Ambivalent Sexism, Right Wing Authoritarianism and Rape Myth Acceptance in Scotland

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Abstract

The study investigated the relationship between ambivalent sexism (AS), right wing authoritarianism (RWA) and rape myth acceptance (RMA) in a Scottish context. Findings revealed that benevolent (BS) and hostile sexism (HS) as well as RWA significantly predicted rape myth acceptance. Analysis of gender differences revealed that males and females performed significantly differently on all the subscales of the IRMA-SF (Payne, Lonsway and Fitzgerald, 1999) and on the HS subscale of the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI) (Glick and Fisk, 1996). No gender differences were found on the RWA Scale (Altemeyer, 1996) or on the BS subscale of the ASI. The findings were placed in a wider theoretical context and discussed in relation to political and policy developments in Scotland.

The current paper investigates rape myths in relation to sexism and authoritarianism. It attempts to provide an interdisciplinary focus to the discussion on rape and rape myths, and broaden the discussion on ambivalent sexism, right wing authoritarianism and rape myth acceptance beyond individual attitudes, into the socio-political context. There has been relatively little published work focusing on rape from a political science perspective and the psychological perspective alone, despite its significant contribution to the area, does not suffice in painting a complete picture of rape mythology and the structures that reinforce it. Political institutions define the act of rape, shape the policy responses to it and inform and reflect social attitudes towards perpetrators and survivors. The measures utilised in the current study allow for the investigation of rape myths in the context of more general attitudes and world views, which encompass a range of social mores. Sexism and authoritarianism are not often studied together in relation to rape mythology, even though the literature suggests their interdependence. This study gives the opportunity to examine sexism alongside more general social attitudes and look at how they might relate to rape mythology in a Scottish population. In doing so, it attempts to provide a broader understanding of rape in relation to the contemporary Scottish political landscape.

The Scottish context is an interesting one to consider, given the political developments that have occurred in recent years. Women were instrumental in promoting a new politics in Scotland, and this feminist activism contributed to the design of the legislature. The devolution project in Scotland was about taking the opportunity to improve the political process. The term 'new politics' was frequently used to encapsulate this vision, and whilst this notion has all but been discredited, it did represent a desire to move away from the 'yah-boo' male-dominated politics associated with the Westminster model. This vision was clearly articulated in the Scottish Parliament's founding principles, with equal opportunities and microcosmic representation, including gender, at the core. This descriptive representation of women (DRW) refers to women being present as elected members, and is a normative position in that it addresses a deficit in political representation. One potential consequence of the DRW is a move towards the substantive representation of women (SRW), which advances women's interests in debates and policy-making. The percentage of female MSPs in the first Scottish Parliament (1999-2003) was 37.2%, rising to 39.5% in the second (2003-07). This descriptive representation gave rise to substantive representation, as female politicians raised awareness of 'women's issues', notably on domestic violence.

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Crucially, the policy process allowed for engagement with women's organisations and Scottish Women's Aid had a key role in framing the subsequent legislation on domestic abuse. The SRW was facilitated by "critical actors", which is arguably a prerequisite for successful policy outcomes. In this context, the critical actors are the wider civil society organisations and feminist MSPs. In 2001 the Scottish Parliament passed the Protection from Abuse (Scotland) Act, which provides a gendered definition of abuse, the only UK jurisdiction to do so. As Mackay (2010) noted, "Domestic violence provides a striking case of successful feminist constitutional activism, where devolution 'has made a difference' with positive – albeit fragile – gendered outcomes" (p370). Given this relatively favourable, although perhaps tentative, political landscape, it could be expected that, over time, attitudes to rape and rape convictions would be following a similar trajectory. Rape, as part of the wider Violence against Women (VAW) agenda, has also been the focus of political action. The government publication 'Safer Lives, Changed Lives: A Shared Approach to Tackling Violence against Women' (Scottish Government, 2009) explicitly recognizes that violence against women is not only a consequence of gender inequality; it also perpetuates it. It provides a gendered analysis of the issues and acknowledges the under-reporting of all aspects of gender-based violence, including rape. A number of progressive reforms have been made to the Scottish legal system in relation to rape, including reforms to the definition of rape. The enactment of the Sexual Offences (Scotland) Act 2009 modernises and broadens the definition and provides clarification on the issue of consent. In 2012/13, 1372 rapes and 90 attempted rapes were reported to the police in Scotland, a rise of 16% on previous years (Statistical Bulletin Crime and Justice Series, Recorded Crime in Scotland 2012-13). Of these only 138 were prosecuted and there were 77 convictions. However, like many other EU countries where reporting levels are described as being high, the conviction rate as a proportion of reported cases in Scotland is low: in fact, in the period 2001- 2006 it was the lowest in Europe at 3% (Burnham et al 2009). The Child and Woman Abuse Studies Unit conducted research into attrition rates in Scotland, documenting the first 100 sequential rape cases reported from the 1st April 2004. Of these, 18 proceeded to court with 16 convictions. The study concluded that the majority of cases which resulted in a conviction reflected stereotypes of both rape and rapists.

The mythology surrounding these stereotypes has been collectively described as rape myth acceptance (RMA). Initially measured by Burt's (1980) Rape Myth Acceptance scale, it describes a reluctance to view rape as an act of violence and a tendency to assign blame to the victim. These attributions of blame usually revolve around the victim's appearance (revealing clothing) or behaviours (flirting) that "cause her to be raped" by placing her in a vulnerable position. Intrinsic to this mythology is that the act of rape is defined predominantly as a sexual one, rather than an act of aggression and that the rapist is viewed as unable to control sexual urges, rather than committing an act of violence. Central to rape myth endorsement is the idea that the victim is either directly or indirectly responsible for the rape. The extent to which these stereotypes contribute to the under-reporting of rape, attrition and conviction rates requires ongoing investigation.

Despite the apparent political will and resulting legal reforms, conviction rates have remained stubbornly static and this phenomenon has been identified as an international paradox (McMillan, 2010). In this sense, it isn't the lack of evidence that's problematic (as is often stated in relation to rape) but rather the attitude to the evidence that is the critical factor. Action to challenge rape myths has been undertaken by the Scottish Government and Rape Crisis Scotland, with the media campaign 'This is not an invitation to rape me', launched in 2008. However, this was one media message competing alongside many others. The print media still routinely revert to stereotypes when reporting cases of rape, which in turn reinforce rape myths. Rapists are described on the one hand as 'evil', 'monsters' or 'beasts', who 'pounce', 'stock' or 'prowl', suggesting that these men are violent strangers, not known to the victim. On the other hand language often trivialises rape referring to it as a 'sex attack', 'having sex' or 'engaging in sexual acts' rather than rape. This relates rape to sex rather than power and aggression and misrepresents the fact that rape usually involves someone known to the woman (O'Hara 2012). In this way the media reinforces rape myths, with 'real rape' being perpetrated by atypical males, who are unable to control their sexual urges resulting in them behaving like 'animals' (O'Hara, 2012). The rape myth reflects pervasive, cross-cultural and cross-generational attitudes about women and sexuality, firmly rooted in patriarchal values and traditional mores that reinforce gender inequality and strengthen the idea of female vulnerability while vilifying female sexuality.

Payne, Lonsway and Fitzgerald (1999) constructed the Illinois Rape Myth Acceptance Scale (as well as the shorter form IRMA-SF (1999) utilised in the current study), in an effort to ensure a multidimensional, more balanced and conceptually exhaustive investigation of rape myths. The IRMA was found to correlate with measures of sex role stereotyping, adversarial sexual beliefs, adversarial heterosexual beliefs, hostility towards women and acceptance of interpersonal violence and was negatively related to rape victim empathy (Payne, Lonsway and Fitzgerald, 1999). Lonsway and Fitzgerald (1995) ascertained that among heterosexual men, the key factor for rape myth acceptance is hostility towards women. Gender was found to be a significant predictor of rape myth endorsement, with men ascribing to rape myths significantly more than women (Koesterer and Hoffman, 2003; Lonsway and Fitzgerald, 1994 and Suchovicki and Walsen, 2012). Rape myths can be better understood within the context of gender inequality, which underpins sexism. Sexism is an all-encompassing, implicit and affective understanding of an individual's position based solely on gender, which may incorporate not just expectations of roles but also personal attributes, aspirations, and behaviours. Although sexism affects both genders (Chapleau, Oswald and Russel, 2008) and is also endorsed at varying degrees by both genders (Fischer, 2006), it is and has overwhelmingly been biased against women. It may manifest itself openly in terms of hostile discriminatory attitudes or less saliently in the form of paternalistic chivalry. Glick and Fiske's early work (1996) placed paternalism, gender differentiation and heterosexuality as central to the development of Ambivalent Sexism, comprising of Benevolent and Hostile Sexism. Benevolent sexism presents itself as wholesome and acceptable, even desirable, etiquette-led behaviour, which is often protective or chivalrous. Hostile sexism on the other hand, is defined by clear and demonstrative adherence to the view that women are unequal to men. Benevolent and hostile sexism together reflect the reality of sexual attitudes better than previous constructs as they take into account prevailing subtle attitudes that inform daily social interaction alongside more obvious discriminatory attitudes. Ambivalent sexism was found topredict gender inequality cross-culturally, in a study of 19 nations (Glick et al., 2000). In this study, Scotland, as part of the UK would be considered a relatively equal society. However, the "Sex and Power 2014: Who runs Britain" Report illustrates the dominance of males in all sectors of the Scottish economy, print media, legal and political institutions, particularly in executive and senior positions, where influence and power reside.

"The perils of "positive" prejudice toward women" (Glick and Fiske, 2011, p 533) are exposed by a number of studies indicating that benevolent sexism (specifically complementary gender differentiation, which describes complimentary biological differences) is positively associated with rape myth acceptance (Chapleau, Oswald and Russell, 2007) and with blame attributed to acquaintance rape victims (Abrams, Viki, Masser and Bohner, 2003 and Viki and Abrams, 2002). Blame assigned to rape victims was related to the characteristics of the victim as "good" or "bad" and was assigned when the victim was perceived as having violated traditional moral codes (Viki and Abrams, 2002). The concept of right wing authoritarianism (RWA) as formulated by Altemeyer (1998) and largely based on Adorno's classical authoritarian personality theory (Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson, Sanford, 1950) describes a cluster of co-existing attitudes characterised by conservatism, reluctance to embrace change, adherence to authority and authority figures, acceptance of the status quo and a belief in the just world (Altemeyer, 1998). Authoritarians embrace traditional values and are generally fearful of progressive social change. RWA is found to be related to low openness to experience (Hodson, Hogg and MacInnes, 2009 and Lee, Ashton, Ogunfowora, Bourdage and Shin, 2010) and is linked to feelings of threat and insecurity (Altemeyer, 1998; Duckitt, 2006 and Brandt and Henry, 2012). It is associated with aggressive feelings towards perceived out-groups (Altemeyer, 1981, 1998) and predicts generalised prejudice (Ekehammar et al 2004; Hodson, Hogg and MacInnes, 2009 and McFarland, 1998) and prejudice towards women (Altemeyer, 1998; Ekehammar, Akrami and Araya, 2000) as well as sexism (Christopher and Mull, 2006), benevolent sexism (for example Sibley, Wilson and Duckitt, 2007) and sexual aggression (Walker, 1993). Past research has shown RWA scores to be associated with support of rape myths both amongst men (Begany and Milburn, 2002) and women (Koesterer and Hoffman, 2003). Similarly to benevolent sexism, authoritarianism does not carry shame or negative societal connotations in the way that hostile sexism does. Thus, an authoritarian individual will not necessarily feel that their attitude may affect society in a negative way and is likely to describe him/herself as moral (Altemeyer, 1998). Nonetheless, the strict adherence to the status quo makes it difficult for authoritarians to challenge existing inequalities and more likely to justify existing gender roles and expectations. Conservative world views such as those reflected in right wing authoritarianism that are thought of as righteous and incorporate enduring notions of morality, chastity, chivalry and adherence to traditional institutions, may in turn support and perpetuate gender prejudice, confine women to subordinate roles and increase the sexual objectification of women, the acceptance of sexual violence and the likelihood of female victimisation. Importantly, they may give rise to the perception of rape not as a violent crime but as a response to provocative behaviour and thus to attributions of blame to the victim.

The interconnected and complex interplay between socially conservative worldviews and ambivalent sexism, particularly benevolent sexism, is insidious and pervasive in shaping attitudes and maintaining and reproducing gender inequality. Hearn and McKie (2010, p137) refer to the "averted gaze" which operates in relation to men's violence against women. This results in a discourse which frames the problem as an atypical male. They assert that a neoliberal political approach to gender will have implications for the public-private political sphere as experienced by women. Neoliberalism advocates a reduced role for the state and an enhanced role for free market provision of goods and services. Policy initiatives can appear gender neutral, but they are shaped and formed by the discourse and practices that are ingrained in patriarchal societies. The political elites in Scotland use a discourse of a Scottish social democracy in an egalitarian society. This is at odds with any substantive analysis and Cairney and McGarvey (2013, p40) note that "Scotland has a societal profile of deep inequality that tends to be associated with neo-liberal economies and political systems." Neoliberal policies at the national (or international) level results in retrenchment of service provision, which in turn leads to more informal care and income disparity pushing women towards more traditional roles. These neoliberal policies reinforce gender hierarchies and reduce women to the role of carer/nurturer who is dependent on males, sustaining inequality and the sexist attitudes that support it.

Authoritarianism, sexism and rape mythology together form a cluster of attitudes that reflect women's place in society and the relative powerlessness that they experience. The current paper provides an interdisciplinary approach as it investigates the relationship between ambivalent sexism (hostile and benevolent), right wing authoritarianism and rape myth endorsement among male and female students in the west of Scotland, in an attempt to widen the discussion on attitudes that cultivate acceptance of rape against women. It was hypothesised that right wing authoritarianism and both hostile and benevolent sexism would be significant predictors of rape myth acceptance, and that RWA will show a positive correlation with ASI. It was further hypothesised that males would score higher on both sub-scales of the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory, as well as on the IRMA SF scale. No gender difference was expected for the RWA scale. The findings will be discussed in the context of political reform in Scottish society, in an attempt to broaden the debate surrounding rape, and shift the focus from individual attitudes into the wider socio-political environment.

Method

Participants

The study utilised 250 opportunistically sampled students from the University of the West of Scotland, aged between 18 and 56 (m=22.5).204 participants were under 30 and 32 participants were over 30. 14 participants failed to specify their age and 11 did not specify their gender.

Procedure

The three scales used were the following:

1. The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (Glick and Fisk, 1996) (appendix 1).

The ASI is comprised of 22 statements, which are scored on a 6 point Likert Scale, ranging from 0 (disagree strongly) to 5 (agree strongly). It includes two subscales, with 11 items each, namely the hostile sexism (ASI-H) and the benevolent sexism (ASI-B) subscales. The hostile sexism items are numbers 2, 4, 5, 7, 10, 11, 14, 15, 16, 18, and 21, and the benevolent sexism items are numbers 1, 3, 6, 8, 9, 12, 13, 17, 19, 20, and 22. An example of a hostile statement would be "Most women fail to appreciate all that men do for them" and an example of a benevolent item would be "Women should be cherished and protected by men". Scores on each subscale are calculated by reversing items 3, 6, 7, 13, 18, 21. The 11 ASI-H and 11 ASI-B items are also scored separately. Scores on each subscale can vary from 0 to 5, and the overall ambivalent sexism score is the mean score (including both hostile and benevolent sexism scores). The minimum possible score that can be attained on the ASI is 0 and the maximum score is 110. Cronbach's alpha for the current study was .842 overall, .761for ASI-B and .843 for ASI-H.

2. The Right Wing Authoritarianism Questionnaire (Altemeyer, 1996) (appendix 2).

The RWA is measured by means of 22 statements, on an 8 point Likert scale, ranging from -4 (very strongly disagree) to +4 (very strongly agree), without a 0 score. Some statements comprise of two parts and participants can combine their answer score if it differs for different parts of a statement.

For example if they give one part of the statement a +3 and the other part of the statement a -1, the overall statement is given a score of -2. Statements 3, 5, 7, 10, 12, 14, 16, 17, 19 and 22 are reverse scored. The scoring takes into account the negative signs by assigning scores from 1(-4) to 9 (+4). The lowest possible score for the RWA is 20 and the highest possible score is 180. Cronbach's alpha for the current study was .890.

3. The Illinois Rape Myth Acceptance Scale SF (short form) (Payne, Lonsway and Fitzgerald, 1999) (appendix 3).

The IRMA- SF is measured by means of 19 statements, on a 5 point Likert Scale, rangingfrom 1 (strongly agree) to 5 (strongly disagree). The IRMA-SF investigates attitudes towards female victims of rape and divides rape myths into 7 categories as follows: 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), and DE (rape is a deviant event). Items 5, 9, and 14 are excluded from the analysis. Cronbach's coefficient for the current study was .836 The participants completed three questionnaires, which were presented in a single booklet, with the IRMA-SF first, followed by the RWA and the ASI. The testing took place on campus and the duration varied depending on individual participants.

Results

A total number of 259 participants completed the 3 survey scales. 9 data sets had to be excluded before analysis due to missing data. Thus data from 250 participants was analysed.

Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI). The responses for ASI showed a range in total scores from 19 to 150 with a mean score of 47.42. The mean score for hostile sexism (ASI-H) was 24.02 and for benevolent sexism (ASI-B) was 23.40. The average male scores for hostile sexism were higher (27.62) than those for benevolent sexism (23.44). For females the opposite was true as the average benevolent sexism score was 23.32 and the hostile sexism score is 21.35 (table 1). Significant differences were found between males and females on the ASI (t (237) = 3.33, p= .001). In terms of the ASI subscales, there was no significant difference between males and females in terms of Benevolent Sexism (p=.869), but males scored significantly higher than females on the Hostile Sexism subscale (p<.001).

Right Wing Authoritarianism Scale (RWAS). The responses for RWAS showed a range in total scores from 19 to 150 with a mean score of 62.19 (table 1). There was no significant difference between men and women on the RWA (t (174) = .103, p=.918).

Table 1: Descriptive Data for ASI (and Subscales) and RWA

	ASI	ASIH	ASIB	RWA
Mean	47.42	24.02	23.4	62.19
SD	15.09	9.51	8.59	24.5
Mean (females)	44.67	21.35	23.32	61.41
SD (females)	13.43	7.91	8.14	22.02
Mean (Males)	51.06	27.62	23.44	61.74
SD (Males)	15.99	10.32	8.89	26.34

Illinois Rape Myth Acceptance Scale (IRMA). The responses for the IRMA showed a range in total scores from 16 to 57 with a mean score of 25.26. Descriptive data for the subscales can be found in table 2.The highest endorsed subscale for rape myths was "she lied about it" (LI, questions 8 and 13) closely followed by "he didn't mean to" (MT, questions 17 and 19) and "rape is a deviant event" (DE, questions 7, 10 and 12). The lowest scored subscale for rape myths was NR "it wasn't really rape". For the sexism scores, hostile sexism questions were endorsed at a higher rate than benevolent sexism questions overall (table 2). A significant gender difference was also found on the IRMA-SF (t (174) = 4.84, p<.001) and on all of its subscales, with males consistently scoring higher.

Table 2: Descriptive Data for IRMA (and Subscales)

Scales/ subscales		IRMA	SA	NR	MT	WI	LI	TE	DE
Mean (overall)		25.26	1.47	1.14	2.16	1.37	2.17	1.45	1.52
SD		6.99	0.57	.35	.90	.59	.87	.80	.59
Female	Mean	23.31	1.35	1.10	1.83	1.29	2.00	1.28	1.41
	SD	5.76	.47	.29	.80	.53	.83	.68	.50
Male	Mean	27.58	1.60	1.21	3.31	1.46	2.38	1.66	1.66
	SD	7	.58	.42	9.96	.56	.85	.86	.66

(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)

Multiple Regressions

The IRMA-SF scores (criterion variable) showed a positive skew (1.185, p<0.001). Standardised residual errors for the IRMA data followed a normal distribution and so it was deemed suitable for multiple regression analysis. Total RWA and ASI scores were used as predictor variables. The model was statistically significant (F (2, 250) = 55.514, p<.001) and accounted for approximately 31% of the variance in IRMA (R squared =0.312, Adjusted R squared= 0.306). The total IRMA score was primarily predicted by increasing levels of ASI (β= .420) and to a lesser extent by increasing levels of RWA (β= .211). A linear multiple regression with the ASI subscales indicated a significant model (F (2, 247)= 58,462, p< .001), accounting for 31,6 of the variance in IRMA scores and revealed that ASI-H contributes more to the model than ASI-B (standard beta coefficient at .507 for ASI-H and .124 for ASI-B).

Correlations between Scales

Correlations were significant between the three scales (IRMA and AS r=.533, p<.001, IRMA and RWA r=.426, p<.001, ASI and RWA r=.513, p<.001) and between ASI-H and ASI-B (p<.001) (graph 1)

Table 3: Regression Data

Regression Statistics	
Multiple R	0.508052222
R Square	0.258117061
Adjusted R Square	0.255125597
Standard Error	0.615391996
Observations	250

ANOVA					
	df	SS	MS	F	Significance F
Regression	1	32.67658739	32.6765874	86.28454	8.22427E-18
Residual	248	93.91941261	0.37870731		
Total	249	126.596			
	Coefficients	Standard Error	t Stat	P-value	
Intercept	1.255730659	0.109253529	11.4937309	8.6E-25	
IRMA (m)	0.60476361	0.06510572	9.2889474	8.22E-18	
Lower 95%	Upper 95%	Lower 95.0%	Upper 95.0%		
1.040547569	1.470913749	1.040547569	1.47091375		
0.476532969	0.732994252	0.476532969	0.73299425		

Discussion

The current study sought to explore the links between right wing authoritarianism, ambivalent sexism and endorsement of rape myths in both male and female university students in Scotland. The findings supported the hypotheses. Namely, Right Wing Authoritarianism (RWA) and Ambivalent Sexism (AS) predict the endorsement of rape myths. Also, AS was found to be a stronger predictor of rape myths than RWA, and hostile sexism (AS-H) was found to be a better predictor for rape myth acceptance than benevolent sexism (AS-B). These findings are congruent with those from other studies that have utilised authoritarianism and sexism measures. Sexism was found to be positively correlated with RWA, in line with previous research (for example Manganelli, Ratazzi, Volpato and Canova, 2008, cited in Rollero, 2013) and the correlation between AS-H and AS-B was also significant, in line with previous findings. There were no differences between men and women in regards to AS-B, however men endorsed hostile sexism more than women, which is a common finding (for example Glick, Lameiras, and Rodriguez-Castro, 2002). No gender difference was found in regards to RWA, in congruence with Brandt and Henry's (2012) finding that gender differences in authoritarianism are found in societies with relatively higher gender inequality, where women face more threats. Men scored higher than women on the IRMA-SF and on all its subscales, which is consistent with other findings on various rape myth scales (Burt, 1983; Check & Malamuth, 1985; Fischer, 1986; Krahe, 1988; Linz,

Donnerstein and Adams, 1989; Muehlenhard and MacNaughton, 1988; Quackenbush, 1989).

For both men and women the statement with the highest endorsement in the IRMAS-SF was the subscale "She lied about it" (LI) which was represented by statements 8 "Rape accusations are often used as a way of getting back at men" and 13 "A lot of women lead a man on and then they cry rape". These statements describe the belief that women lie about the occurrence of rape itself. They also reveal a perception by both men and women that a rape allegation follows a consensual act, which is then distorted by women in order to victimize men. This particular rape myth is alarmingly at odds with the reality of rape crime, whereby the vast majority of rapes are unreported. For example, the rate of 'false allegations' made for rape in Scotland is approximately 3% and this figure is comparable with other crimes. There is simply no evidence to suggest that large numbers of males are being falsely accused of rape. As Stephen House, Chief Constable of Police Scotland explained, only a very small proportion of those rape cases that are later reclassified as" no crime" are as a result of a false report, "so few in fact that ordinarily the statistics would merit no further debate" (2013). The endorsement of this particular rape myth also underlies the additional trauma suffered by victims during rape trials, the low rate of conviction as well as the persistent reluctance of many women to report rape in the first instance due mainly to the fact that they will not be believed (Gunn and Linden, 1997). The reporting rate in Scotland for rape is currently under 6% and in 2011 only 4.6 % of reported rapes led to a conviction (which was an improvement of the previous year's rate of 3%) and 10% of rapes were prosecuted (44, 6% of the rapes prosecuted led to conviction) (Rape Crisis Scotland, 2011). In 2012/2013 1,372 rapes were reported to the police in Scotland, which represented a rise of 16% on the previous year (Rape Crisis Scotland, 2013).

The RWA scale measures attitudes that are not directly associated with beliefs about rape, but which rather reflect political and social standpoints. Nonetheless, these beliefs are shown to be predictors of attitudes to rape. It is therefore necessary to acknowledge the links between socio-political beliefs and beliefs about sexual crime. Additionally, there is a need to tackle the underlying social and political issues, such as gross imbalances in power between men and women in order to change attitudes towards rape. The current findings also point to the need to investigate how sexist beliefs (particularly benevolent sexism) merge with political ideologies to sustain attitudes that promote inequality and are harmful to women. The rape myth is rooted in this old fashioned idea that women should expect and prepare for the eventuality of becoming victims of sexually predatory behaviour. In addition, chivalrous behaviours that form the corner stone of benevolent sexism are firmly grounded on the idea that women require male protection from, among many dangers, the attention of other men. The blame therefore attributed to female victims of rape revolves around the idea that they failed to stop, or actively encouraged (by their appearance, behaviour or mere presence) sexual violence upon themselves. This idea is inherent in both benevolent and hostile sexist ideology. In the case of women blaming the rape victim, it also serves as a subconscious mechanism enabling women to disassociate themselves from the victim (Grubb and Turner, 2012). It is not surprising then that women are "discouraged" by other women as well as by men "from casual sex to protect them from social stigma and rape myths that justify violence against women" (Rudman, Fetterolf and Sanchez, 2013, p.250). This persistent fear of vilification of female sexuality, apparent in societies across the globe to a lesser or larger degree, is sustained because men and women focus on sex as a situation where women "give themselves" to men. This attitude provides fertile ground for sexual violence and reinforces rape mythology. Also, the ensuing culture of victim blaming and subsequent self-blame, on the part of victims, renders it difficult for the victim to even acknowledge the rape (Bondurant, 2001; Frazier and Seales, 1997; Kahn AndreoliMathie and Torgler, 1994; Kahn and AndreoliMathie, 2000; Katz & Burt, 1988; Koss, 1985; Parrot, 1991; Pitts and Schwartz, 1993 and Schwartz & Leggett, 1999).

The focus of rape work in Scotland has seen changes in the law and campaigns to tackle rape myths. However, the greater challenge is to address the socially conservative attitudes of morality, chastity, chivalry and adherence to traditional institutions, as well as sexism and discriminatory attitudes that are prejudicial towards women and allow society to 'avert their gaze' from male violence. Everyday sexism, embraced by both men and women, is catastrophic in allowing often subtle but pervasive misogynistic attitudes to emerge, informing among other things, the way in which society views victims of sexual violence. Pervasive attitudes that view women as sexual objects and as subservient to men promote rape myth acceptance and victim blaming as do attitudes reflected in right wing authoritarianism, some of which are embraced by neoliberal policies prevalent in the UK. A better understanding of the interconnected and complex interplay between conservatism, sexism and rape myths may contribute to a wider understanding of rape as a violent crime and eventually lead to a more facilitative culture for rape victims, reflected by an increase in progressive and comprehensive policies and higher report and convictions rates.

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Appendix 1

The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (Glicke and Fiske, 1996)

Ambivalent Sexism is measured on a 6 point Likert Scale, ranging from 0 (disagree strongly) to 5 (agree strongly)

The statements on this page concern women, men, and their relationships in contemporary society. Please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with each of the statements below:

(1) No matter how accomplished he is, a man is not truly complete as a person unless he has the love of a woman.
(2) Many women are actually seeking special favors, such as hiring policies that favor them over men, under the guise of asking for "equality."
(3) In a disaster, women ought not necessarily to be rescued before men.
(4) Most women interpret innocent remarks or acts as being sexist.
(5) Women are too easily offended.
(6) People are often truly happy in life without being romantically involved with a member of the other sex.
(7) Feminists are not seeking for women to have more power than men.
(8) Many women have a quality of purity that few men possess.
(9) Women should be cherished and protected by men.
(10) Most women fail to appreciate fully all that men do for them.
(11) Women seek to gain power by getting control over men.
(12) Every man ought to have a woman whom he adores.
(13) Men are complete without women.
(14) Women exaggerate problems they have at work.
(15) Once a woman gets a man to commit to her, she usually tries to put him on a tight leash.
(16) When women lose to men in a fair competition, they typically complain about being discriminated against.

(17) A good woman should be set on a pedestal by her man.

(18) There are actually very few women who get a kick out of teasing men by seeming sexually available and then refusing male advances.

(19) Women, compared to men, tend to have a superior moral sensibility.

(20) Men should be willing to sacrifice their own well being in order to provide financially for the women in their lives.

(21) Feminists are making entirely reasonable demands of men.

(22) Women, as compared to men, tend to have a more refined sense of culture and good taste.

B= benevolent sexism (Questions – 1, 3, 6, 8, 9, 12, 13, 17, 19, 20, 22)
H = hostile sexism (Questions - 2, 4, 5, 7, 10, 11, 14, 15, 16, 18, 21)

Appendix 2

Illinois rape myth acceptance scale-short form (IRMA-SF) (Payne, Lonsway and Fitzgerald, 1999)

Please indicate the degree to which you agree with each statement on the scales below.

1) If a woman is raped while she is drunk, she is at least somewhat responsible for letting things get out of control.

Disagree Strongly   1   2   3   4   5   Agree Strongly

2) Although most women wouldn't admit it, they generally find being physically forced into sex a real ''turn-on.''

Disagree Strongly   1   2   3   4   5   Agree Strongly

3)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.

Disagree Strongly   1   2   3   4   5   Agree Strongly

4) Many women secretly desire to be raped.

Disagree Strongly   1   2   3   4   5   Agree Strongly

5) Most rapists are not caught by the police.

Disagree Strongly   1   2   3   4   5   Agree Strongly

6) If a woman doesn't physically fight back, you can't really say that it was rape.

Disagree Strongly   1   2   3   4   5   Agree Strongly

7) Men from nice middle-class homes almost never rape.

Disagree Strongly   1   2   3   4   5   Agree Strongly

8) Rape accusations are often used as a way of getting back at men.

Disagree Strongly   1   2   3   4   5   Agree Strongly

9) All women should have access to self-defence classes.

Disagree Strongly   1   2   3   4   5   Agree Strongly

10) It is usually only women who dress suggestively that are raped.

Disagree Strongly   1   2   3   4   5   Agree Strongly

11) If the rapist doesn't have a weapon, you really can't call it a rape.

Disagree Strongly   1   2   3   4   5   Agree Strongly

12) Rape is unlikely to happen in the woman's own familiar neighbourhood.

Disagree Strongly   1   2   3   4   5   Agree Strongly

13) A lot of women lead a man on and then they cry rape.

Disagree Strongly   1   2   3   4   5   Agree Strongly

14) It is preferable that a female police officer conduct the questioning when a woman reports a rape.

Disagree Strongly   1   2   3   4   5   Agree Strongly

15) A woman who ''teases'' men deserves anything that might happen.

Disagree Strongly   1   2   3   4   5   Agree Strongly

16) When women are raped, it's often because the way they said ''no'' was ambiguous.

Disagree Strongly   1   2   3   4   5   Agree Strongly

17) Men don't usually intend to force sex on a woman, but sometimes they get too sexually carried away.

Disagree Strongly   1   2   3   4   5   Agree Strongly

18) A woman who dresses in skimpy clothes should not be surprised if a man tries to force her to have sex.

Disagree Strongly   1   2   3   4   5   Agree Strongly

19) Rape happens when a man's sex drive gets out of control.

Disagree Strongly   1   2   3   4   5   Agree Strongly

SA = she asked for it (Questions – 1, 15, 16, 18)
WI = she wanted it (Questions – 2, 4)
NR = it wasn't really rape (Questions, 6, 11)
DE = rape is a deviant event (Questions – 7, 10, 12)
LI = she lied (Questions – 8, 13)
MT = he didn't mean to (Questions – 17, 19)
TE = rape is a trivial event (Questions – 3)

Appendix 3

Right Wing Authoritarianism (RWA) Questionnaire (Altemeyer, 1996).

Below is the latest version of the RWA scale. Read the instructions carefully, and then write down your response to each statement in the space next to the statements.

This survey is part of an investigation of general public opinion concerning a variety of social issues.

You will probably find that you agree with some of the statements, and disagree with others, to varying extents. Please indicate your reaction to each statement on the line to the left of each item according to the following scale:

Write down a **-4** if you very strongly disagree with the statement.
Write down a **-3** if you strongly disagree with the statement.
Write down a **-2** if you moderately disagree with the statement.
Write down a **-1** if you slightly disagree with the statement.
Write down a **+1** if you slightly agree with the statement.
Write down a **+2** if you moderately agree with the statement.
Write down a **+3** if you strongly agree with the statement.
Write down a **+4** if you very strongly agree with the statement.

Important: You may find that you sometimes have different reactions to different parts of a statement. For example, you might very strongly disagree ("-4") with one idea in a statement, but slightly agree ("+1") with another idea in the same item. When this happens, please combine your reactions, and write down how you feel on balance (a "-3" in this case).

1) The established authorities generally turn out to be right about things, while the radicals and protestors are usually just "loud mouths" showing off their ignorance. SCORE:_____
2) Women should have to promise to obey their husbands when they get married. SCORE:_____
3)Our country desperately needs a mighty leader who will do what has to be done to destroy the radical new ways and sinfulness that are ruining us. SCORE:_____
4) Gays and lesbians are just as healthy and moral as anybody else. SCORE:_____
5) It is always better to trust the judgment of the proper authorities in government and religion than to listen to the noisy rabble-rousers in our society who are trying to create doubt in people's minds. SCORE:_____
6) Atheists and others who have rebelled against the established religions are no doubt every bit as good and virtuous as those who attend church regularly. SCORE:_____

7) The only way our country can get through the crisis ahead is to get back to our traditional values, put some tough leaders in power, and silence the troublemakers spreading bad ideas. SCORE:_____

8) There is absolutely nothing wrong with nudist camps. SCORE:_____

9) Our country needs free thinkers who have the courage to defy traditional ways, even if this upsets many people. SCORE:_____

10) Our country will be destroyed someday if we do not smash the perversions eating away at our moral fiber and traditional beliefs. SCORE:_____

11) Everyone should have their own lifestyle, religious beliefs, and sexual preferences, even if it makes them different from everyone else. SCORE:_____

12) The "old-fashioned ways" and the "old-fashioned values" still show the best way to live. SCORE:_____

13) You have to admire those who challenged the law and the majority's view by protesting for women's abortion rights, for animal rights, or to abolish school prayer. SCORE:_____

14) What our country really needs is a strong, determined leader who will crush evil, and take us back to our true path. SCORE:_____

15) Some of the best people in our country are those who are challenging our government, criticizing religion, and ignoring the "normal way things are supposed to be done." SCORE:_____

16) God's laws about abortion, pornography and marriage must be strictly followed before it is too late, and those who break them must be strongly punished. SCORE:_____

17) There are many radical, immoral people in our country today, who are trying to ruin it for their own godless purposes, whom the authorities should put out of action. SCORE:_____

18) A "woman's place" should be wherever she wants to be. The days when women are submissive to their husbands and social conventions belong strictly in the past. SCORE:_____

19) Our country will be great if we honor the ways of our forefathers, do what the authorities tell us to do, and get rid of the "rotten apples" who are ruining everything. SCORE:_____

20) There is no "ONE right way" to live life; everybody has to create their own way. SCORE:_____

21) Homosexuals and feminists should be praised for being brave enough to defy "traditional family values. SCORE:_____

22) This country would work a lot better if certain groups of troublemakers would just shut up and accept their group's traditional place in society. SCORE:_____