3	.69	.55	—	.57	.52
	WI-4	.69	.46	—	.61	.46
	WI-5*	.72	.57	.53	.58	.56
<i>She lied</i>	LI-1*	.68	.67	.64	.35	.67
	LI-2*	.71	.63	.61	.51	.62
	LI-3	.69	.68	—	.35	.68
	LI-4	.57	.50	—	.43	.48
	LI-5	.60	.60	—	.26	.62
<i>Rape is a trivial event</i>	TE-1	.55	.55	—	.25	.60
	TE-2*	.60	.60	.59	.34	.64
	TE-3	.49	.44	—	.37	.46
	TE-4	.39	.41	—	.15	.44
	TE-5*	.57	.53	.52	.37	.57
<i>Rape is deviant event</i>	DE-1	.44	.33	—	.43	.31
	DE-2*	.57	.39	.34	.55	.37
	DE-3*	.51	.54	.50	.28	.56
	DE-4	.44	.47	—	.24	.49
	DE-5	.46	.35	—	.40	.35
	DE-6	.50	.31	—	.56	.28
	DE-7*	.50	.36	.34	.49	.33

Note. * Indicates IRMA-SF (short form) items. λ , Lambda coefficient relating the latent variable to its indicator (observed variable).

TABLE 4
IRMA Scale and Subscale Statistics

Scale	α	Subscale-to-total correlations	Means and standard deviations of scale and subscale sums	
			Males ($n = 284$)	Females ($n = 320$)
Total Scales				
IRMA	.93	—	2.7 (0.8)	2.1 (0.6)
IRMA-SF	.87	—	2.7 (0.8)	2.1 (0.7)
IRMA Subscales				
SA	.84	.73	3.2 (1.1)	2.4 (1.0)
NR	.77	.62	1.8 (0.9)	1.3 (0.5)
MT	.74	.56	4.0 (1.2)	3.4 (1.3)
WI	.84	.60	2.7 (1.2)	2.2 (1.1)
LI	.84	.74	3.5 (1.1)	2.8 (1.2)
TE	.74	.69	1.9 (0.9)	1.3 (0.5)
DE	.76	.54	2.1 (0.8)	1.6 (0.6)

Note. IRMA, *Illinois Rape Myth Acceptance Scale*; IRMA-SF, *Illinois Rape Myth Acceptance Scale, Short Form*; SA, *She asked for it*; NR, *It wasn't really rape*; MT, *He didn't mean to*; WI, *She wanted it*; LI, *She lied*; TE, *Rape is a trivial event*; DE, *Rape is a deviant event*.

the IRMA when assessing only general rape myth acceptance. Descriptive statistics for the IRMA-SF are presented in Table 4 separately for men and women.

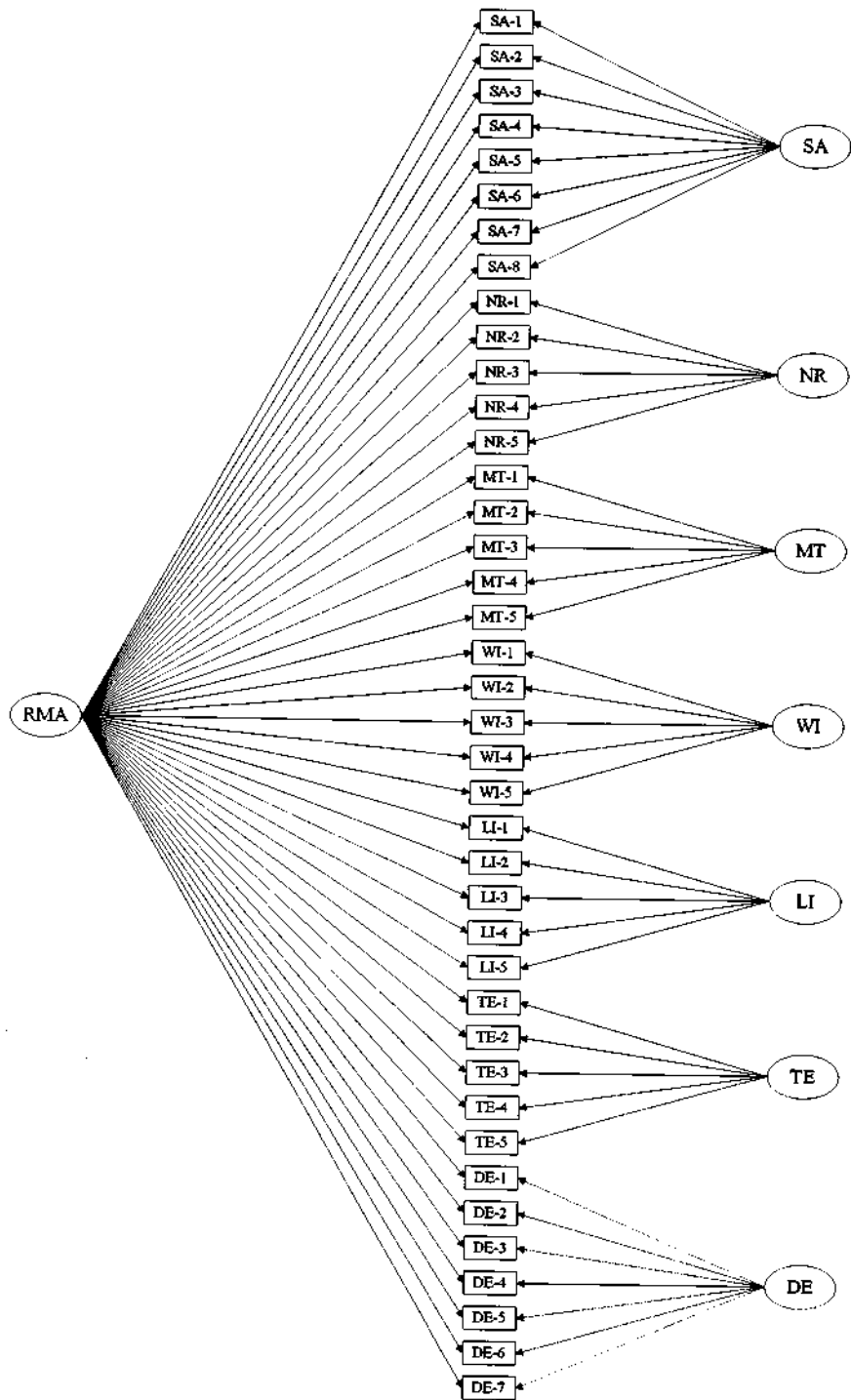
Summary of Study 3. The IRMA and IRMA-SF were designed to accurately represent the content and structure of the rape myth domain, as identified in Studies 1 and 2 as well as a review of the literature, and analyses revealed the scales and subscales possess good psychometric properties, thus ensuring the content validity of the scale. The remaining three studies represent initial efforts at demonstrating the “construct validity” of the IRMA through exploring its relationships to theoretically or empirically related variables. Since the IRMA subscales represent new and unexplored concepts, the construct validity of the subscales could not be meaningfully examined here.

CONSTRUCT VALIDITY OF THE (IRMA) SCALE

Study 4: Relationships among the IRMA, IRMA-SF, and Related Variables

To begin examining the IRMA scale's functioning, IRMA and IRMA-SF scores were examined in relation to variables that bear theoretical and/or

FIG. 4. “Hierarchical” LISREL model for the IRMA Scale: RMA, rape myth acceptance general factor; SA, *She asked for it*; NR, *It wasn't really rape*; MT, *He didn't mean to*; WI, *She wanted it*; LI, *She lied*; TE, *Rape is a trivial event*; DE, *Rape is a deviant event*.



empirically demonstrated relationships to rape myth acceptance. Among those examined were gender, sex-role stereotyping, sexism, adversarial sexual beliefs, hostility toward women, and acceptance of violence. It was expected that IRMA scores would be higher among men than women and positively correlated to measures of the remaining constructs.

Participants and procedure. Data from the 176 participants (84 men, 92 women) in Phase II of the item pool data collection completed all experimental materials using the procedures described previously. The mean age of this sample was 18.4 years ($SD = 1.2$).

Measures: SEX-ROLE STEREOTYPING. Two measures were used to assess sex-role stereotyping. The first was Burt's (1980) *Sex-Role Stereotyping Scale*, a 9-item scale designed to assess the acceptance of common sexual stereotypes, particularly those concerning women. The second scale was Rombough and Ventimighlia's (1981) 20-item *Sexism Scale*, which is similar to the *Sex-Role Stereotyping Scale*, but without its narrow focus on stereotypes about women.

ADVERSARIAL SEXUAL BELIEFS. Two scales were also used to assess "adversarial sexual beliefs," defined as: "the expectation that sexual relationships are fundamentally exploitative, that each party to them is manipulative, sly, cheating, opaque to the other's understanding, and not to be trusted" (Burt, 1980, p.218). One was Burt's (1980) 9-item *Adversarial Sexual Beliefs Scale*, and the other was the 15-item *Adversarial Heterosexual Beliefs Scale* (Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1995), designed to more accurately reflect Burt's (1980) original definition of the construct.

HOSTILITY TOWARD WOMEN. A fifth scale was the 10-item *Hostility Toward Women Scale* (Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1995), derived from Check, Malamuth, Elias, and Barton's (1985) scale of the same name.

ATTITUDES TOWARD VIOLENCE. Finally, attitudes toward violence were assessed using two scales. The first was Burt's (1980) 6-item *Acceptance of Interpersonal Violence Scale*, written to reflect the notion that "force and coercion are legitimate ways to gain compliance and specifically that they are legitimate in intimate relationships" (Burt, 1980, p. 218). The second scale was developed to assess acceptance of violence more broadly; this 20-item *Attitudes Toward Violence Scale* (Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1995) was adapted from Velicer, Huckel, and Hansen's (1989) 47-item scale of the same name. (Please see Payne, 1993, for a more thorough description of each experimental measure.)

Results. As expected, t tests comparing the two gender groups on both the IRMA and IRMA-SF showed that men had higher means on these scales than did women (IRMA: $t(174) = 6.23, p < .001$; IRMA-SF: $t(174) = 6.09, p < .001$). Correlations among IRMA, IRMA-SF, and the measures listed above were also consistent with expectations, ranging from $r(174) = .47$,

TABLE 5
Relationships between IRMA, IRMA-SF, and Variables in Study 4

Statistic	Variable	Scale	
		IRMA	IRMA-SF
<i>t</i> tests	Gender	$t(174) = 6.23^*$	$t(174) = 6.09^*$
Correlations	SRSS	.55*	.52*
	SS	.63*	.60*
	ASBS	.74*	.72*
	AHBS	.63*	.61*
	HTWS	.57*	.56*
	AIVS	.71*	.67*
	ATVS	.50*	.47*

Note. SRSS, *Sex-Role Stereotyping Scale*; SS, *Sexism Scale*; ASBS, *Adversarial Sexual Beliefs Scale*; AHBS, *Adversarial Heterosexual Beliefs Scale*; HTWS, *Hostility Toward Women Scale*; AIVS, *Acceptance of Interpersonal Violence Scale*; ATVS, *Attitudes Toward Violence Scale*.

* $p < .001$.

$p < .001$, to $r(174) = .74$, $p < .001$. Thus, individuals with higher scores on the IRMA and IRMA-SF were also more likely to (1) hold more traditional sex role stereotypes, (2) endorse the notion that the relation of the sexes is adversarial in nature, (3) express hostile attitudes toward women, and (4) be relatively accepting of both interpersonal violence and violence more generally. See Table 5 for a listing of these results.

Study 5: Comparison of Known Groups

Previous theory and research have posited that occupational and group membership is related in meaningful ways to the acceptance of cultural rape mythology. For example, police officers have been theorized (Brownmiller, 1975; Estrich, 1978) and demonstrated (Feild, 1978; Feldman-Summers & Palmer, 1980) to have relatively higher levels of rape myth acceptance than others. Conversely, individuals who serve in roles of rape advocacy have been found to have relatively lower levels of rape myth endorsement than others, including criminal justice personnel (Feild, 1978; Feldman-Summers & Palmer, 1980). With this evidence in mind, the IRMA was administered to individuals training for each of these roles (i.e., police officer versus rape advocate). Scores on the IRMA were expected to differ between these two "known groups," with police respondents scoring higher than the rape advocates.

Participants and procedure. The advocates group consisted of 9 male and 32 female undergraduates who were enrolled in a semester-long training course to become peer facilitators of acquaintance rape education. The goal of the program is to help prevent campus acquaintance rape through education and awareness. Students were provided the experimental materials near the end of their class participation, and \$2.50 was donated to a local rape crisis center for each individual who completed our questionnaire. Mean age of this group was 20.5 years ($SD = 1.5$).

The police group included 24 male and 3 female trainees at a Midwestern police academy. Experimental materials were administered in the final week of their Basic Law Enforcement training program, and \$100.00 was donated to the police academy in appreciation of their participation. Mean age of the police trainees was 27.6 years ($SD = 6.9$).

Results. The mean IRMA score of the rape educator trainees was 1.4 ($SD = 0.4$), whereas the mean for the police trainees was 2.0 ($SD = 0.6$). Consistent with expectations, a t test indicated that these two groups differed statistically on their IRMA scores, $t(66) = 5.2, p < .001$. Of course, it is important to note that the two groups (police trainees and rape advocates) systematically differed on a variety of dimensions, including educational and occupational status, gender ratio, age, etc. This group comparison was not intended to isolate the effect of any particular factor in predicting group levels of rape myth acceptance. Rather, comparison between "known groups" is used as part of scale development procedures only to determine whether the measure functions in expected ways (DeVellis, 1991). Supporting this idea, scores here differed as predicted between members of the police group and rape advocate group.

Study 6: IRMA Scores and their Relationship to the Content of Rape Stories

Rape myths have been theorized to explain and give meaning to social, interpersonal, and personal phenomena (e.g., Brownmiller, 1975; Burt, 1980, 1994; Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994; Schwendinger & Schwendinger, 1974). Based on this understanding, it follows that individuals who endorse such rape mythology would be more likely than others to utilize them to interpret and explain an ambiguous situation involving an alleged rape. In the present study, individuals were presented with a minimally described rape scenario and asked to write a story about what they believe actually happened in that situation. These stories were then content analyzed with the expectation that higher scores on the IRMA would be related to the presence and the extent of rape mythology in these stories. In addition, because empathy has been associated with rape myth acceptance in previous studies (Teiger, 1981; Quackenbush, 1989), it was reasoned that scale validity would be further

supported by a negative relationship between IRMA scores and level of victim empathy demonstrated in participants' stories.

Participants and procedure. One-hundred twenty-one undergraduates were given the IRMA scale as part of a separate study concerning date rape (hereafter called the "screening study"). In exchange for their participation, respondents received partial fulfillment of an introductory psychology course requirement. At the end of this screening study, students were asked if they would like to participate in another experiment related to social issues that would fulfill an additional part of their course requirement. Eighty-one of the 121 participants from the screening study volunteered by providing their university ID number and a number identifying their IRMA responses. Of the 81 individuals who volunteered for additional participation, 45 (56%) were selected based on gender and scheduling constraints. This group consisted of 23 males and 22 females, with a mean age of 19.0 years ($SD = 1.2$). Approximately 1 month following the screening study, students attended same-sex experimental sessions that included no more than 6 participants. Students were scheduled such that none had the same experimenter for both the screening study and this present study, and they were not informed of the connection between these studies until the end of their experimental session.

Experimental task. Students were told that we were interested in collecting stories about various types of people and the situations in which they may find themselves. In the 50-min experimental session, participants were asked to write stories about two different topics they were given, spending half their time on each. For one of these stories, participants were provided with the following scenario modeled after a very short newspaper article:

BRIEF REPORTS

Local News

A 21-year-old woman reported being raped early Tuesday morning. A man was questioned by officials later that afternoon in connection with this incident. The man claimed to be innocent, according to sources.

Participants were asked to write a short story about what they thought actually occurred during this incident. They were told that they could base their story on a real-life incident of which they were aware (as long as they changed all names and other identifying information) or that they could write a completely fictional story.

For the other story, participants were asked to write a story about an individual of either Native American or African-American descent. The purpose of this second story was twofold. First, these data were collected in collaboration with another researcher using the same "stories" format. Second, the

presence of another story helped further obscure the connection with the previous screening study.

Content scoring and interrater reliability. The 45 rape stories written by participants were content-analyzed for the presence of rape myths by eight undergraduate and graduate research assistants. All eight assistants had extensive experience and training in rape issues. Content analyses included rating for the presence of the seven rape myth components and an additional rating (made on a 5-point continuum) of the author's level of victim empathy. All eight judges participated in a 1-hour training session specifically on making these ratings, which included practice ratings on a rape story from a separate study. All ratings were made independently and raters were blind to any information about the writer, such as gender or IRMA score. To prevent order effects, each judge's stories were randomly ordered for rating.

To assess interrater consistency, the first step involved calculating the average pairwise Cohen's (1960) κ for each rater on each of the seven rape myth components and then using these statistics to examine whether any raters were making judgements inconsistent with the others. These average pairwise κ s for each rater ranged from $-.08$ to $.49$; however, κ s were not calculable for most pairs of judges on the *Rape is A trivial event* component due to the lack of variability in these ratings (nearly 90% of were coded as "absent"). Ratings on this particular component were therefore excluded from later analyses. The remaining average pairwise κ s indicated that at least one judge had a noticeably lower average κ than the others and so final analyses included only the seven judges with the highest κ s.

Light's (1971) κ for multiple raters, which equals the average of all pairwise Cohen's (1960) κ s (Conger, 1980), was then calculated for each of the six component ratings from the seven best judges; these multiple κ s ranged from $.27$ to $.51$, with a mean of $.37$. These values were expected to be only moderately high as the rape myths in these stories were seldom explicit (for example, rather than stating that the woman was careless, the writer might emphasize that the woman *chose* to walk home despite repeated offers of rides from friends). In contrast, victim empathy ratings showed high interrater consistency, with α for all eight judges equal to $.89$.

Results. A particular rape myth was considered to be present in a story when at least half (four of seven) of the judges rated it as such. The number of myths present for any one story was then summed resulting in a score ranging from zero to six. Next, a correlation was computed between this value and individuals' previously obtained IRMA scores, with the expectation that a positive correlation would support the validity of the IRMA. The resulting correlation was consistent with predictions, $r(43) = .32$, $p < .05$. This correlation, being somewhat lower than might be desired, may have been attenuated by two factors: (1) the difficulty in making the content ratings and (2) the relative weakness of the stimuli eliciting the rape myths.

Based on results of previous studies, it was further expected that participants' IRMA scores would be negatively related to the level of empathy authors displayed for the victim. Using mean victim empathy ratings across all eight judges, the resulting negative correlation with IRMA scores offered additional support for the validity of the IRMA, $r(43) = -.51, p < .01$.

DISCUSSION

It is often the case with "hot" social issues that the pace of accumulating research precludes thoughtful and thorough attention to crucial background issues, such as domain specification and scale development (Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994). This has certainly been true for the field of rape myths, as the measurement instruments are problematic in many respects and their validity only rarely systematically examined. The present research was designed to ameliorate this situation by seeking to achieve three goals. First, we set out to systematically elucidate the domain and structure of the rape myth construct through reviewing the pertinent literature, discussion with experts, and empirical investigation. Second, we developed two scales, the 45-item IRMA and its 20-item short form (IRMA-SF), designed to reflect the articulated domain and structure of the rape myth construct, as well as to possess good psychometric properties. Finally, whereas content validity was determined by scale development procedures, construct validity of the IRMA and IRMA-SF was examined in a series of three studies, all using different samples, methodologies, and analytic strategies.

Investigation of Domain and Structure

In the 2 decades since the rape myth construct gained prominence, the norm in this field seems to be for each author to develop a unique list of rape myths in an ad hoc manner, with little regard for accurate representation of the entire content domain and little effort devoted to questions of dimensionality. This practice has led to confusion, inconsistency, and the obscuring of relationships. The first two studies presented here represent an attempt to address these shortcomings by explicating the domain and structure of the rape myth construct.

These two studies began with the development of a large item pool based on a review of the literature and expert opinion and were further refined through extensive pretesting. Using this item pool, the first study consisted of exploratory and confirmatory multivariate analyses of rape myth endorsement. This work revealed seven stable and interpretable components of rape myth acceptance labeled (1) *She asked for it*; (2) *It wasn't really rape*; (3) *He didn't mean to*; (4) *She wanted it*; (5) *She lied*; (6) *Rape is a trivial event*; and (7) *Rape is a deviant event*. These identified components showed similarities to those found in past research with both the *Rape Myth Acceptance Scale* (Burt, 1980) and the *Attitudes Toward Rape Scale* (Feild,

1978). However, the newly specified domain contains several important content areas that have been previously neglected, such as presumed victim enjoyment of rape, deviant characteristics of the event, and the definition for what constitutes rape.

The structural equations models reported in this first study further suggested that it is insufficient to view rape myth acceptance either as a completely unidimensional construct, as is generally assumed in the literature, or as a set of distinct and unrelated components. Rather, results indicated that rape myth acceptance is best conceptualized as consisting of both a general component and distinct subcomponents. This conceptualization, based on the hypothesized "Hierarchical model," was later used to guide development of the IRMA Scale and its seven subscales.

In Study 2, the methods of individual differences scaling (INDSCAL) were utilized to further explore the structure of rape myths. In contrast to Study 1 which used the more typical factor analytic methods on rape myth endorsement, this study examined the structure of the perceived similarity of rape myths regardless of endorsement. Results from this study suggested that the structure of rape myth perceptions can be characterized by two dimensions (*Denial versus Justification of Rape* and *Victim versus Perpetrator Focus*) and nine clusters of rape myths. Particularly striking in these results is the similarity of nine clusters to the seven components revealed in Study 1; six of the nine clusters reflected a nearly one-to-one correspondence to six of the seven components of Study 1, and the remaining three clusters, which are conceptually similar and proximally near to one another, appear to be specific types of the seventh component of Study 1.

Study 2 thus served as a test for the stability and generalizability of Study 1 results, and results suggested that the structure identified here was consistent across two samples, two distinct methodologies (endorsement versus paired comparison), and two analytic strategies (factor analytic methods versus INDSCAL). Taken together, these results indicate a highly stable structure of the rape myth construct.

Introduction of the IRMA and IRMA-SF. Based on the articulated domain and structural investigations, Study 3 was conducted to develop a representative 45-item IRMA Scale and its 20-item short form, and Studies 4–6 were conducted to explore their validity. Both measures were developed with careful consideration of both general psychometric issues and concerns specific to the rape myth field.

Psychometric analyses revealed that the IRMA possesses adequate internal consistency and reliability for both scale and subscale scores, and the series of three subsequent studies provided support for the scale's construct validity. Although the full-length IRMA has the unique advantage of providing assessment for both the general factor of rape myth acceptance and the seven subdomains measured with subscales, we were concerned that the its

length would limit widespread applicability. Thus, the IRMA-SF was created to allow brief assessment for the general factor of rape myth acceptance, but not for its specific components. We anticipate that these innovative measures will make a meaningful contribution to the accumulating body of research in this area, as well as providing direction for future efforts.

Limitations and Future Directions

Despite the advances represented by the present study, a number of limitations merit consideration and can be used to guide future research efforts. First is the homogeneity of research participants, as most were undergraduates at a large Midwestern university. Rather than serving simply as a convenience sample, however, college students constitute a population of particular interest in this field—not only because of their overrepresentation in statistics concerning sexual victimization and perpetration (e.g., Fitzgerald et al., 1996; Koss, Gidycz, & Wisniewski, 1987; Muehlenhard & Linton, 1987), but also because their developmental stage renders them especially susceptible to cultural mythology regarding gender, sexuality, and violence. Future research should thus continue to focus on the special issues of this important age group while also expanding to determine the limits of generalizability among different populations. The work with police recruits in the present study, for example, represents a first step in this effort.

A second concern lies in the failure of our current rape myth items to distinguish between issues of stranger versus acquaintance rape victimization. For example, it is possible that respondents have different types of rape in mind when they respond to items, producing different types of perception and patterns of endorsement. The neglect of these implicit definitions could obscure important patterns in the nature and function of rape myth statements. Future research could explore the implications of this distinction by giving specific instructions to scale respondents or by priming stimuli that make salient the schemas associated with either stranger or acquaintance rape victimization. Additional work could investigate the patterns of responding among people with different preexisting implicit definitions for rape. Alternatively, research could assess the different conceptualizations of rape (acquaintance versus stranger) using techniques such as “thought listing” and then examining the corresponding patterns of perception and endorsement.

A final limitation is that these scales are necessarily time and culture bound. Several items use colloquial phrases that might be unclear to certain people or could quickly become outdated. This problem is not easily avoided, however, as sexual communication relies heavily on slang terminology; it also carries particular connotations that are difficult to capture with noncolloquial wording. In addition, some of the ideas or phrases in the rape myth items might not easily translate for use in other cultures. For instance, women in many cultures simply do not wear “low-cut tops or short skirts,” and in

some cultures a "bad part of town" or even the concept of "bad part of town" may not exist. Finally, the domain of rape myth acceptance in other cultures might contain ideas that were not tapped by the present item pool. Such questions of cross-cultural applicability will surely provide fruitful topics for future research.

Implications

Despite these limitations, the present findings have a number of implications for research and practice; it is likely that continued research will therefore have much to tell us at both the psychological and cultural levels. At the psychological level, investigation with the seven rape myth subscales can help us to conceptualize the structure and function of rape myth acceptance. For example, is rape myth acceptance best understood as a schema, or narrative, that is applied to assist the individual in understanding and interpreting social situations (e.g., Malamuth & Briere, 1986; Martin & Halverson, 1981; Quackenbush, 1989; Schank, 1990)? Or is it more akin to a "defense mechanism," or coping strategy, that functions to help individuals deal with the reality of sexual victimization?

In addition to better understanding the more general nature and function of rape myth acceptance, it is hoped that the present work will contribute to our understanding of both the general construct of rape myth acceptance and the seven distinct components. Research could then explore whether other variables in the nomological net surrounding rape myth acceptance are more closely related to the general factor or some meaningful combination of the seven components. Perhaps variables such as negative attitudes toward women are more closely related to the component of *She wanted it*, for instance, whereas acceptance of traditional sex roles is more linked with ideas that *He didn't mean to*.

Third, future research could address the question of whether this particular cognitive structure differs among people with meaningful relations to the topic of rape (e.g., rape crisis counselors, police officers, medical personnel, etc.). For example, are group differences best characterized by global scores on the rape myth acceptance measure or are there unique profiles of acceptance on the seven components that better account for the relation of certain groups to the topic of rape? By increasing our understanding of the psychological structure and function of rape myth acceptance, we hope to provide much needed guidance to the efforts of rape prevention education, counseling with rape survivors, and training programs for police and hospital personnel.

On a cultural level, detailed work could examine whether different modes of transmission exist for each type of rape myth (e.g., religion, science, the law, and mass media such as pornography and romance novels). Naber (1991, 1996) has begun such work by investigating how exposure to the images and text of romance novels can affect women's perceptions of rape.

Future research could also examine how rape myths function in other cultural arenas such as the legal system. It is possible, for example, that the notion that victims lie about rape could be a particularly critical myth for police officers whose role requires them to decide which allegations will be founded and charged. Defense attorneys, on the other hand, might rely heavily on notions that *She asked for it* or *She wanted it* to obtain acquittals for clients charged with sexual assault. It is hoped that investigation of such issues will be facilitated by the development of the IRMA, with its interrelated but conceptually distinct subscales.

Other implications pertain to issues of intervention and treatment, guided by research examining the operation of rape myths in the “real world.” For instance, efforts toward rape prevention education might identify certain myths that are more amenable to change whereas others are more tenaciously fixed. Such understanding could surely provide guidance to this critical but relatively chaotic field of work. Furthermore, in the context of the criminal justice system, some myths may be seen as particularly damaging when prominent among police or prosecutors, whereas others may be particularly harmful when held by judges or jurors. Again, legal and procedural reform could benefit from taking this knowledge into consideration. Finally, certain myths may particularly hinder the process of recovery from rape, and an understanding of the construct could facilitate the helping capacity of hospital staff and mental health professionals.

In conclusion, our goal in this research was to improve and refine our understanding of the rape myth construct. It is our hope that research into the structure and function of rape mythology will not only advance academic understanding but also provide guidance to those who implement practices and policies combating sexual victimization.

APPENDIX

TABLE A1
Category Labels for 19 Original Myth Categories

A	=	<i>She asked for it by being sexy</i>
B	=	<i>She caused it by her own carelessness/stupidity</i>
C	=	<i>She deserved it</i>
D	=	<i>She led him on</i>
E	=	<i>He didn't really mean to</i>
F	=	<i>She really wanted it to happen</i>
G	=	<i>She enjoyed it</i>
H	=	<i>She didn't fight back enough</i>
I	=	<i>There was no violence/weapon involved</i>
J	=	<i>She implicitly agreed to have sex</i>
K	=	<i>She miscommunicated</i>
L	=	<i>Rape is a trivial event</i>
M	=	<i>Rape is a sexual event</i>
N	=	<i>Rape is an inevitable, natural event</i>
O	=	<i>Only certain types of men rape</i>
P	=	<i>Only certain types of women are raped</i>
Q	=	<i>Rape only happens in very specific places/situations</i>
R	=	<i>Women lie about rape</i>
S	=	<i>He was entitled</i>

TABLE A2
Correlations among Sums of Items in the 19 Original Myth Categories, Sample A

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	
A	1.0																			
B	.65	1.0																		
C	.63	.59	1.0																	
D	.74	.62	.62	1.0																
E	.54	.42	.46	.55	1.0															
F	.60	.50	.53	.61	.58	1.0														
G	.49	.41	.46	.52	.55	.70	1.0													
H	.53	.47	.52	.52	.48	.45	.47	1.0												
I	.43	.41	.42	.40	.31	.40	.41	.53	1.0											
J	.62	.53	.62	.64	.44	.46	.45	.55	.50	1.0										
K	.62	.56	.56	.61	.57	.62	.59	.63	.55	.63	1.0									
L	.56	.51	.65	.55	.40	.49	.45	.56	.50	.57	.55	1.0								
M	.48	.50	.43	.54	.53	.39	.32	.44	.34	.43	.45	.42	1.0							
N	.34	.36	.39	.34	.29	.33	.28	.29	.22	.37	.37	.31	.36	1.0						
O	.20	.24	.30	.20	.11	.16	.20	.30	.35	.32	.25	.29	.25	.13	1.0					
P	.67	.59	.61	.61	.41	.53	.49	.57	.47	.57	.59	.58	.48	.31	.43	1.0				
Q	.39	.35	.44	.40	.27	.31	.31	.42	.39	.45	.43	.39	.43	.30	.53	.56	1.0			
R	.57	.53	.50	.68	.53	.67	.60	.46	.42	.40	.59	.49	.50	.25	.17	.51	.35	1.0		
S	.53	.43	.61	.53	.45	.45	.46	.52	.49	.73	.59	.62	.32	.34	.30	.53	.39	.39	1.0	

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