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ATTRIBUTIONS ABOUT CRIME AS A FUNCTION
OF GROUP MEMBERSHIP, VICTIM
PRECIPITATION AND INJURY.

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1976

THE "JUST WORLD" IN THE "REAL WORLD":

**Attributions About Crime As A Function Of
Group Membership, Victim Precipitation And Injury**

by

KATHERINE WHITE ELLISON

**A dissertation submitted to the Graduate
Faculty in Psychology in partial fulfill-
ment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy, The City University
of New York.**

1976

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Psychology in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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who encouraged, prodded, sacrificed;

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INTRODUCTION

Background

In recent years, social psychologists have shown increasing interest in testing theory and applying knowledge in various aspects of the criminal justice system. Work has ranged from a wide variety of experimental analogues (Landy and Aronson, 1969; Walster, 1966; Jones and Aronson, 1973; Doob, 1975) to action research, including the application of survey and statistical techniques to the selection of actual juries (Schulman et al., 1973; Kairys et al.)

Much of the experimental work has attempted "to determine whether individuals use extralegal devices in arriving at decisions regarding responsibility and degree of punishment for illegal actions" (Jones and Aronson, 1973, p. 415). Most of the work to which Jones and Aronson refer has been grounded in attribution theory, particularly in that area of attribution research concerned with the notion of a "just world" (Lerner, 1965; Lerner and Simmons, 1966). According to this idea, people have a strong tendency to believe that one gets what one deserves, and deserves what happens to him. In a just world, there will be a tendency to blame even innocent victims for their fate as a way of maintaining cognitive constancy. Although Lerner (1965) has shown that observers tend to prefer to attribute causality to someone other than the victim of accident or catastrophe if possible, examples abound of what Ryan (1966) has called "blaming the victim," so that Jews were held somehow responsible for their persecution by the Nazi's (Hallie, 1971; Selznick and Selznick, 1969), the plight of the poor is sometimes seen by the middle class as the result of laziness (Ryan,

1966), and even natural disasters may be seen as punishment for sin (Rosenman, 1956).

The tendency to blame the victim may have interactive consequences for other attributions. The belief that characteristics of the victim influence not only how much the victim will be blamed for what happened but also how much punishment will be assigned to an offender in a criminal case is a common one. Results dealing with the direction of this influence, however, have been contradictory. Landy and Aronson (1969) found that simulated jurors gave the highest sentences when the defendant was "unattractive" in character and the victim "attractive," sentences were lowest when the defendant was "attractive" or "neutral" and the victim was "unattractive." The mythology of lawyers also seems to hold that the decision of a jury will be affected by the character of the victim: Percy Foreman has claimed that, "the best defense in a murder case is the fact that the deceased should have been killed regardless of how it happened" (Smith, 1966). This mythology may have some basis in fact. In their massive study of judges and juries, Kalven and Zeisel (1966) found that certain characteristics of the victim do seem to influence sentencing of an offender: drunkenness, and, in sex crimes, bad character in a victim seem to have the greatest effect in decreasing the sentence which will be given to a defendant.

All of the work mentioned above has used sentence as the dependent variable; none specifically asked both for sentence to an offender and how much the respondent felt the victim was at fault. In contrast, when Jones and Aronson (1973) asked both for a sentence for an offender and attribution of fault to the victim, they found a positive relation; higher sentence was found in the same situation which produced the

greatest tendency to attribute fault to the victim.

A final variable that has been thought to influence both attribution of fault to a victim and, in criminal cases, sentence given to an offender, is the seriousness of the crime, including extent of injury. Both Walster (1966) and Jones and Aronson (1973) found that tendency to attribute fault to the victim increased with severity of the consequences. Indeed, a major percept of the just world notion is the idea that the more someone suffers, the more likely he is to be perceived by others as deserving of what has happened to him.

A crime that has been the object of special focus in recent years, particularly in the area of perceptions of the victim by others, and the special problems a victim encounters as a result of these attitudes, has been forcible rape.¹ Discussions of the crime have abounded in the media; dramatizations have reached a wide audience and books and articles on the subject aimed at the general public have proliferated. Those institutions that traditionally have dealt with rape and rape victims: law enforcement and health care facilities, have, in some cases, instituted special programs and training for their personnel who deal with rape victims (Brodyaga, Gates, Singer, Tucker and White, 1975; Burgess and Holstrom, 1974). Citizen's groups concerned primarily with helping the victim and with disseminating information about rape have sprung up around the country. Indeed, the plight of the rape victim has been a major focus of the renascent feminist movement (Brodyaga *et al.*, 1975; Csida and Csida, 1974; Brownmiller, 1975).

¹Throughout this document the term "rape" will be used to refer to forcible rape as opposed to statutory rape.

A common assertion, especially by feminist writers (Russell, 1975; Connell and Wilson, 1974), has been that rape has been considered by our society to be substantially different from other violent crimes against the person. A major source of this difference, it has been claimed, has lain in perceptions of the victim. Hilberman (1976) quotes a common illustration of this difference;

...the contrast is striking if one imagines the cross examination of a robbery victim which parallels that of the rape victim:

In other words, Mr. Smith, you were walking around the streets late at night in a suit that practically advertised the fact that you might be a good target for some easy money, isn't that so? I mean, if we didn't know better, Mr. Smith, we might even think that you were asking for this to happen, mightn't we? (p. 3)

Perhaps the best evidence for the existence of such a differential status comes from an examination of the law and legal commentary. In many jurisdictions, rape has had evidentiary requirements more stringent than those expected in other crimes generally included in the category "violent crimes against the person": homicide, robbery, and aggravated assault (LeGrand, 1973; Barnett, 1971; Babcock et al., 1975). In most cases, the alleged victim must have proof beyond her² sworn testimony that she did not consent to the act (proof such as bruises, lacerations, torn clothing or other evidence of a struggle), and that a sex act took place. While some states have embodied these requirements in statute, in many more states they have been a part of case

² Although in some states males may be victims of rape and females offenders, in the vast majority of cases, a male is the offender and a female the victim. Therefore, the male pronoun will be used to refer to the offender and the female to the victim.

law (LeGrand, 1973; Barnett, 1971; Washington, D. C., Task Force on Rape, 1973). In other crimes, such as robbery, the sworn testimony of the victim, either male or female, usually is sufficient to establish lack of consent and that the act took place. [However, police sources suggest the need for corroboration in cases of assault (International Association of Chiefs of Police, 1971).] Further evidence of the difference in the legal process between rape and other crimes may be seen in the findings that rape is the least likely of the violent crimes against the person to result in a conviction after an arrest has been made (Kalven and Zeisel, 1966; Kelley, 1974).

As Lerner (1965) has suggested happens in other circumstances, attributions of fault to the rape victim often are couched in terms of her character. Many of the recent commentaries on rape have echoed the speculation of the Washington, D. C., Task Force on Rape that special legal reservations about rape are a result of

...Victorian anachronisms [which] appear to underlie many judicial decisions as well as the verdicts of even the most representative juries. These include the suspicion that a "proper" person should have absorbed substantial physical brutality to evidence lack of consent; that prior sexual experience of any kind is reasonable evidence of possible misconduct or "provocation" on the part of the unmarried victim; that "nice girls don't get raped and bad girls shouldn't complain".... (pp. 5-6)

This statement implies, as have many others (Babcock et al., 1975; Bard and Ellison, 1974), that many of the attributions typically made about rape have revolved around conceptions of the act as being primarily of a sexual, as opposed to a criminal, nature. Thus the claim is that rape has been saddled with much of the attitudinal baggage that has attached itself to sexuality in our society. In this context, several themes indicative of character attributions emerge: the "real"

rape victim is a "good" woman who values her "honor" more than her life, and can be raped only when beaten or otherwise rendered unconscious; other women who report rape probably are liars, provoked the crime, and possibly enjoyed the act.

The idea that rape is a crime particularly susceptible to lying is centuries old: Potiphar's wife was one of the more notorious examples. Hale's Rule of Caution (after Lord Chief Justice Matthew Hale, a seventeenth century English jurist) still must be included in the charge to the jury in many states: "rape is an accusation easy to be made and hard to be proven, and harder to be defended by the person accused, tho never so innocent."

Wigmore (1970), considered an expert on evidentiary requirements, concurs with the notion that lying is common in rape complaints:

...modern psychiatrists have amply studied the behavior of errant young girls and women coming before the courts in all sorts of cases. Their psychic complexes are multifarious, distorted partly by inherent defects, partly by disease derangements or abnormal instincts, partly by bad social environments, partly by temporary physiological or emotional conditions. One form taken by these complexes is that of contriving false charges of sexual offenses by men. The unchaste (let us call it) mentality finds incidental but direct expression in the narration of imaginary sex incidents of which the narrator is the heroine or the victim. On the surface the narration is straightforward and convincing. The real victim, however, too often is the innocent man; for the respect and sympathy naturally felt by any tribunal for a wronged female helps to give credit to such a plausible tale.... No doubt any judge of a criminal court and any prosecuting attorney can corroborate this with instances from his own observation. Judging merely from the reports of cases in the appellate courts, one must infer that many innocent men have gone to prison because of tales whose falsity could not be exposed.... (p. 736, note 6)

Wigmore does not elaborate further on evidence supporting this statement, but, on the basis of it, suggests that all rape complainants be required to submit to a psychiatric examination. In the same vein,

many police departments require alleged rape victims to submit to a polygraph examination (Brodyaga et al., 1975).

In addition to attributions of fault based on the victim's character, attributions of fault may be based on the victim's behavior. This is the area of inquiry commonly known as "victim precipitation."

The issue of victim precipitation has been the central focus of the area of criminology known as "victimology." Although originally conceived as a study reflecting "scientific concern for the plight of those victimized and exploited" (Weis and Borges, 1973), the emphasis has come to be an examination of the behavior of the victim as exculpatory evidence for the behavior of the offender: as Weis and Borges (1973) put it, the act becomes justifiable on the part of the offender, and the victimization "legitimate." As Percy Foreman put it in a homicide case, "The jury was ready to dig up the deceased and shoot him all over again" (Smith, 1966).

Weis and Borges (1973) contend that most criminological work could be called "'victorology'...reflecting more interest in the winners (lat. victores) than in the losers of criminal activities... and losing sight of victims" (p. 97).

The idea that the victim provoked the crime of rape is common. The excuses for justifying rape are varied. For example, it has been common to interpret social interaction of the victim with the offender as evidence of victim precipitation in rape. As evidence of the alleged "lackadaisical attitude by many females to being a victim of rape," the Columbus, Ohio, Police Department (1974) offers the following:

...consider that 32% of reported rape victims, between January and September of 1973, were interacting socially either in a tavern, cocktail party, friend's house, etc.

Some criminologists agree. Amir (1971), in a descriptive study of rape from police records in Philadelphia in 1958 and 1960, has defined victim precipitation as

...those rape situations in which the victim actually, or so it was deemed, agreed to sexual relations but retracted before the actual act or did not react strongly enough when the suggestion was made by the offender(s). The term applies also to cases in risky situations marred with sexuality, especially when she uses what could be interpreted as indecency in language and gesture, or constitutes what could be taken as an invitation to sexual relations.... (p. 266)

Nineteen percent of the cases in the Philadelphia study fit this definition. On the basis of this finding, and without comparison with other crimes, Amir agrees with the idea that more rigid evidentiary requirements are needed in rape cases than in other crime situations.

The question of victim precipitation in rape takes on a somewhat different character when studied in comparison with other violent crimes. In a study of police records for 1967 in 17 U. S. cities, Curtis (1974), using Amir's definition of victim precipitation for rape, judged 5% of the cases studied to have involved such precipitation; in 82%, no provocation was evident, and in 12% the circumstances were unclear. In contrast, 20% of the cases of criminal homicide were judged clearly to have involved provocation on the part of the victim, as were 17% of the cases of aggravated assault, 6% of the armed robberies, and 9% of the unarmed robberies.

Indeed, in variables other than victim precipitation, the results of the majority of studies that have compared forcible rape with other crimes against the person seem to favor the hypothesis that rape has much in common with these acts. The Report of the U. S. National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence (1969), and Wolfgang

and Ferracuti's (1967) work on the subculture of violence both give substantial evidence that the majority of offenders in all violent crimes: homicide, forcible rape, robbery, and assault, come from the same age, socio-economic and ethnic group. As Wolfgang and Ferracuti (1967) put it, "There are clusters of variables that have been traditionally noted to be associated with homicide and other assaultive crimes" (pp. 293-294). In addition to being young, male, and black, the majority of violent offenders in the studies cited were characterized by low socio-economic status, below average I. Q., disrupted family, and residence in poor neighborhoods (Wolfgang and Ferracuti, 1967, p. 269). Nor do most offenders confine themselves to a single kind of crime. Studies of arrested offenders show that sizeable numbers of suspects arrested for forcible sex crimes (up to 80% in New Orleans) had previous arrests for non-sex related offenses (Amir, 1971; Minyard and Niklaus, 1974).

In the light of this evidence of differential treatment of rape and rape victims in the legal process, especially given the evidence cited that rape may have much in common with other crimes, the questions arise: how pervasive are these attitudes and what factors are influential in determining them? To begin to answer such questions, one must first ask: what factors have been found to influence the formation of attitudes in general, and particularly, what factors seem to influence attitudes about crime?

The general literature on attitude formation is voluminous and contradictory. A major issue has been the importance of experience in determining attitudes. The literature offers conflicting evidence, with no strong bias in one direction or the other (McGuire, 1969).

A variable that has frequently been found to have at least a mediating effect on the influence of experience has been the norms of groups to which an individual belongs (McGuire, 1969).

The influence of experience on perceptions of crime and crime victimization has received little direct attention, nor is there clear evidence that group norms may influence these perceptions. A review of the literature on the public's perceptions of criminal behavior by Newman and Trilling (1975) did find that "a broad consensus regarding the severity of traditional criminal behavior has been found in many studies." An example is a study by Sellin and Wøifgang (1964), which showed no difference in the judgement of seriousness of a number of offenses by university students, line police officers, juvenile divisions officers or juvenile court judges. Similar consensus about violent crime was found by Wright and Cox (1967) in a study of 2,278 seventeen and eighteen year old subjects. However, a lack of consensus about the seriousness of violent offenses is evident in the sentences given different offenders for what is legally the same offense. A recent study commissioned by the judges of the U. S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit found vast differences in the sentences that judges stated they would give in a series of cases presented to them. Other studies have shown that certain judges are much more likely to imprison defendants for a given crime than are others in the same county (Dershowitz, 1975).

In an attempt to reconcile these conflicting findings, other studies have attempted to isolate more specific factors that influence perception of crime. In their review of the literature, Newman and Trilling (1975) found that

...strength of religiosity is an important factor mediating perceptions of deviance. However, in comparison to the extensive work in perceptions of mental illness, perceptions of crime have rarely been found to be affected by the various social class variables....

Finally, the perceptions of the seriousness of crime by the general public are not always in accord with the sanctions of the law. While Gibbons (1969) found that violent crimes tended to be most severely punished by the law and also given severe penalties by lay persons, the correlation was by no means perfect. Riedel (1972), using the Sellin-Wolfgang scale, demonstrated that the intent of the criminal to inflict harm or not did not influence subjects' judgement of the seriousness of the act; only the extent of harm actually inflicted seemed to have been important. The law, on the other hand, does recognize the importance of intent, or of mitigating circumstances.

In contrast to the literature on the general perception of crime and criminals, the literature on the perception of the victim, which, except for the "just world" work, is rather sparse, seems to argue that in some instances group norms may be important in determining attitudes, particularly attitudes toward victims of rape. In particular, police and adherents of the feminist movement often are considered, at least in anecdotal literature and in the writings of radical feminists (Brownmiller, 1975; Connell and Wilson, 1973), conflicting in their attitudes toward rape victims. Brownmiller (1975) is particularly vituperative in her attacks on police. She spends several pages discussing the single incident of rape by a police officer that is reported yearly in New York City, while failing to mention the few cases of female offenders who sexually assault males. She further chronicles several case histories of "insensitive, often hostile" treatment of rape victims

by police officers. In contrast, she implies that feminists are unfailingly supportive of the victim, regardless of her behavior or character:

... I, on the other hand, would consider the housewife [who lets a strange man into her house for a glass of water] and the hitch-hiker insufficiently wary, but in no way would I consider their actions provocative or even mildly precipitant. Similarly, most men seem to consider a woman who engages in sex play but stops short of intercourse guilty not only of precipitant behavior, but of cruel, provocative behavior with no excuse, yet I and my sister feminists would argue that her actions are perfectly allowable and quite within the bounds of human decency and rational decisions.... (p. 354)

In view of these statements, it seems fruitful to examine more closely the evidence about the attitudes of these two groups, police and feminists, toward crime victims, particularly the victims of rape.

Police attitudes toward victims

Niederhoffer (1967) has argued that the police may be viewed as a subculture with a strong and coherent set of values:

...when a group feels that it is being threatened, or treated unfairly, it falls back on its code of values. Cynicism is an ideological plank deeply entrenched in the ethos of the police world, and it serves equally well for attack or defense. For many reasons, the police are particularly vulnerable to cynicism. When they succumb, they lose faith in people, society, and eventually in themselves. In their Hobbesian view, the world becomes a jungle in which crime, corruption, and brutality are normal features of the terrain.... (p. 9)

A study by Niederhoffer (1967) of police attitudes toward their clientele shows women complainants are better liked than cop-fighters, homosexuals or known criminals, but less well liked than "bohemians" or minority group members.

Symonds (1973), drawing largely on clinical experience, found indifference or even antagonism toward the victims of crime to be prevalent both in the general population and among police. He hypothesizes that such attitudes are due in part to "primitive fear of contamination

by the unlucky victim," and, especially in police, to the fact that

...by the time the victim is seen the criminal act is in the past with the criminal gone. There is nothing active that the listener can do and the victim's expression of her distress is experienced by the listener as an implied demand that something be done, as well as an implied criticism that the listener failed to protect her from this tragic experience.

This reaction of seeming indifference of the police, that the victim experiences, is due to a common misinterpretation by the police of the concept of professionalism. In their zeal to be neutral, and since it is a crime in the past with the criminal gone, they aggressively question the victim as to the details of the crime. This behavior rejects implied expectations of comfort to the victim, as well as rejects the victim's implied criticism that the police have failed to do their job of protecting him from crime....

Special cynicism about the validity of complaints of rape is built into much of the material used in training police investigators.

O'Hara's (1974) text on criminal investigation cautions that "since charges of rape are easily made, the necessity of close scrutiny of the victim's complaint is evident" (p. 305). He further asserts that

...where a vigorous woman alleges ravishment, it is to be expected that signs of violence such as wounds, bruises, and scratches will be present and their absence should induce a moderate degree of skepticism, unless the girl avers that she fainted from fear, became panic-stricken, or was otherwise rendered incapable of physical resistance. The acts and demeanor of the female immediately after the alleged commission should be subject to very critical investigation in these cases.... (p. 307)

In the same vein, a Training Key put out by the International Association of Chiefs of Police (1969) warns that

...separating the truth from the lie is often a difficult task. Carefully note the appearance and behavior of the victim. Generally, the actions and the appearance of a bona fide victim leaves little doubt that a crime has been committed. She is highly agitated or emotionally upset, often in a state of hysteria. Most often, she has sustained injuries, cuts, bruises or gunshot wounds. Her clothing is ripped or torn off as evidence that it was forcibly removed. If the rape occurred outdoors, the victim is generally thrown

to the ground and her outer-garments are stained or soiled.³

During the investigative interview, note the victim's attitude and reaction to your suggestion that she be given a medical examination...be suspect of her desire to forget the whole incident and refusal to cooperate [elipses and italics in the original].

This document also strongly suggests charging the alleged victim with false complaint if the investigator harbors and suspicions about the validity of her complaint.

In contrast, O'Hara's only comment about the victim of robbery is that

...at least 20% of the victims were chronic drunks or men seeking the company of prostitutes or homosexuals. The habits of these persons render them especially vulnerable to the mugger.... (p. 427)

Examples of the general skepticism of police, and their tendency to emphasize the sexual nature of the crime of rape, abound (Brodyaga et al., 1975). A report by the police department of Columbus, Ohio (1974), states

...sex education in our school system has taught the various measures in avoiding pregnancy. The "pill," so available and freely used in our society, has undoubtedly developed a somewhat lackadaisical attitude by many females to being a victim of rape....

Interestingly, despite the contention of feminists that policewomen can be expected to be more supportive of the rape victim than policemen -- apparently by virtue of their gender alone -- Brodyaga and her colleagues (1975) found similar instances of skepticism among female officers.

³Current evidence does not support these contentions (Amir, 1971; New York Police Department Sex Crimes Analysis Unit Annual Report, 1973).

In contrast to these largely suspicious statements, very recent material tends to be more moderate. The most recent International Association of Chiefs of Police Training Key on rape (1974), details the range of psychological reactions of victims, and includes statements indicative of a realization that these reactions may be quite complex:

...it is extremely important that police officers view rape as an emotional as well as a physical assault. This is true regardless of the moral reputation of the victim. Even prostitutes, who regularly sell their bodies, will experience the psychological violation of self when raped....

...the victim may respond in a controlled behavior pattern... [and] appears to be calm, composed, or subdued....

...special care should be exercised so that the rape victim is not placed in the position of perceiving herself as being guilty because of the personal nature of the crime and the social stigma attached to it....

Even feminists have noted examples of sensitive treatment of the victim by police. Connell and Wilson (1974) reported that the chief of detectives of the New York Police Department was "surprisingly sensitive to the problem" of rape. He was "very aware of the issues. The police department as a whole is more sensitive and more responsive and more eager to accept criticism and make changes than some other city agencies" (p. 237).

Most of the evidence of police attitudes about victims has come from clinical material such as that of Symonds (1973), anecdotal material, often delivered to support a theoretical position (Brownmiller, 1975), or the indirect evidence found in the official dicta of training materials. In the only direct study of police attitudes toward rape, conducted in Du Page County, Illinois, Bracki and Connor (1975) found little difference between police officers and students on a written questionnaire. However, when subjects were interviewed in groups, the

student subjects' responses on the questionnaire and their oral discussions were found to agree. Police subjects, on the other hand, responded differently. In group discussions, they displayed considerably more suspiciousness of the rape victim's story than they had in the questionnaire. The authors hypothesized that it is the "test taking behavior" that is suspect. An alternative hypothesis might state that group norms were strongly at work in the discussions, that police officers in a group might modify their responses to fit those which they expected their colleagues to hold, or which were perceived as most acceptable in unofficial, and often, as was seen in the training material discussed previously, official police circles.

The question of the importance of experience in determining attitudes toward a victim of rape was not addressed specifically in this study. The authors did state that few of the subjects had had personal experience with a rape victim; indeed, only 76 cases of rape were reported in the county during the years 1973-74.

Feminist attitudes toward victims

A group that also claims experience with victims, especially victims of rape, and whose officially expressed attitudes and positions are in contrast with the police attitudes noted above is the women's movement that gained prominence in the late 1960's and the 70's. As was discussed previously, this movement has had an enormous effect on focusing public attention on the victim of rape. The most radical view of rape by feminist authors (Brownmiller, 1975; Russell, 1974) has been that rape is primarily a political act, used by men for the subjugation of women. Brownmiller (1975) goes so far as to claim that rape "is nothing more or less than a conscious process of intimidation by which

all men keep all women in a state of fear," (p. 15) and

...a world without rapists would be a world in which women moved freely without fear of men. That some men rape provides a sufficient threat to keep all women in a constant state of intimidation, forever conscious of the knowledge that the biological tool must be held in awe for it may turn to weapon with sudden swiftness borne of harmful intent.... (p. 209)

Connell and Wilson (1974) agree. Rape, they say, is the "logical result of women being told to be submissive to the dominant male" (Appendix VIII), because "our society is structured so that men continuously exploit women whether it is called rape, prostitution, or marriage" (p. 174).

Virtually every feminist writer has discussed the issue of "victim precipitation," and has condemned the tendency to blame the victim or to suspect the victim who reports rape of lying (Csida and Csida, 1974; Barnett, 1971; LeGrand, 1973; Brownmiller, 1975; Connell and Wilson, 1974). They contend that "the fact is, women are raped because they exist, not because of anything they do" (Connell and Wilson, 1974).

The more radical feminists exhibit some confusion and contradiction over the nature of rape. While contending that rape is a violent act, not a sexual one, the sentiment has also been expressed that all heterosexual sex has aspects of rape:

...how different is predatory criminal rape from "normal" sexual behavior? We suggest that the difference is essentially one of degree, that we live in a culture that, at best, condones and, at worst, encourages women to be perennial victims, men to be continual predators, and sexual relations to be fundamentally aggressive.... (Connell and Wilson, 1974, p. 84)

Interestingly, in an attempt to indict police for their general conduct toward women, Connell and Wilson (1974) give an example of police disbelief of a robbery victim:

...I was once working at a small bookstore, and a very big man came in. I was trapped behind the desk, and he said, "This is a stickup, give me all the money out of the drawer." ...As soon as he left, I called the cops, and when they came, I gave them the description and so forth, and they said to me, "Did he touch you?" I said, "No, he stood with his hands in his pockets." They said, "Oh, did you see that he had a weapon?" "No." "You mean he just asked you for the money and you gave it to him?" "Yes." "That's not a robbery." It's as if the guy said, May I have some money, and I said, Certainly. Apparently that's not a robbery. It seemed to me that they thought I should say, No! My money or my life. And that I should fight this man off.... (p. 10)

Unfortunately, as with police writings on the subject, the majority of these commentaries are not based on carefully weighed, representative evidence. Most of the feminist evidence seems carefully selected to support political ideology.

Rape and the "just world"

Given the abundance of speculation about the nature of public attitudes on rape, it seems profitable to examine the objective evidence. In the only study on the subject in the psychological literature, Jones and Aronson (1973) have tried to bring perceptions about rape and the rape victim into the orbit of the "just world" studies. They presented a group of 234 undergraduate students with a pencil and paper questionnaire which included case accounts either of a rape or an attempted rape, and asked them to assign a sentence to the offender, and to judge the extent to which the victim might have been at fault. In some of the accounts the victim was described as married, in some as divorced, and in others as a virgin. In line with findings of other studies in the "just world" framework, the hypothesis tested was that a "socially respectable person is seen as more at fault in a crime in which he was the victim." Jones and Aronson also hypothesized that a "defendant who has injured a more respectable person is sentenced more

severely" than one whose victim is less respectable. Thus, the higher the sentence given to the defendant, the more the victim is likely to be blamed for the crime. These hypotheses were confirmed. Unfortunately, the seemingly contradictory nature of these findings is not adequately explained.

Jones and Aronson's study raises more questions than it answers. As with many of the other "just world" studies (Walster, 1966; Lerner and Simmons, 1966; Landy and Aronson, 1969), the subjects were college undergraduates, tested in a group, on a restricted, closed-ended instrument. In the case of Jones and Aronson's work, the instrument gave the subjects no opportunity to make the attributions which Lerner (1966) suggests they may prefer: to blame the environment or other circumstances, rather than the victim. Further, rape was compared with another sex crime, attempted rape, rather than another violent crime, such as robbery or aggravated assault. Nor was the question of the influence of physical injury to the victim addressed, as a measure of seriousness of the crime.

Finally, Jones and Aronson make the assumption that attribution of fault to the victim is strongly related to the belief that the victim deserved what happened to her: that "fault" and "deserving" are equivalent. A pilot study for the present work found, in contrast, that not only did the majority of respondents not equate fault with deserving, but the term "fault" itself is semantically complex. When respondents were asked both to attribute fault to the victim, and for an explanation of that attribution, several were found to use the term "fault" as equivalent to "cause." These respondents typically would say, "The crime was the victim's fault, she was not as strong physically

as the offender," or, "She had to be out alone at night." Fault for these respondents was attributed to an uncontrollable variable or characteristic on the part of the victim.

Thus, Jones and Aronson's study has added little to our understanding of the perception of rape and the rape victim. Indeed, some clinical and anecdotal material seems to suggest that the "just world" attributions found by Jones and Aronson (1973), Walster (1966) and others may not be the sort of attributions that are made by people in the "real world." Symonds (1973) found more sympathy and less tendency to blame the victim when the victim is injured than when there has been no physical injury. In my own work with police officers in several jurisdictions, my subjective impression has been that when no injury has occurred, many police officers seem anxious to find a reason for the crime, which may include blaming the victim. This tendency has been especially strong in rape cases. However, when a victim is badly injured, police seem less likely to ask questions that imply attribution of fault to the victim: "What were you doing there." "Why didn't you ...(scream, run, resist, etc.)?" They seem least likely to blame the victim if a suspect has been apprehended, perhaps because a suspect gives them a more appropriate object for blame, as well as affirmation that they have done their job, so aborting the tendency that Symonds (1973) noted to need to project their own guilt. These reactions do not seem to be related to an officer's experience with victims, although they may be modified somewhat by special training in dealing with victims.

Purpose of the study

This study attempted to answer some of the questions that have

limited the generalizability of the attribution studies in the "just world" framework. It also tested some of the assumptions that have been made about attributions about rape and the rape victim.

The just world hypotheses have been tested largely on groups of college students. In this study, respondents were drawn from the two non-college groups for which there may be hypothesized to be strong group pressures regarding the attribution of fault to a rape victim, police officers, and members of feminist organizations. A further sample of respondents was drawn from the general population and matched to the target groups for age, sex and education. In this, the study was one of the few attempts to test the "just world" hypotheses in the "real world."

The just world studies have concentrated on character of the victim; this study, instead of varying the respectability of the victim varied her behavior. The influence of presence or absence of "victim precipitation" on sentence to the offender and fault assigned the victim was studied. In contrast to Jones and Aronson's (1973) work, rape was compared with another violent crime, robbery, instead of another sex offense. Hypotheses also were concerned with the influence of physical injury to the victim, to test more specifically the contentions of the "just world" theorists about the influence of the seriousness of consequences.

In summary, the dependent variables for this study were group membership, crime, precipitation, and injury. The dependent measures were sentence to the offender, attribution of fault to the victim, explanation of why a crime happened to a particular victim, and extent to which the victim deserved what happened.

Hypotheses

Dependent variable: sentence

Hypothesis 1. The mean sentence for robbery will be significantly less than the mean sentence for rape.

The essential difference between robbery and rape is that in one the victim is forcibly deprived of control over material goods, in the other of control over sexual activities. Rape has generally been considered the more serious of the two crimes, although in some states, such as New Jersey, the penalties are the same. This hypothesis was to provide a basis for making further statements about the influence of seriousness of consequences. It is consistent with Jones and Aronson's hypothesis that sentence will increase with seriousness of offense.

Hypothesis 2. Sentences will be significantly greater when the victim is injured than when there is no injury.

Again, this hypothesis will test in respondents other than college students Jones and Aronson's finding that sentence increases with seriousness of offense.

Hypothesis 3. For robbery, all groups will give lower sentences when the crime was "precipitated" than when no obvious precipitation was involved. This difference will be significantly greater for police than for other groups.

For rape, the difference in sentence between precipitated and non-precipitated conditions will be significantly greater for police than for male civilians. Female civilians will have a significantly greater difference than will feminists, and police will be greater than feminists.

This hypothesis substitutes the variable of victim behavior for the variable of victim character that Jones and Aronson (1973), Walster

(1966), and Luginbuhl and Mullin (1976) studied. It also tests the notion that police are particularly sensitive to precipitating factors in the victim's behavior in all crimes, but especially in rape. The feminist literature makes few comments about robbery, so there is no basis for predictions about the attributions that feminists will make about robbery victims. The literature cited above does suggest that feminists should be particularly sensitive to the issue of victim precipitation in rape, and that they will avoid the tendency to blame the victim in rape cases.

Dependent variable: fault

Hypothesis 4. For both crimes, police and civilians will attribute more fault to the victim in the precipitation than in the nonprecipitation condition.

Hypothesis 4a. This will hold for feminists only when the crime is robbery.

These hypotheses will test the assumption that people recognize factors that imply "asking for" victimization, and that group membership can alter attributions.

Hypothesis 5. For police, male civilians and female civilians, the differences in attribution of fault between precipitation and nonprecipitation conditions will be significantly greater for rape than for robbery. For feminists, the difference will be reversed.

This hypothesis tests the contention that, for most people, the more severe the consequences, the greater the tendency to attribute fault. It also deals with the contention that precipitation is a more salient feature in rape than in other crimes. Finally, it tests the notion that group norms can alter preceptions.

Hypothesis 6. Attribution of fault will be greater when there is injury than when the victim is not injured.

This hypothesis also tests the "just world" notion that attribution of fault increases with the severity of the consequences.

Interrelation of dependent variables

A pilot study⁴ revealed that when respondents were asked, Why did this crime happen to this particular victim?, attributions of fault to the victim tended to fall into the following categories:

1. a characteristic over which the victim had some control:
a willful act;
2. a character defect: a bad person;
3. a characteristic over which the victim has no control:
physical weakness, etc.;
4. a combination of these.

Fault was also attributed to environmental factors or to God's will. In addition, many respondents felt that the victim was chosen by accident, a case of being "at the wrong place at the wrong time."

Hypothesis 7. Sentence will be significantly greater when victimization is attributed to uncontrollable forces or characteristics than when victimization is attributed to acts or forces under the victim's control (categories 1 and 2 above).

This hypothesis is an extension of Hypothesis 3.

Hypothesis 8. The tendency to feel that the victim deserved what

⁴All the pilot studies used convenience samples of adult respondents who are residents of New Jersey. These samples were drawn from groups with which the investigator has worked.

happened to her will correlate significantly with attribution of victimization to acts or forces under the victim's control.

In a further attempt to get at the meaning of fault for respondents, and to test Jones and Aronson's assumption that attribution of fault correlates with tendency to believe that the victim deserved what happened, respondents will be asked to what extent they believe the victim deserved what happened to her, as well as the questions about fault.

Hypothesis 9. There will be a positive relation between attribution of fault to the victim and sentence to the offender.

Hypothesis 9 tests Jones and Aronson's findings that cases that lead to higher sentences for the offender also tend to lead to greater attribution of fault to the victim.

METHOD

Respondents

One hundred respondents were chosen at random from each of two groups: police officers, and members of feminist organizations. A sample of 200 respondents was drawn from the general, English-speaking, adult population of New Jersey.⁵ Members of this sample were matched one-to-one with the respondents in the special interest group samples for age, sex, race and education.

All 400 respondents were New Jersey residents. The state was chosen because it has a variety of communities: urban, rural, and suburban, and because the investigator has many contacts in the state as a result of extensive lecturing and consulting on rape with police, feminist groups, and citizen's groups. These contacts aided in the development of the samples and provided help in enlisting cooperation from the prospective respondents.

The interview schedule

The interview consisted of eight vignettes covering two crimes (rape and robbery), two precipitation conditions (precipitation, no apparent precipitation), and two injury conditions (not injured, injured badly enough to constitute atrocious assault and battery). The order of presentation of vignettes was varied from respondent to respondent according to a Latin Square design.

After each vignette, respondents were asked questions about the sentence they felt was appropriate for the offender in the case, and

⁵Members of these groups will be referred to as "laypersons," "civilians," or "nonprofessionals."

the extent to which they felt the victim could be considered at fault for the crime. A pilot study had indicated that order of presentation of these questions did not affect the responses.

Further, each respondent was asked why (s)he felt that each crime had happened to that particular victim, and to what extent (s)he felt the victim deserved what happened to her. Finally, each respondent was asked questions about personal experience with crime, and demographic questions, including age, occupation, marital status, and frequency of attendance at religious services, hereafter called "religiosity." This last was to verify Newman and Trilling's (1975) observations about the importance of this factor in determining attitudes about crime.

Construction of the interview schedule

The introduction. The state of New Jersey was revising its criminal code at the time of the study. This fact was mentioned, and potential respondents were told that a purpose of the study was to determine people's opinions about crime in the light of the revision. Although the study had no official status, plans were made to communicate these results to legislators, several of whom had indicated interest in the study.

The vignettes. 48 vignettes (24 robbery, 24 rape) were abstracted from cases taken from police records. All had in common the following elements: victim and offender were strangers; victim was female, offender male; both victim and offender were between 19 and 25 years old; the attack was a sudden one; compliance was gained through "force and/or fear": no weapon was used; when there was injury it was not the result of a deliberate beating; victim's identification of the offender was corroborated by other evidence; offender was convicted by a jury

trial; offender had no previous record of arrests.

The vignettes were written in a style best described as "modified cop." Pilot work indicated that people responded better to this style than to vignettes written without police jargon. Conjecture would suggest that most people hear crime case histories from police on the television news, and find the style appropriate for describing that sort of case.

A few respondents complained that the vignettes did not give them sufficient information to make a judgement. This objection was countered with the reminder that a jury often does not have all the information about a case, either, and must make its judgements on the basis of available evidence.

The cases were given to a group of 80 people (29 male, 51 female, drawn from a New Jersey service club), who were asked to judge on a scale of 0 (no precipitation) to 5 (extreme precipitation) the extent to which events in the case fit Curtis' (1974) definition of victim precipitation. A further group of 20 was asked to rate a list of injuries on severity. As a result of these pilot studies, two sets of 8 vignettes each were made up, using those cases chosen as best representing no precipitation and precipitation, and, in the "injury" condition, injuries that were considered equivalent. Two sets were used to assure that the manipulations rather than the vagaries of a specific case were determining the results.

Each set of vignettes contained one example of each of the following:

robbery
robbery

no precipitation
no precipitation

no injury
injury

robbery	precipitation	no injury
robbery	precipitation	injury
rape	no precipitation	no injury
rape	no precipitation	injury
rape	precipitation	no injury
rape	precipitation	injury.

A police officer and a member of a prosecutor's staff read the vignettes to assure that they involved legally equivalent crimes where appropriate. Interestingly, in New Jersey, the maximum penalties for robbery and for rape are the same: 15 years in prison and/or a \$5,000 fine. Both can carry additional charges of assault with intent, a crime punishable by 12 years in prison and/or a \$3,000 fine. In the "injury" condition, additional charges for atrocious assault and battery are possible, with a possible penalty of 7 years in prison and/or \$2,000 fine.

The dependent variables

Sentence. Gibbons (1969), in a study of sentences deemed appropriate for various crimes by the general public, found the following coding categories sufficient for cases of rape and robbery:

Probation and/or fine
 11 months in jail or less
 1 year to 2 years 11 months in prison
 3 years to 5 years 11 months in prison
 6 years to 10 years 11 months in prison
 11 years to 15 years 11 months in prison
 16 years to 20 years 11 months in prison
 21 years to 25 years 11 months in prison
 More than 25 years in prison.

A pilot study for this work also indicated that people tend to give shorter sentences in two or three year increments and longer ones in five year increments: "five to ten years."

Respondents were asked the open-ended question, "Forgetting anything you may know about the sentences not given, what sentence do you feel

the defendant in this case should receive?" Although, of course, no one can literally forget what he knows about a subject for the convenience of an interview, the introductory statement was to remove concern with getting the "right" answer. Interviewers probed using the above categories only if the respondent was very hesitant to give any answer. Responses were recorded verbatim, then coded. When a respondent gave an answer that did not fit exactly into the categories, e.g., "5 - 10 years," it was coded into the closest category, in this case, "6 years to 10 years 11 months."

Every respondent answered every sentence question: there were no missing data.

Fault. Jones and Aronson (1973) used as their fault measure "...the question 'How much do you consider the crime to be the victim's fault?' The subject answered by circling a number of a 21-point scale from -10 to +10." While such a scale may be psychometrically elegant, it seemed inordinately confusing, and certainly not the sort of attribution that people make spontaneously. The following five point scale seemed closer to natural attributions:

not at all the victim's fault
 a little the victim's fault
 somewhat the victim's fault
 mostly the victim's fault
 all the victim's fault.

Response choices were offered explicitly. There were no missing data.

Explanation of victimization. To understand more precisely what people meant by the term "fault," and why they believed a person becomes a crime victim, the question was asked, "Why do you think this crime happened to this particular victim?" A pilot study of 120 respondents (60 males, 60 females) showed that answers to this question

could be coded into the following categories:

Victim did something careless, stupid; "she flashed money";

Uncontrollable character or physical variable of victim: "a persons who is not physically strong";

Controllable character or physical variable of victim: "a promiscuous woman, a pervert, etc.";

Combination of controllable actions and character or physical variables: "a women who is known to be promiscuous should be especially careful about the way she dresses if she wants to avoid trouble";

Combination of controllable and uncontrollable variables: "women, because they are not strong enough to protect themselves, should not go out alone at night";

Accident, fate: "she was at the wrong place at the wrong time";

God's will;

Environmental variables: "the city should light the streets better".

Responses to the question were recorded verbatim, then coded.

Coding was later redone by another judge: interrater reliability was $r = .92$ (Winer, 1962, pp. 124-126).

Deservingness of victimization. Respondents were asked the close-ended question,

"Sometimes people get what they deserve, and sometimes things happen to people that they didn't deserve. In this case, how much do you think the victim deserved what happened to her? I'll read you a list to choose from. Do you think

she did not deserve to have anything happen to her
she deserved something, but less than what happened
she deserved what happened to her
she deserved to have something even worse happen to her."

Although many respondents expressed indignation that anyone would ask such a question -- "No one deserves to be a crime victim!" -- none had any trouble with the question, and there were no missing data.

Other measures

Experience with crime. Two sets of questions were asked to determine the respondents' personal experience with crime. In the first set, respondents were asked what sentence they thought is now given for certain crimes. This question was to determine the extent to which the answers on the "sentence" variable may have been influenced by current sentencing practices. In the second set, respondents were asked if they or any member of their families had been a victim of serious crime.

Those lay and feminist respondents who had never been victimized were asked whether they worried about certain serious crimes, and why they did or did not worry. This question was an attempt to see if blaming the victim could be a defensive attribution. This question was not asked of police. It was feared that a question that implied loss of control might be too threatening to people for whom control is as important as it is to police. Consultation with several police officers confirmed this reservation.

Police were asked to estimate the number of each of several violent crimes that they had worked with during their careers, as a further measure of experience with victims.

Finally, laypersons and feminists were asked if they had ever served on a jury, and what the most serious cases were on which they had deliberated. Feminists, some of whom had worked in counselling centers, were asked to estimate the number of victims of rape and other crimes that they had counselled.

Demographic measures. All respondents were asked their age, marital status, occupation (or, for police, rank and length of service), religious preference and frequency of attendance at religious services.

The "just world" literature has found little difference in attributions due to demographic variables (Rubin and Peplau, 1975); the criminological literature notes sex differences and differences due to "religiosity," but few differences due to socio-economic variables (Newman and Trilling, 1975).

Consideration was given to asking "just world" questions (Rubin and Peplau, 1975), or some version of the authoritarian personality scale. Both have been found to be related to the tendency to believe in a just world. Unfortunately, the length of the interview already was at the outer limit that most respondents would tolerate, so these questions were not included.

The complete interview schedule may be found in Appendix A.

Procedure

Respondents were interviewed on the telephone. The decision to use this method was based on the desire to reach the greatest number of respondents on a personal basis with maximum efficiency and minimum cost. Because of their cost and the time they take, face-to-face interviews clearly were beyond the scope of this project. Several studies have shown little difference in the results of telephone and face-to-face interviews (Cannell and Kahn, 1968).

Sampling. A random sample of the names and telephone numbers of 125 of the 18,000 full-time municipal and state police officers in New Jersey was made available for this study. The larger-than-necessary sample was to allow for refusals. A random sample also was chosen from the active membership lists of the major feminist organizations in New Jersey, including the formally organized rape counselling groups, by drawing from the proverbial hat. Interviewers continued to call suc-

cessive telephone numbers on their lists until a total of 100 respondents from each group was obtained.

To provide a sample of respondents from the general population, a list of randomly selected residential telephone numbers in New Jersey was made available for this research. The particular individual to be interviewed in each household was determined by the need to match to the special samples of police and feminists. When the interviewer called, she asked the person who answered the phone to give her the first names, ages, and education level of the members of the household. She then asked to speak to the member of that household who matched a member of the special samples (determined from a list). If there was no appropriate person in the household, she asked the person with whom she was talking what (s)he thought the penalty for robbery should be, thanked him/her, and hung up. Interviewers were instructed to make up to ten calls to reach the appropriate respondent, and gain cooperation.

When the appropriate respondent was contacted, the introduction was repeated and cooperation solicited. Confidentiality was assured: for the civilian respondents surname was not recorded. If a respondent was reluctant to participate, (s)he was given a name and telephone number of an individual at the City University and a local police officer to verify the authenticity of the study. The investigator had, in addition, explained the project to police officials and feminist leaders and solicited their cooperation. Reluctant respondents from the special groups were told of this approval and urged to call these people if they needed further reassurances about the study.

Interviewers. Four interviewers were used; all were female. The decision to use female interviewers was prompted in part by a desire

for uniformity -- so the investigator could participate in the interviewing -- and partly to avoid the problems that might have been caused in gaining cooperation from respondents with male interviewers: at the time of the study, New Jersey was experiencing a rash of obscene phone calls from men identifying themselves as researchers. All interviewers had previous experience in telephone interviewing. The two interviewers who worked on the police sample also had experience working with police.

Ending the interview. At the end of the interview, the interviewer asked if the respondent had any questions and thanked him/her for cooperating.

The final sample. Three police officers (3%), seven feminists (6%), eight laymen (7%), and seven laywomen (8%) refused to participate in the survey. All of the respondents in the special samples were, by chance, white. In view of the low percentages of blacks and Hispanics who are members of police departments or of feminist organizations this was not unduly disturbing. Consequently, the laypeople also were all white. The average age for police was 33.54 years, with a range of 19 to 56 years; the average age for feminists was 29.4, the range, 18 to 47; laymen averaged 32.7 years, with a range of 19 to 53; laywomen ranged from 18 to 48, with a mean of 28.3 years. All respondents had a high school education or better.

RESULTS

Dependent variable: sentence

A three-way analysis of variance, with sentence as the dependent variable, was used to analyze Hypotheses 1, 2, and 3. A separate analysis was done for each group of respondents. The main effect for crime was used to test Hypothesis 1, the main effect for injury to test Hypothesis 2, and the main effect for precipitation to test Hypothesis 3. In addition, Hypothesis 3 concerned the interaction effect between crime and precipitation. Table I. gives the results of these analyses of variance.

For each group of respondents, the sentences given for robbery were significantly less than the sentences for rape: the main effect for crime was significant at the .001 level (Hypothesis 1). Sentences also were significantly greater when the victim was injured than when she was not injured; the main effect for injury was significant at the .001 level (Hypothesis 2). Figure 1 presents the results of Hypotheses 1 and 2 graphically.

Contrary to prediction, victim precipitation did not affect sentence to the offender. The main effect for precipitation did not reach significance at the .05 level for any of the four groups of respondents, nor was the interaction effect of crime and precipitation significant (Hypothesis 3). The hypothesis of differences between groups in the attribution of fault was tested by multiple t tests. This test was used because specific comparisons and their direction were spelled out in the hypothesis: the other potential multiple comparisons (such as Duncan's multiple range test, or Scheffé's test) assume no a priori hypotheses as to the differences between means

Table I.
 Analysis of Variance for Sentence¹

	F			
	Police	Feminist	Laymen	Laywomen
Crime (C)	666.73**	545.49**	533.84**	327.59**
Precipitation (P)	2.66	1.08	2.06	1.72
Injury (I)	16.62**	14.59**	21.44**	10.08*
C x P	.13	.00	.19	.01
C x I	2.37	2.55	3.41	.40
P x I	.07	.15	.50	.57
C x P x I	.01	.24	.12	.04

*p < .002
 **p < .001

¹The complete analysis of variance table for sentence may be found in Appendix II.

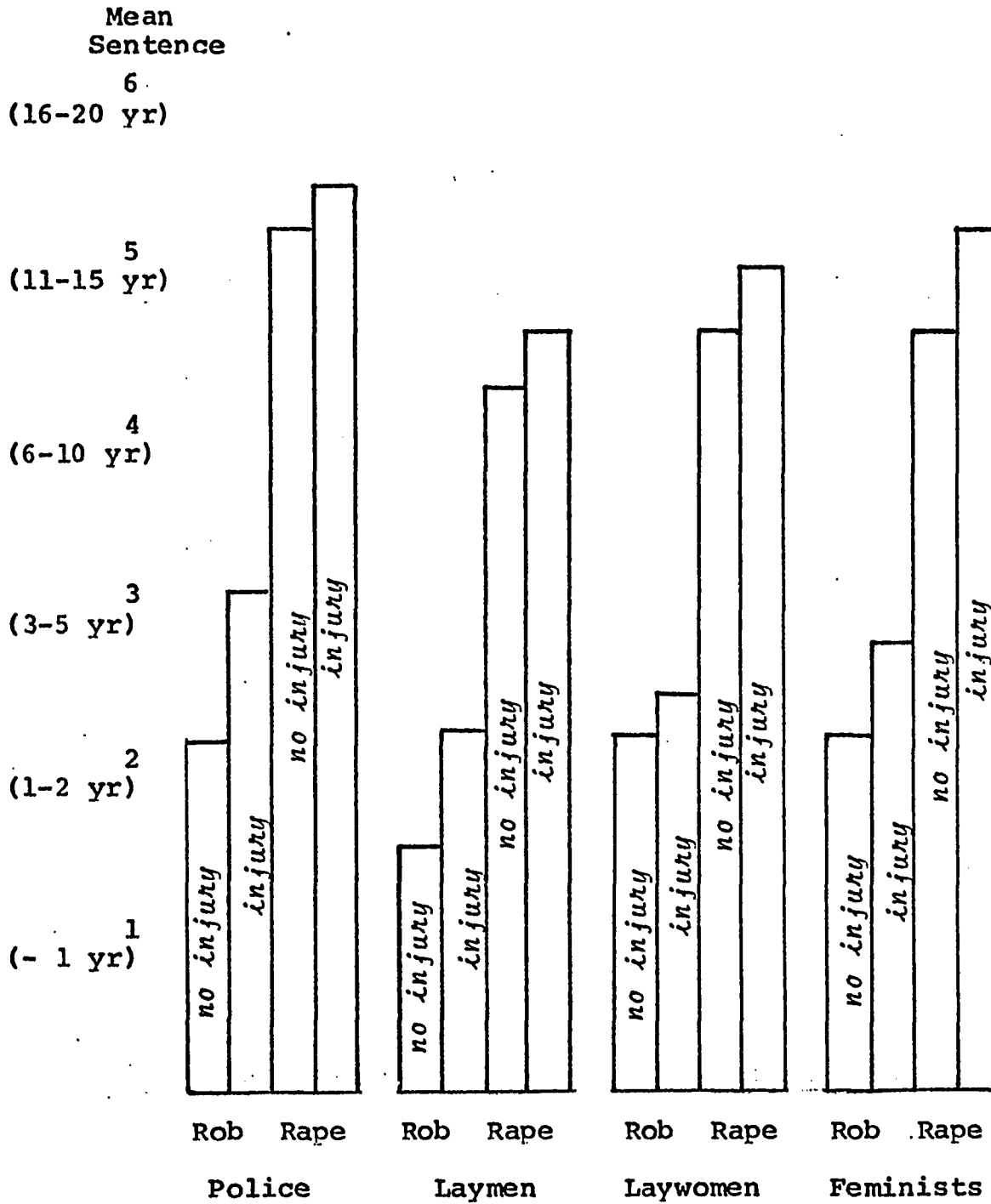


Figure 1. Mean sentence as a function of crime and injury.

(Edwards, 1972, p. 131). Because of the problem that multiple t tests will, by chance, occasionally produce significant results, a more rigorous criterion for the rejection of the null hypothesis, $p < .01$, was used. No group was found to differ significantly from any other group on either rape or robbery sentences as a function of victim precipitation. Table II. gives the results of the group comparisons.

Dependent variable: fault

Although precipitation on the part of the victim did not influence the sentences the respondents gave the offender, it did affect their attribution of fault to the victim. For all groups, significantly more fault was attributed to the victim in precipitation than in no precipitation cases, confirming Hypothesis 4. Feminists, like the other groups, found significantly more fault in the precipitation condition for both rape and robbery, so that Hypothesis 4a was not confirmed. Means, standard deviations, and t values for each group may be found in Table III. Figures 2 and 3 present the responses on fault graphically.

While attribution of fault to the victim was greater when there was evidence of victim precipitation than when no precipitation was evident, seriousness of the crime was not a significant factor in attribution of fault to the victim. Contrary to prediction, no differences in attribution of fault as a function of crime were found (Hypothesis 5). These results may be seen in Table IV. Similarly, attribution of fault to the victim was not significantly greater when she was injured than when no injury occurred. Indeed, had Hypothesis 6 been made in the opposite direction -- that fault would decrease when there was injury -- it would have been confirmed for the two

Table II.

**Mean Differences in Sentence
Between Groups by Crime**

Means and Standard Deviations

	Robbery		Rape	
	\bar{X}	SD	\bar{X}	SD
Police	2.40	1.20	5.25	1.83
Laymen	1.80	1.18	4.34	1.70
Laywomen	2.36	1.24	4.64	2.09
Feminists	2.36	.96	4.89	1.80

t scores

Comparison	Robbery	Rape
Police-Laymen	3.78**	3.64**
Police-Feminists	.27	1.42
Feminists-Laywomen	.02	.87
Laymen-Laywomen	4.55**	.37

** $p < .001$

PERCEPTION OF FAULT

ROBBERY

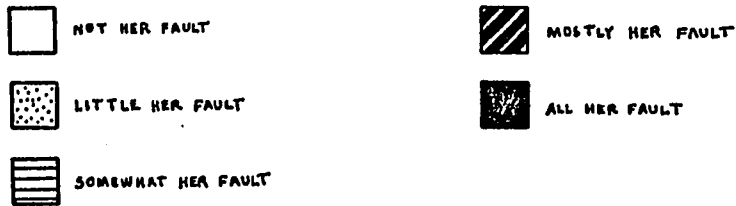
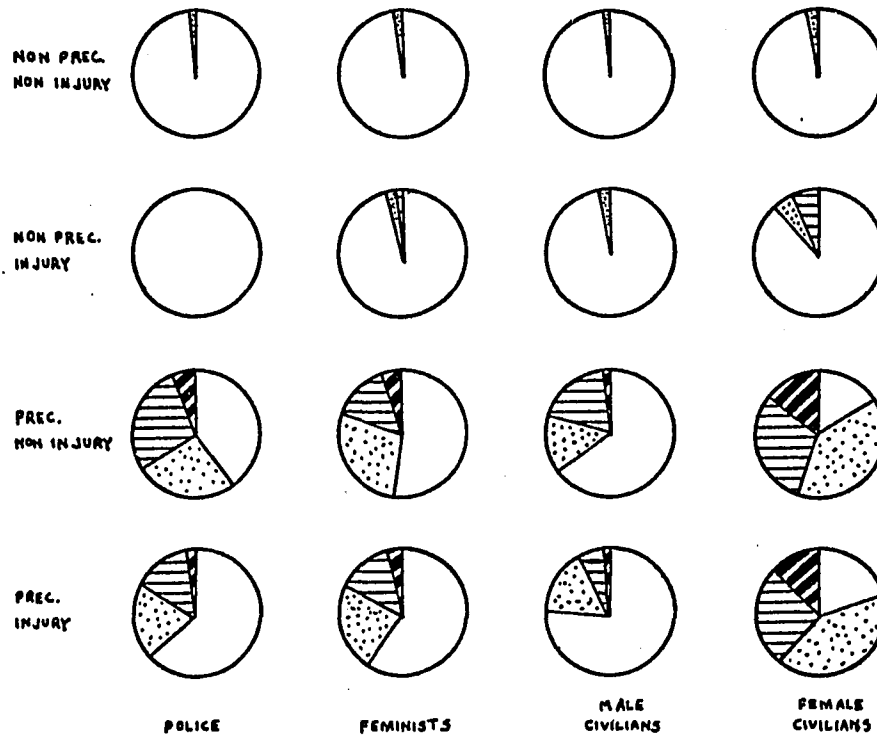


Figure 2: Attribution of fault to the victim: robbery.

PERCEPTION OF FAULT

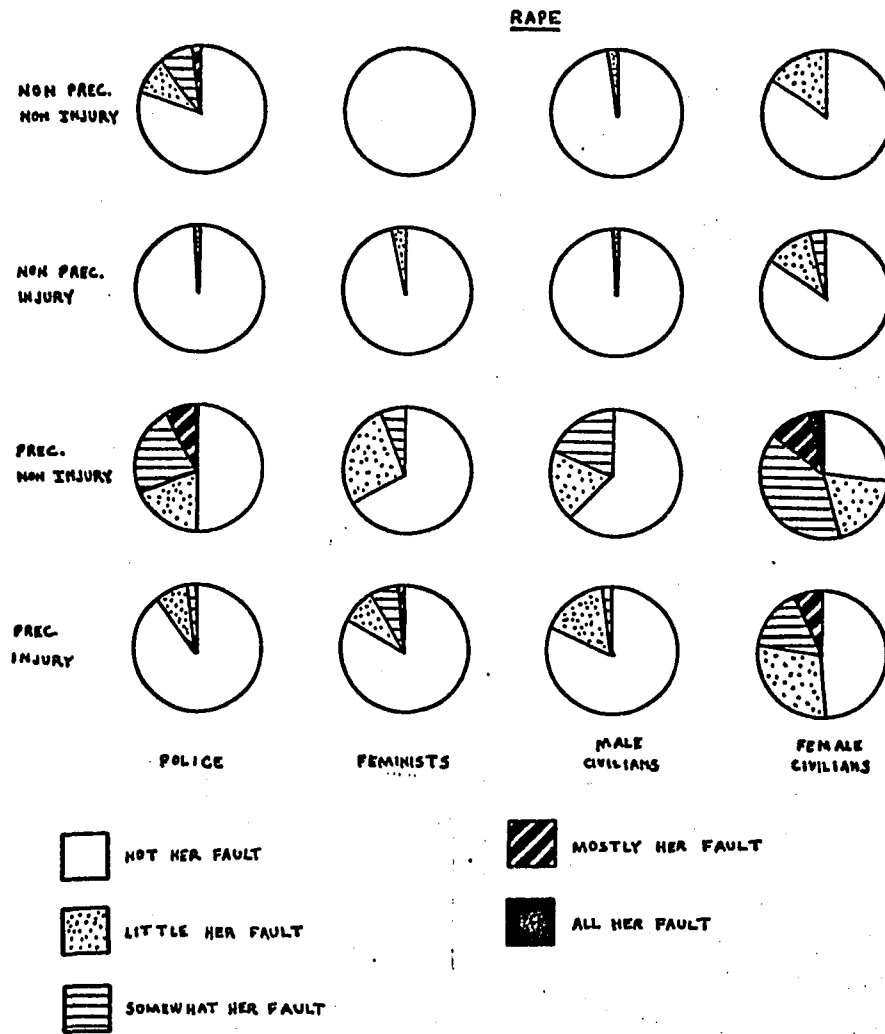


Figure 3. Attribution of fault to the victim: rape.

Table III.
Mean Attribution of Fault as
a Function of Precipitation
(Hypothesis 4.)

Robbery

	No Precipitation		Precipitation		<u>t</u>
	\bar{X}	SD	\bar{X}	SD	
Police	.06	.122	.74	.881	7.56**
Laymen	.02	.138	.47	.244	3.46*
Laywomen	.10	.380	1.37	.930	13.32**
Feminists	.05	.279	.68	.883	7.13**

Rape

	No Precipitation		Precipitation		<u>t</u>
	\bar{X}	SD	\bar{X}	SD	
Police	.10	.205	.63	.769	6.93**
Laymen	.01	.084	.37	.144	11.17**
Laywomen	.17	.424	1.12	11.030	9.55**
Feminists	.01	.100	.32	.631	.50

* $p < .01$
 ** $p < .001$

Table IV.

Group Differences in Attribution of Fault Between
Precipitation and No Precipitation Conditions
(Hypothesis 5.)

	Difference No Precipitation-Precipitation		Rob - Rape
	Robbery	Rape	
Police	.22	.14	-.09
Laymen	.11	.20	+.09
Laywomen	.15	.18	+.03
Feminists	.10	.12	+.02

Note: The hypothesis stated that for police, laymen and laywomen, the differences in attribution of fault would be significantly greater for rape than for robbery. As the table shows, only police had a difference in the hypothesized direction, and it was not significant. It was hypothesized further that feminists would show a greater difference for robbery than for rape. While the difference is in the hypothesized direction, it is not significant.

groups of male respondents and the laywomen. The results of the test of Hypothesis 6 are in Table V.

Interrelation of dependent variables

Sentence to the offender was not significantly correlated in the direction predicted either to explanation of victimization (Hypothesis 7) or to attribution of fault to the victim (Hypothesis 9). The point biserial correlation between sentence and explanation of victimization as the result of controllable or uncontrollable forces was $r_{pb} = .064$. Instead of the positive correlation that had been hypothesized between sentence and fault, a negative correlation of $r = -.15$ was found. Had the prediction been in the opposite direction, this correlation would have been significant at the .02 level, with 2% of the variance explained.

The tendency to feel that the victim deserved what happened to her correlated significantly with attribution of victimization to acts or forces under the victim's control: $r_{pb} = +.30$, significant at the .001 level, explaining 9% of the variance (Hypothesis 8).

Other measures

In addition to specific tests of the hypotheses, a variety of other tests were made in an attempt to give greater insight into the variables under study.

Group differences. Differences in sentence between groups by crime are presented in Table II. Differences in fault between groups by crime may be found in Table VI.

Demographic variables. Stepwise multiple regression analyses were performed using sentence and fault as criterion variables, and sex, age, socio-economic status, experience with crime, and religiosity

Table V.

Mean Attribution of Fault
as a Function of Injury
(Hypothesis 6.)

	No Injury		Injury		<u>t</u>
	\bar{X}	SD	\bar{X}	SD	
Police	.46	.42	.17	.26	8.28**
Laymen	.30	.36	.14	.24	6.28**
Laywomen	.76	.47	.62	.52	4.53**
Feminists	.25	.35	.25	.42	1.25

**p < .001

Table VI.

Mean Differences in Attribution of
Fault between Groups by Crime

Means and Standard Deviations

	Robbery		Rape	
	\bar{X}	SD	\bar{X}	SD
Police	.377	.395	.257	.298
Laymen	.245	.373	.192	.277
Laywomen	.737	.489	.647	.538
Feminists	.367	.468	.167	.310

t scores

Comparison	Robbery	Rape
Police-Laymen	2.44	1.58
Police-Feminists	.37	2.04
Feminists-Laywomen	5.44**	7.74**
Laymen-Laywomen	7.93**	7.46**
Police-Laywomen	5.81**	6.29**
Feminists-Laymen	2.03	.59

** $p < .001$

as predictor variables. For these analyses, all groups were combined.

Demographic variables did not correlate significantly with sentence. They were, however, a significant factor in attribution of fault: multiple $r = .44$. Of particular interest was the positive correlation of religiosity with fault ($r = +.21$, so that the more frequently a respondent attended religious services the more likely (s)he was to fault the victim), and the negative correlations of fault with experience as a crime victim ($r = -.19$, with people who had been victimized less likely to blame the victim in the vignettes) and with age ($r = -.16$, meaning that younger people were somewhat more likely to blame than older). As might have been expected from the previously reported results, sex correlated positively with fault ($r_{pb} = .26$), with females more likely to blame the victim than males.

In addition, a separate analysis of each criterion variable was performed for police, using as predictor variables length of service, rank and size of department. Size of department was the only significant variable, with officers from large departments slightly more likely to blame the victim than officers from small departments ($r = +.15$).

Finally, the tendencies of individuals to be blamers or nonblamers was studied by a frequency count of the number of individuals in each group who never attributed any fault to a victim on any vignette, those who faulted the victim on one vignette, on two vignettes, and so on. Results of this analysis are presented in Figure 4.

Examples of responses

Statistics, although vital for objective analysis, of course, may

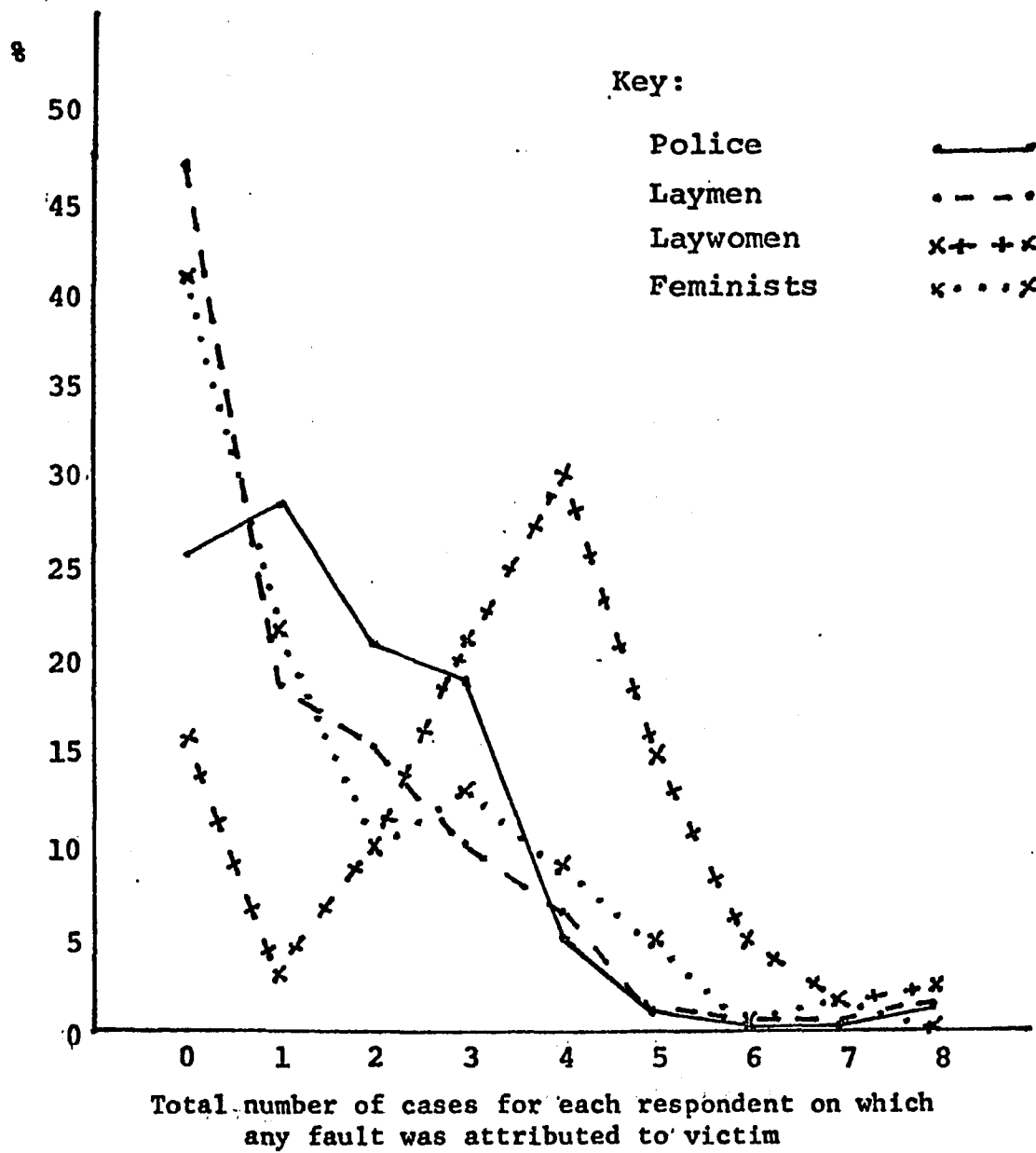


Figure 4. Percentage of each group attributing fault to victim in no cases, one case... eight cases.

fail to convey adequately the flavor of responses to a survey such as this one. To attempt to remedy this deficiency, a sampling of interesting responses on some of the vignettes will be presented below.

No claim is made that this sample is in any way representative.

Case 1. Police officer, male, 46, married, a sergeant in a large department, with a B. S. degree and 22 years of police service.

Vignette 1. Robbery, no precipitation, no injury.

Sentence: 10 years

Fault: Not at all.

Explanation: "Possible lack of police protection. If an area is effectively patrolled, chances of this type of occurrence are minimal. However, this would depend upon urban thickness, demography, etc."

Deserving: Didn't deserve anything.

Comments on deserving question: "Academic."

Vignette 3. Robbery, precipitation, no injury.

Sentence: 5 - 10 years.

Fault: Not at all.

Explanation: "It is anticipated that my answer should be 'because he was enticed by the flashing role.' Horse shit (If you'll excuse the language). No one has the right to transgress on any human under any circumstances. Even if he had a child at home starving. There are avenues within our structure to exploit for relief."

Deserving: Didn't deserve anything.

Vignette 7. Rape, precipitation, no injury.

Sentence: 5 years.

Fault: Somewhat her fault.

Explanation: "It was apparent to someone predisposed to committing this crime that a female resided in the building who was not too covetous of her privacy."

Deserving: Didn't deserve anything.

Comments on deserving question: "It makes no difference what a person's philosophy of living is, their right to pursue their beliefs should be protected as long as no one is affected adversely."

Case 2. Feminist, age 23, single, part-time cashier.

Vignette 1. Robbery, no precipitation, no injury.

Sentence: "He should go to jail because he took something that belonged to someone else. He should go for about 2 - 3 years.

Fault: Not at all her fault.

Explanation: "Depending where the mailbox is, I don't see why he picked her. She was just there at the right time for him. Another reason could be he watched when she came home from work and saw that she always went to get her mail first. He saw no one was around and figured he could get away with it.

Deserving: Didn't deserve anything.

Comments on deserving question: "She did nothing wrong, therefore she did not deserve to have this happen to her."

Vignette 4. Robbery, precipitation, injury.

Sentence: 5 years in prison. "He had no right to take her money although she counted it out in the open."

Fault: Mostly her fault.

Explanation: "It happened to her because she counted her money on the bus. If she had not she would still have the money and not be hurt. She should know not to count money in public."

Deserving: What happened to her.

Comments on deserving question: "She deserved this because it should teach her not to count money in the street or outside. If you do you are asking for someone to rob you. She should learn a lesson from this."

Vignette 5. Rape, no precipitation, no injury.

Sentence: 7 - 8 years in prison.

Fault: Not at all her fault.

Explanation: "She happened to come in at the wrong time."

Deserving: Didn't deserve anything.

Comments on deserving question: "All she did was go to the bath-

room to make, not to get raped."

Vignette 8. Rape, precipitation, injury.

Sentence: 5 years in prison.

Fault: Somewhat her fault.

Explanation: "It happened to this victim because she was wearing shorts and a midriff top. This is why, I say it is somewhat her fault, but what should she do? Wear a long sleeved shirt and pants. If it is legal to wear shorts and a midriff she should be able to without being harrassed."

Deserving: Didn't deserve anything.

Comments on deserving question: "I don't think she deserved to be raped for wearing those clothes. I see many girls walk around with shorts and midriffs and they all don't get raped. I wear shorts and midriffs, too. If I didn't I would still think that the defendant was wrong and that it wasn't the victim's fault really."

This respondent had never had personal experience with crime.

Her responses to the questions about worrying about crime were:

Mugging: worry about it some. "I don't think it is right that my hard-earned money should go to a lazy slob."

Armed robbery: don't worry about it at all. "My neighborhood isn't that bad and if I am alone I carry a razor or a lighted cigarette and a pen or pencil."

Rape: worry about it a lot. "I am a virgin and I don't want to be violated by some crazy person who only wants to show he is stronger."

Case 3. Female civilian, age 25, married, secretary, some college.

Vignette 2. Robbery, no precipitation, injury.

Sentence: 3 months jail.

Fault: Not at all.

Explanation: "She was the only person in the parking lot and she was on her way to the train, so the man could assume she had some money on her."

Deserving: Didn't deserve anything.

Comments on deserving question: "She was taking the safest route

to the train station, by avoiding the dark street. She was being responsible by thinking ahead about which route to take and was aware."

Vignette 3. Robbery, precipitation, no injury.

Sentence: 3 months.

Fault: Somewhat her fault.

Explanation: "Knowing that there were other people in line, she shouldn't have brought out a large roll of money and when the man followed her, she should have tried to lose him."

Deserving: Didn't deserve anything.

Comments on deserving question: "I don't think anyone "deserves" to have a crime committed against them for a careless mistake, which everyone might make sometime in their life."

Vignette 4. Robbery, precipitation, injury.

Sentence: 6 months

Fault: Somewhat her fault.

Explanation: "She was seen on bus counting her money, with a friend. She and her friend ignored the man following them, they should have both gone to the first house."

Deserving: Didn't deserve anything.

Vignette 5. Rape, no precipitation, injury.

Sentence: 1 year.

Fault: Not at all.

Explanation: "I think the suspect might have known her. Otherwise, she was just in the wrong place at the wrong time. She should look around the lot for strange people.

Deserving: Didn't deserve anything.

Vignette 7. Rape, precipitation, no injury.

Sentence: 1 year.

Fault: Somewhat her fault.

Explanation: "She should have been more cautious in her habits, since she saw this man hanging around."

Deserving: Didn't deserve anything.

Vignette 8. Rape, precipitation, injury

Sentence: 2 years.

Fault: Not at all.

Explanation: "Unless he knew her or had been watching her, I can't see the reason for her being singled out as victim. Just an accident, I guess. Clothes like that are all too common in summer."

Deserving: Didn't deserve anything.

This respondent had been a mugging victim a year ago. The crime was reported to the police, but no one was arrested.

Case 4. Male civilian, 31, married, some college, office manager for law firm.

Vignette 1. Robbery, no precipitation, no injury.

Sentence: "1 year, with no parole."

Fault: Not at all.

Explanation: "Number 1, opportunity, she was indoors and isolated. Number 2, here was a defenseless victim."

Deserving: Didn't deserve anything.

Comments on deserving question: "Completely innocent victim."

Vignette 7. Rape, precipitation, no injury.

Sentence: "10 years without parole."

Fault: Not at all.

Explanation: "Opportunity; she was isolated and defenseless. Maybe he was watching her."

Deserving: Didn't deserve anything.

Comments on deserving question: "No proof that I see of actual enticement or willful participation in the act."

This respondent had never been a crime victim. He replied that he worried about the crimes, mugging, armed robbery and rape, "some" because of "the bad environment these days."

Case 5. Feminist, age 48, married, a secretary.

Vignette 5. Rape, no precipitation, no injury.

Sentence: 20 years.

Fault: Not at all.

Explanation: "Because of the threat to kill her, she did not scream. A rest room, especially a woman's, is expected to be strictly for a woman and therefore the element of surprise was in the attacker's favor."

Deserving: Didn't deserve anything.

Vignette 6. Rape, no precipitation, injury.

Sentence: 25 years.

Fault: Not at all.

Explanation: "Because she was a woman and had to go out alone."

Deserving: Didn't deserve anything.

Comments on deserving question: "A woman has a perfect right to park her car in her apartment's parking lot. Perhaps if there had been an attendant she wouldn't have been prey to the attacker."

Vignette 8. Rape, precipitation, injury.

Sentence: 25 years.

Fault: Not at all.

Explanation: Accident.

Deserving: Didn't deserve anything.

Comments on deserving question: "Rape is a crime against a woman's body, and there is no excuse, for it simply because her attire was inappropriate."

DISCUSSION

Attempts to explain apparently meaningless suffering are as old as Job. Psychologists also have studied explanations for victimization, and a variety of theories and suppositions about the nature of attitudes about justice, crime and its victims have been advanced. Recently, attitudes about the victim of rape have been the subject of special study and speculation. This study tested some of these hypotheses; the findings largely contradict both the findings of other psychologists who have studied attributions about the crime victim and the contentions of radical feminists about the attitudes prevalent in our society about rape victims.

Implications for attribution theory

Attributions consistent with the strict Social Darwinism of a "just world" in which people get what they deserve and deserve what happens to them do not seem as clear cut in the "real world" as might have been anticipated from the work of Jones and Aronson (1973), Lerner (1966), Walster (1966) and others who have used college students as subjects.

Consistent with other findings, both in psychological (Jones and Aronson, 1973; Walster, 1966) and criminological (Gibbon, 1969; Riedel, 1973) literature, in this study, sentences to offenders were heavier when the consequences to the victim were more severe. While actions of the offender affected his sentences, actions of the victim did not: obvious precipitative acts by the victim did not significantly affect sentence to the offender (Hypothesis 3). Nor was sentence affected by explanation of victimization as due to uncontrollable forces or to forces under the victim's control (Hypothesis 7).

While sentence to the offender tended to correspond with "just world" ideas, discrepancies with the theory were particularly apparent in the variable of attribution of fault to the victim. While many respondents did attribute some fault to crime victims in some cases, such attributions were less common when harm to the victim was more serious.

Although they did not influence sentencing of the offender, precipitative actions on the part of the victim did affect the amount of fault attributed to her, giving evidence that respondents were sensitive to the precipitation manipulation.

An examination of the explanations of victimization gives a clearer picture of the kinds of attributions people make spontaneously about victims. Here, again, respondents were sensitive to the precipitation manipulation. For all groups, the modal explanation in the no precipitation cases was "accident"; in the precipitation cases, it was "victim did something."

The correlation between attribution of fault and explanation of victimization as being within the victim's control ($r_{pb} = +.56$, explaining 31% of the variance), lends credence to the idea that, while for many respondents the word "fault" implies personal, willful responsibility, for others the term seems to be equivalent to "cause," and does not imply personal responsibility on the part of the victim, but refers, rather, to uncontrollable personal variables. For example, one police officer, who had said the crime was "a little the victim's fault," explained, "Muggers pick victims who are smaller or weaker-looking, like women or old people." By the same token, several respondents who answered "not at all her fault," gave answers to the

question, "Why do you think this crime happened to this particular victim?" such as, "Because she was wearing something appealing to the attacker and he figured he should get what he wanted, like the mugger," (Feminist, vignette 8), and "It is always safer not to flash your money, but he had no right to take what did not belong to him" (Laywoman, vignette 3).

In view of the just world assumption that character attributions will be made to explain victimization, and similar feminist contentions about typical attributions about rape victims ("good girls don't get raped..."), it is particularly interesting that only two respondents in this study (one layman on vignette 3, one laywoman on vignette 1) attributed victimization to character variables. It would appear that people may, as Lerner (1966) suggests, prefer to attribute cause of victimization to chance, particularly in the absence of specific evidence of the victim's character or precipitative actions.

Just as the term "fault" was not perfectly interchangeable with a concept of personal responsibility, the connection between "fault" and "deserving" was far from perfect. Indeed, the question, "How much do you think the victim deserved what happened to her?" was offensive to some respondents, and elicited the most heated responses of any question. A typical response was, "She may have acted unwisely, but no one deserves to be a crime victim." One police officer's answer is reproduced in Figure 5. This subjective observation is supported by the finding that the proportion of respondents saying that the victim deserved to have anything happen to her was, in all cases, lower than the proportion attributing fault to her. The proportion saying that she deserved the specific thing that happened to her was even lower.

QUESTIONS

1. Forgetting anything you may know about the sentences that are now given, what sentence do you feel the defendant in this case should receive?

15-20 years - death if the victim became a mental case.

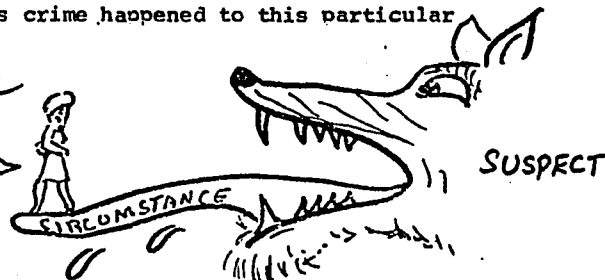
2. How much do you consider this crime to have been the victim's fault? (Check one.)

- Not at all her fault
 Only a little her fault
 Somewhat her fault
 Mostly her fault
 All her fault

3. Why do you think this crime happened to this particular victim?

Circumstance

VICTIM →



4. Sometimes people get what they deserve, and sometimes things happen to people that they did not deserve. In this case, how much do you think the victim deserved what happened to her? (Check one.)

- She did not deserve to have anything happen to her.
 She deserved something, but less than what happened.
 She deserved what happened to her.
 She deserved to have something even worse happen to her.

5. Explain your answer to number 4.

No one does

Figure 5. Response of a police officer on questionnaire form.

As one respondent put it, "Maybe she deserved a good scare, but not to be robbed" (Laywoman, vignette 3). Further, while at least a few of the respondents in each group attributed fault to the victim in the nonprecipitation conditions, not a single respondent replied that the victim in these cases deserved to have anything happen to her.

While the precipitation manipulation did not influence sentence (Hypothesis 3), the small ($r = -.15$) but significant negative correlation between sentence and attribution of fault to the victim (Hypothesis 9) seems to argue that, at least for some respondents, sentence to offender may be affected by perceived fault in the victim. The direction, however, is opposite to that found by Jones and Aronson (1973), and more in line with lawyers' mythology. The apparent discrepancy between these findings may be due to that small number of respondents who tended to blame the victim even in cases where there was no obvious precipitation. In any case, only 2% of the variance was explained.

The findings of a lack of relationship between sentence to offender and attribution of fault to the victim fit into Abelson's (1968) idea that an individual's beliefs and attitudes are often composed of encapsulated, isolated "opinion molecules" which serve as conversational units, giving one something to say when a particular topic comes up in conversation. These modules do not need to have logical connections between them, and seem invulnerable to argument because of their isolation. In this case, offender and victim may be seen as separate, isolated categories. Such an interpretation is strengthened by an examination of respondents' comments on the deserving question. Typically, in precipitation cases, they answered, "She may have done some-

thing stupid, but she didn't deserve to be victimized." It may be that if the "punishment," in this case, victimization, does not fit the "crime" of precipitative behavior, then respondents may decide that no "crime" was committed, and that the "punishment" was accidental and undeserved. Even more simply, criminals may be seen as acting consciously and willfully, while the victim may be perceived as incautious, but not acting in a willfully precipitous manner, with conscious motivation.

Several explanations may be offered for the differences between the results of this study and those of the majority of the just world research. The most parsimonious explanations for these differences seem to lie in population sampled and in methodology. This study again makes a case for the need for academic researchers to confirm and refine the results of studies conducted on select populations on other groups in other worlds. As Bem (1970) puts it:

...we academic psychologists, including the consistency theorists, probably spend too much time with bright college students who are as eager to achieve a respectable overall unity in their cognitions as we, their instructors, are eager to impress them and ourselves with the same admirable coherence of thought.... I believe, in short, that there is more inconsistency on earth (and probably in heaven) than is dreamt of in our psychological theories.... (p. 34)

It may be that the majority of people in the "real world" do not sustain a strong belief in a just world as defined by consistency theorists. Rubin and Peplau (1975) found that even students varied in the degree to which they believed in a just world. Although this seems a fruitful avenue for exploration, the lack of available time to include Rubin and Peplau's "just world scale" in this interview limits the possibilities for comparison.

A second kind of methodological difference between this study and others deals with the way questions were asked. The twenty-one point scale for attribution of fault used by Jones and Aronson (1973), Luginbuhl and Mullin (1976) and others is a distinction people can make, and produces greater variability than one with fewer points, but it is not the sort of attribution people make naturally. The five point scale, ranging from "Not at all her fault," to "All her fault" seems much closer to the spontaneous comments people make. Further, the semantic problems with the term "fault" which were discussed previously, and the lack of perfect correspondence between "fault" and "deserving" make some of the assumptions of the just world studies questionable.

A further difference may have lain in the feeling of the respondents of this study that they were participating in something important, that their answers might have an input into official decision making, rather than that they were participating in an experiment for a college professor. The assurance that while the survey had no official sanction, the results would be passed on to official decision makers may also have helped produce the extremely low rate of refusals to participate.

To answer the question of whether the differences were a result of the form of the interview, and that written questionnaires might have produced different results, similar to those of other studies, a questionnaire form of the survey was given to convenience samples of twenty-five individuals from each of the four groups that had participated in the original survey: police, feminists, and laypeople. No differences between the two forms were found between mean sentences

or attributions of fault for crime, injury, or precipitation.

Finally, precipitative actions are not the same as character defects. The offender may be seen as possessing a defective character by virtue of his actions, and therefore different from the victim who possesses no obvious character defects or virtues. While this may account for some of the difference between this and other studies, it does not explain the differences in the effect of the seriousness of consequences. Similarly, a sentence to an offender is different from a statement of fault of the victim (although a statement about deservingness of victimization is closer to sentence) and may call for different kinds of thinking and attributions.

A potential criticism of any study such as this is, does it predict behavior -- in this case, the sentence the respondent would give as a juror, or the tendency to blame a victim with whom one is in contact? While the purpose of this study was to see if the test-taking behavior of a "real world" sample was similar to that of college students in the final analysis, one would like to be able to generalize, so a small attempt was made to validate the instrument as a predictor of a tendency to blame the victim. Ten police officers who had been identified by the investigator and by their supervisor as men who tended to blame the victim in the course of their work and ten who were identified as nonblamers were interviewed. The interviewers who conducted these interviews were given the names and phone numbers as part of their regular samples. Neither they, nor the officers, knew that there was any special reason for their selection. These data were analyzed separately. Nonblamers averaged one case on which they attributed any fault to the victim, blamers averaged five cases.

Implications for popular and feminist mythology

The popular press and feminist literature has made much of supposed differences in attitudes toward rape victims in comparison with victims of other crimes, differences they have contended were due both to gender and to group membership. The findings of this study did not confirm the popular mythology; indeed, results tended to be in the opposite direction. Thus, more fault was attributed to victims of robbery than to victims of rape. It would seem that precipitation is a clearer issue in robbery than it is in rape: there is consensus that "flashing" money is incautious, and much less feeling that wearing skimpy clothing or leaving shades up is in any way precipitative. It may also be that the enormous amount of publicity that the issue of precipitative behavior in rape has received as a result largely of the efforts of feminist groups has had an effect.

Contrary to predictions from the literature of attitudes toward rape victims, police, feminists and laymen did not differ significantly from each other in attribution of fault to the victim either of robbery or rape. Laywomen, however, were significantly more likely than any other group to attribute fault to the victim in both crimes. This finding puts in question the feminist assumption that women will be more supportive of other women merely by virtue of their gender. Because of the very large difference between laywomen and other groups, sex was a major factor in attribution of fault, the first of the demographic factors in the step-wise multiple regression. The explanation of attribution of fault as a "defensive attribution" was raised by Luginbuhl and Mullin (1976) to explain the sex differences they found on a study similar to that of Jones and Aronson (1973). The idea of

defensive attributions is conceptually messy. On the one hand, it might be argued, as Shaver (1970) does, that the more the observer is like the victim, the less (s)he would blame the victim for an accident, especially if there were a possibility that the observer might also become a victim of a similar situation. One might expect such a process to make women less likely to blame the victim. On the other hand, one might argue, as Symonds (1973) suggests, that one way to escape anxiety about the possibility of victimization would be to find some reason it happened to the other person and could not happen to one's self: "I take precautions, am a good woman," etc. Women, because they are more likely to be victims, at least in rape, would tend to make this sort of attribution more frequently than would men.

Some support for the importance of a feeling of similarity to the victim comes from the significant negative correlation between attribution of fault and experience as a crime victim. Those respondents who had already been crime victims, or had a member of their immediate family victimized, were less likely to blame the victim than were those who had never had personal experience with crime. However, laywomen were not less likely to have had personal experience with crime than were members of the other groups.

Perhaps more relevant is Goldberg's (1968) finding that women tend to judge others, particularly other women, more harshly than do men. Additional support for this explanation comes from the finding that laywomen gave significantly higher sentences, as well as finding more fault, at least in robbery than did laymen.

An examination of Figures 2 and 3 reveals that feminists in many ways seem to resemble the male groups more than they do the other

female group. Perhaps feminism either attracts women who have many traditionally male values, or socializes its adherents into these values. Feminists might also use as explanation for the higher fault-finding by laywomen that these women are not yet "enlightened."

An additional manipulation that might have shed more light on the question of defensive attributions might have been to describe crimes with male victims. In the interest of keeping the number of variables and the length of the questionnaire manageable, this was not done. It warrants further study. However, descriptions of crimes involving female offenders and stranger-victims probably are too bizarre to be equivalent.

A final popular conception about attribution of fault to rape victims deals with the importance of group membership. Particularly, it has been believed that police are more likely to blame the victim than are lay-people, and certainly more likely to blame the victim than are feminists. The discrepancy between expected police attitudes and those found may be a result of the enormous amount of unfavorable publicity the "traditional" police attitudes and behavior have received recently. Support for this explanation may be found in the difference between recent police training material and that of a few years ago as noted in the Introduction. Another possible explanation might be that in the cases presented, an offender had been apprehended, giving an appropriate target for blame, and thereby aborting the tendency described by Symonds (1973).

A remnant of the traditional police attitude may have accounted for the responses to vignette 5 (see Figure 3). In a rape case where there was no precipitation and no injury, a significantly larger pre-

cent of police officers found fault than did the members of the other groups.

Implications for law and public policy

The results of this study suggest some fruitful areas of application and further inquiry in settings outside the traditional academic research. First, it suggests that the maximum sentence now given for rape in New Jersey (15 years, without lesser included charges) may be consistent with public feeling, but that for robbery (15 years) may not. Further, the difference in sentence as a result of injury averaged less than three years in prison, less than half the seven years the law allows. If the law is, indeed, an expression of social mores -- with, of course, a rather considerable time lag -- changes in the law might be in order.

Second, the results of this study suggest a hard look at the assumption that rape victims can best be served by a woman even if she has received no special training. Such a situation now exists in some police departments with which the investigator is familiar in which any available woman, either a police officer, nurse or stenographer, is called in to interview a rape victim (see also Brodyaga et al., 1975).

Third, it makes a case for further study of the effects of training on attitudes toward the victim.

Last, it suggests questions for inclusion in surveys of potential jurors, and for voir dire, especially in rape cases. Particularly, it casts doubt on a non-uncommon idea among lawyers that a young woman will tend to lean toward the prosecution. The question of religiosity, seldom tapped in jury surveys or even in simulated jury work, might

prove an important predictor, and certainly should be considered in future research in these areas.

APPENDIX I.
Interview Schedule

[Schedule C]

ATTRIBUTIONS ABOUT CRIME
Interview Schedule
Citizen Sample

[INTRODUCTION]

My name is _____. I am with the City University
of New York Psychology Department. We are doing a survey, and I
would like to ask you a few questions.

First, I'd like to know the names and ages of each person
now living in your household who is over the age of 18.

	Name	Age	Sex
1.	_____	_____	_____
2.	_____	_____	_____
3.	_____	_____	_____
4.	_____	_____	_____
5.	_____	_____	_____

(Be sure that the respondent includes self if appropriate. Then
pick an appropriate respondent and ask to speak to that person.
If unavailable, ask when (s)he will be available and say you
will call back. When you get appropriate respondent, repeat
INTRODUCTION, then say:)

As you may know, the New Jersey State Legislature is considering
a new criminal code for the state. We are calling people around the
state to get their opinions on certain issues related to crime. I'd
like to ask you some questions about your opinions. Let me reassure
you that your answers are confidential.

* * * * *
Now I am going to read you a series of case histories of crimes
and ask you some questions about each. There are no right or wrong
answers to these questions; we want to know what you think.

[GROUP

1
1

[SUBJECT NUMBER

2 3 4

[ORDER

Interviewer _____

5 6

[Schedule F]

ATTRIBUTIONS ABOUT CRIME
Interview Schedule
Feminist Sample

[INTRODUCTION]

My name is _____. I am with the City University of New York Psychology Department. We are doing a survey of opinions of various people, and we are particularly interested in the opinions of people who are members of feminist organizations. Your name was given to us by (organization) as someone who might be willing to help us.

* * * * *

As you may know, the New Jersey State Legislature is considering a new criminal code for the state. We'd like to find out some of your opinions on certain questions related to crime. Let me reassure you that your answers are confidential.

* * * * *

I am going to read you a series of case histories of crimes and ask you some questions about each. There are no right or wrong answers to these questions; we want to know what you think.

[GROUP

2
1

[SUBJECT NUMBER

2	3	4

[ORDER

5	6

Interviewer _____

CASE

Carol L., age 21, was returning to her apartment after work. As she was opening her mailbox, a man came up behind her and demanded her pocketbook. She gave it to him, and he pushed her against the wall and ran. She began to scream. The superintendant of the apartment building heard her, and he and another tenant chased and caught the man. He still had the pocketbook in his hand. The victim had only minor bruises.

The suspect, age 23, was convicted of robbery. He has no previous record of arrests.

[Vignette #1: RO,NP,NI]
[O# 1]

CASE

Angela P., age 19, was on her way to the train station. The time was 5:45 in the afternoon. Because it was getting dark, she decided to walk through a parking lot which was lighted and where she knew there was an attendant on duty rather than down a dark, often deserted, street. Suddenly a man who had been crouching behind a car stopped her and told her, "Be a good girl and give me your money and you won't get hurt." When she fumbled getting the wallet out of a coat pocket, he shoved her against a car and grabbed the wallet from her hand. She began to scream and he ran. A cruising police car heard her screams, and responded. They called an ambulance for the victim, got a description of a suspect and radioed it to other cars. A man fitting the description was stopped three blocks away. He was found to have two of the victim's credit cards.

At the hospital it was discovered that the victim's arm had been broken in two places by the attack.

The suspect, age 20, was convicted of robbery. He has no previous record of arrests.

[Vignette #2: RO,NP,I]
[0# 2]

CASE

The victim, Jean P., age 25, had stopped at the store to buy a few items. The bill came to \$2.78. She paid with a \$5 bill which she took from a large roll of money. The suspect, who was in line behind her, followed her from the store, stopped her as she was getting into her car, and demanded her money. When she began to open her pocketbook to give it to him, he grabbed the pocketbook roughly, causing her to stumble and fall. Then he ran. The victim was shaken but not injured.

A store clerk saw the incident and called the police. They arrived in time to apprehend the suspect as he was running from the parking lot. He was identified by the victim and by the clerk in the store.

The suspect, age 19, was convicted of robbery. He has no previous record of arrests.

[Vignette #3: RO,P,NI]
[04 4]

CASE

The suspect, age 23, followed the victim, Charlotte L., age 22, and a friend when they got off the bus. The friend's house was only three houses from the bus stop; the victim's was a block and a half away. The victim said goodnight to her friend and continued toward her house. The suspect approached her from behind, put his hand on her shoulder and demanded her money. She handed it to him, and he shoved her to the ground and ran. The victim was injured, with many cuts about her face and a gash in her head which required 32 stitches.

A woman looking from her window saw the incident and phoned the police. A suspect was picked up 4 blocks away. He had the victim's identification in his possession. Both the victim and her friend identified him as a man who had been on the bus with them.

An interview with the victim brought out the fact that she had taken her money out and counted it on the bus.

The suspect was convicted of robbery. He has no previous record of arrests.

[Vignette 4: RD,P,I]
[O# 7]

CASE

The victim, Roberta A., age 24, had gone into the women's restroom in her office building. The suspect, age 21, came out of one of the booths, threatened to kill her if she did not "behave," pushed her to the floor, pulled off her underclothes and raped her. She received no physical injuries.

An arrest was made from the victim's description. The suspect's fingerprints matched those found in the restroom. The suspect was found guilty of rape. He has no previous record of arrests.

[Vignette #5: RA,NP,NI]
[O# 3]

CASE

The suspect, age 19, stopped the victim, Susan S., age 20, as she was getting out of her car in the parking lot of her apartment building. He forced her into another car, where he raped her and beat her severely. Then he pushed her out of the car and drove away. She suffered broken bones in her hand and wrist. She was able to give the police the license number of the car the suspect had been driving. The police located the car and found the victim's torn underwear in it, as well as bloodstains that matched her blood type.

The suspect was convicted of rape. He has no previous criminal record.

[Vignette #6: RA,NP,I]
[O# 5]

CASE

The victim, Jane S., age 24, was grabbed by the suspect, age 23, as she was coming out of her apartment, pushed into a stairwell, and raped. She suffered only minor bruises.

Interviews with neighbors showed that a man fitting the description of the suspect had been hanging around the neighborhood for several days. The neighbors also stated that the victim was in the habit of leaving her shades up at night and could occasionally be seen through the windows in her night clothes.

A suspect was arrested and identified by the victim as the man who had attacked her, and by several people in the neighborhood as the man who had been seen in the area. His fingerprints were found on the door to the stairwell.

The suspect was found guilty of rape. He has no previous record of arrests.

[Vignette #7: RA,P,NI]
[O# 6]

CASE

The victim, Marie T., age 21, was returning to her house from a trip to the drugstore for suntan lotion. The suspect, age 25, was waiting in the bushes by her door, grabbed her, told her he would kill her if she made any noise, pushed her behind the bushes and raped her. Her back was injured in the act and she spent a day in the hospital.

In a search of the yard, police found an envelope with a man's name on it. This man was identified by the victim as the person who had attacked her. He was found to have clothing like that described by the victim. This clothing had blood and dirt on it.

At the trial the victim's torn clothing: a pair of shorts and a bare midriff-shirt, were introduced as evidence.

The suspect was found guilty of rape. He has no previous record.

[Vignette #8: RA, P, I]
[O# 8]

[PART I.]

Now I'd like to ask you some questions about this case.

1. Forgetting anything you may know about the sentences that are now given, what sentence do you feel the defendant in this case should receive?

(Record verbatim, then code as below. If respondent is hesitant, probe to fit categories: "Well, would you say...")

[0 - Probation &/or fine]
[1 - 11 months in jail or less]
[2 - 1 year - 2 years 11 months in prison]
[3 - 3 years - 5 years 11 " " "]
[4 - 6 years - 10 years 11 " " "]
[5 - 11 " - 15 " " " " "]
[6 - 16 " - 20 " " " " "]
[7 - 21 " - 25 " " " " "]
[8 - More than 25 years in prison]
[9 - Other]

<input type="checkbox"/>	V
7	1
11	2
15	3

2. How much do you consider this crime to have been the victim's fault? Would you say it was (Read list.)

0 - Not at all her fault
1 - Only a little her fault
2 - Somewhat her fault
3 - Mostly her fault
4 - All her fault

<input type="checkbox"/>	V
8	1
12	2
16	3

3. Why do you think this happened to this particular victim? (Record verbatim, then code as below.)

[0 - Victim did something careless, stupid]
[1 - Controllable character or physical variable]
[("That sort of person...")]
[2 - Uncontrollable character or physical variable]
[(weak, can't always be on guard)]
[3 - Combination of controllable variables & acts]
[4 - Combination of controllable & uncontrollable]
[variables (A person who is weak, has money,]
[etc., should...)]
[5 - Accident, wrong place at wrong time]
[6 - Fate, God's will]
[7 - "The world's a jungle," etc.]
[9 - Other]
[NO RESPONSE - LEAVE BLANK]

<input type="checkbox"/>	V
9	1
13	2
17	3

[Part I.]

4. Sometimes people get what they deserve, and sometimes things happen to people that they didn't deserve. Let me ask you, in this case, how much do you think the victim deserved what happened to her? I'll read you a list to choose from. Do you think (Read list.)

- 0 - She did not deserve to have anything happen to her
 1 - She deserved something, but less than what happened
 2 - She deserved what happened to her
 3 - She deserved to have something even worse happen to her

10	1
14	2
18	3

(Repeat if necessary.)

5. Why do you think so? (Record verbatim.)

Vignette # _____

CASE

The victim, Janice L., age 20, states that she got into the elevator of her apartment building on the ground floor and pushed the button for the third floor. The door opened at the second floor and a man got on. He told the victim, "Give me all your money or you'll be sorry." She handed him her pocketbook, and he got out on the third floor and ran down the hall. She took the elevator back to the ground floor and told the superintendant what had happened. He called the police, who arrived in time to find the suspect still in a stairwell. The victim's pocketbook was found, without money, in the hall. The suspect's fingerprints were found on it.

The suspect, age 19, was found guilty of robbery. He has no previous arrest record.

[Vignette #1a: RO,NP,NI]

[0# 1]

CASE

The victim, Jean H., age 24, had stopped at the store to buy a few items. The bill came to \$3.40. She payed with a \$5 bill. The suspect, age 20, was in line behind her, following her from the store, stopped her as she was getting into her car, and demanded her money. She fumbled with her purse getting the money out. He pushed her, grabbed the purse and ran. She hit her head against the car as she fell, gashing it open. At the hospital she was found to have a black eye and a broken bone in her wrist as well.

An off-duty police officer saw the man running from the scene and stopped him. He had the purse in his hand, and was identified by the victim and by the cashier in the store.

The suspect was found guilty of robbery. He has no previous arrest record.

[vignette #2a: RO,NP,I]
[Of 2]

CASE

The victim, Marian C., age 23, stated that she was walking home from the theater at 9:30 at night. She took a short-cut through a park that is not well lit. A man came out from behind a small storage shed, and demanded her money and the fur scarf she was wearing. She gave it to him and he ran.

A suspect was arrested when he tried to pawn the fur scarf. When he was searched following his arrest, he was found to have a credit card with the victim's name on it.

The suspect, age 22, was convicted of robbery. He has no previous arrest record.

[Vignette #3a: RO,P,NI]
[O# 4]

CASE

The victim, Alice T., age 24, told police that she had gone to the bank on Friday evening to cash her pay check. The bank is in a small shopping center. She stated that she stood outside the bank a minute counting her money, then went to her car. The suspect, age 23, stopped her as she was getting into the car, and told her to give him her money "or else." He grabbed the purse and slammed the door to the car, catching and breaking her arm. Her screams attracted the bank guard, who chased and captured the suspect in a blind alley.

The suspect was convicted of robbery. He has no previous record of arrest.

[Vignette 4a: RO,P,I]
[O: 7]

CASE

The suspect, age 19, came up behind the victim, Anna B., age 23, as she was closing the door to her garage after driving her car in. He pushed her into the garage, threw her onto the floor, tore off her underwear and raped her. Then he ran. She was not physically injured.

A passing police car saw the victim stagger out of the garage, crying. They took a description of the suspect and radioed it to other cars. A suspect was stopped, and identified by the victim. Oil from the garage floor and particles of paint that matched samples from the garage were found on his clothes.

The suspect was found guilty of rape. He has no previous arrest record.

[Vignette #5a: RA,NP,NI]
[01 3]

CASE

The victim, Nancy P., age 22, states that she had had to work late and it was dark when she left the office. She chose to walk through an underground corridor that she knew normally had a guard on duty, rather than on a dark street. A man came out of a service closet, grabbed her, pulled her into the closet. When she screamed, he beat her and threw her to the floor. Then he pulled off her underwear and raped her. Then he ran.

The guard, who had stepped out on a "break," heard her screams and returned in time to stop the suspect as he was leaving the corridor.

The victim was badly cut and bruised and required hospitalization overnight. She was forced to wear a brace on her back for several weeks as a result of the attack.

The suspect, age 25, was convicted of rape. He has no previous record of arrests.

[Vignette #6a: RA,NP,I]
[08 5]

CASE

The victim, Lois A., age 25, had stopped at a newsstand next to her apartment building and bought a copy of Playgirl magazine and a magazine called Singles Datebook. The suspect, who was standing next to the news stand, followed the victim into her building and into the elevator. He was still on the elevator when she got off at her floor. However, as she was opening the door to her apartment, he came up behind her, pushed her into the apartment and raped her. He told her not to move for 10 minutes, and left. She called the police.

A suspect who fitted the victim's description was arrested. His fingerprints matched those found in her apartment.

The suspect, age 20, was convicted of rape. He has no previous record of arrests.

[Vignette #7a: RA,P,NI]
[O# 6]

CASE

The victim, Carol S., age 19, states that she believes the suspect, age 24, had followed her when she got off the bus. Because there had been many people on the street she did not notice that he was following her, but she remembered that he had sat across from her on the bus.

The victim states that when she got home she went into the house, then remembered that she wanted to take out the garbage. The man was waiting in the alley. He told her, "If you behave, I won't hurt you." Then he ripped off her clothes and raped her. Her head was cut open and she suffered dizzy spells for a week.

As the suspect was running from the alley, he tripped, falling. An off-duty police officer ran to help him, then hearing the victim's screams, held him. The victim identified him as the man who had raped her.

Blood was found on the suspect's clothing. The victim's clothing, a pair of shorts and a thin white blouse, were also found to be bloody and torn.

The suspect was found guilty of rape. He has no previous criminal record.

[Vignette 8a: RA,P,I]
[O# 8]

[Part I.]

Here are the questions:

1. What sentence do you feel the defendant in this case should receive? (Record verbatim, then code as below.)

[0 - Probation &/or fine
[1 - 11 months in jail or less
[2 - 1 year - 2 years 11 months in prison
[3 - 3 years - 5 " " " " " "
[4 - 6 " - 10 " " " " " "
[5 - 11 " - 15 " " " " " "
[6 - 16 " - 20 " " " " " "
[7 - 21 " - 25 " " " " " "
[8 - More than 25 years in prison
[9 - Other
[NO RESPONSE - LEAVE BLANK

<input type="checkbox"/>	V
19	4
23	5
27	6
31	7
35	8

2. How much do you consider this crime to have been the victim's fault? Would you say it was (Read list.)

0 - Not at all her fault
 1 - Only a little her fault
 2 - Somewhat her fault
 3 - Mostly her fault
 4 - All her fault

<input type="checkbox"/>	V
20	4
24	5
28	6
32	7
36	8

3. Why do you think this happened to this particular victim?
(Record verbatim, then code according to categories below.)

[0 - Victim did something careless, stupid
[1 - Controllable character or physical variable
[("That sort of person...")
[2 - Uncontrollable character or physical variable
[(weak, can't always be on guard)
[3 - Combination of controllable variables & acts
[4 - Combination of controllable & uncontrollable
[variables (A person who is weak, has money,
[etc., should...)
[5 - Accident, wrong place at wrong time
[6 - Fate, God's will
[7 - "The world's a jungle," etc.
[9 - Other
[NO RESPONSE - LEAVE BLANK

<input type="checkbox"/>	V
21	4
25	5
29	6
33	7
37	8

[Part I.]

4. In this case, how much do you think the victim deserved what happened to her? (Read list.)

0 - She did not deserve to have anything happen to her
 1 - She deserved something, but less than what happened
 2 - She deserved what happened to her
 3 - She deserved to have something even worse happen to her

22	4
26	5
30	6
34	7
38	8

5. Why do you think so? (Record verbatim.)

Vignette # _____

[Part II.]

[Schedule F]
[Schedule C]

Now I'd like to ask you about your personal experience with crime. I'm going to read you a list of crimes, and I'd like you to tell me if you or any member of your family has ever been a victim of that crime.

(Use the following code categories for questions 6 - 12:)
(If necessary, probe to fit categories.)

[0 - Neither self nor family members]
[1 - Self]
[2 - Family member(s)]
[3 - Self AND family member(s)]
[4 - Household (for breaking and entry)]
[NO RESPONSE - LEAVE BLANK]

6. Did anyone ever break into your house and take something?
(Breaking, entry and larceny) 44
7. Have you or anyone in your family been a victim of assault -- that is, has anyone attacked you or tried to attack you, to hurt you, without wanting to rob you or take your money? Was a weapon used? (If weapon used, code in Question 8.) 45
8. (Assault with a deadly weapon.) 46
9. What about forcible rape? 47
10. The next crime I want to ask you about is robbery: has anyone ever mugged you, that is, taken money from you or any member of your family by force, but without a weapon? 48
11. What about with a weapon? 49
-
12. Has any member of your family been a murder victim? 50

(IF THE ANSWER TO ANY OF THE QUESTIONS 1 - 12 IS YES, ASK QUESTIONS 13 & 14 FOR THE MOST SERIOUS CRIME. IF ANSWERS ARE ALL NO, SKIP TO QUESTION 18.)

[Part II.]

[Schedule F]
[Schedule C]

(Ask Questions 18 & 19 only of respondents who say they have never been a victim of the crimes listed in Q. 6 - 12.)

18. You've said that you've never been a victim of the crimes we mentioned; let me list some crimes for you, and ask you how much you worry about that crime.

18a. First, mugging. Do you worry about it (Read list.)

- 0 - Not at all
- 1 - A little
- 2 - Some
- 3 - A lot

56

18b. The next crime I'd like to ask you about is armed robbery. Do you worry about it (Read list.)

- 0 - Not at all
- 1 - A little
- 2 - Some
- 3 - A lot

57

18c. Next, forcible rape. Do you worry about it (Read list.)

- 0 - Not at all
- 1 - A little
- 2 - Some
- 3 - A lot

58

(IF RESPONDENT ANSWERS 1, 2 or 3 TO ANY OF THE ABOVE, ASK 19a., IF RESPONDENT ANSWERS 0 TO ANY OF THE ABOVE, ASK Q. 19b.)

19a. Why do you worry about _____ (Name crimes.)? (Record verbatim, then code according to categories below. Do not read unless necessary to probe.)

- | |
|--|
| 0 - Take precautions |
| 1 - God's will |
| 2 - Rare - not much chance of it happening |
| 3 - Accident, result of chance |
| 4 - "The world's a jungle," etc. |
| 5 - Common occurrence |
| 6 - Other |

59

19b. Why don't you worry about _____ (Name crimes) ? (Record verbatim, then code according to categories in 19a.)

60

(GO TO QUESTION 20.)

[Schedule C]

[Part II.]

20. Have you ever served on a jury in a criminal case? (Do not read.)

[0 - No
[1 - Yes

61

(IF YES, ASK QUESTION 21; IF NO, SKIP TO PART III.)21. What was the crime in the most serious case on which you deliberated? (Do not read.)

[0 - Homicide, attempts
[1 - Forcible rape, attempts
[2 - Robbery, armed & strong armed; attempts
[3 - Assault
[4 - Breaking and entering, with or without larceny
[5 - Larceny theft (pickpocket, purse snatch, etc.)
[6 - Auto theft
[7 - Other _____
[9 - Don't remember
[NO RESPONSE - LEAVE BLANK

62

(GO TO PART III.)

{PART II. GENERAL QUESTIONS}**{Schedule P}**

We've been talking about specific cases, and your opinions about these situations. Now we'd like to get some general information about how much people know about crime.

I'm going to read you a list of crimes, and ask you to tell me the maximum sentence a person can get for that crime in New Jersey.

(Record answers to Questions 1 - 5 verbatim, then use the following code categories for Questions 1 - 5:)

[0 - Probation &/or fine]
[1 - 11 months in jail or less]
[2 - 1 year - 2 years 11 months in prison]
[3 - 3 years - 5 years 11 months in prison]
[4 - 6 " - 10 " " " " " " "]
[5 - 11 " - 15 " " " " " " "]
[6 - 16 " - 20 " " " " " " "]
[7 - 21 " - 25 " " " " " " "]
[8 - More than 25 years in prison]
[9 - Other]
[NO RESPONSE - LEAVE BLANK]

1. The first crime I want to know about is first-degree homicide.
2. What about second-degree homicide?
3. Forcible rape of an adult?
4. Armed robbery?
5. Strong arm robbery?

39

40

41

42

43

[Part II.]

[Schedule P]

Now I'd like to ask you about your personal experience with crime. I'm going to read you a list of crimes, and I'd like you to tell me if you or any member of your family has ever been a victim of that crime.

(Use the following code categories for questions 6 - 12. If necessary, probe to fit categories.)

0 - Neither self nor family members]
1 - Self]
2 - Family member(s)]
3 - Family member(s)]
4 - Self AND family member(s)]
5 - Household (for breaking and entry)]
6 - NO RESPONSE - LEAVE BLANK]

6. Were you ever a victim of breaking, entry and larceny? 44
7. Aggravated assault? 45
8. What about assault with a deadly weapon? You or any of your family members? 46
9. Forcible rape. 47
10. Strong arm robbery? 48
11. Armed robbery? 49
12. What about homicide? 50

(IF THE ANSWER TO ANY OF THE QUESTIONS 1 - 12 IS YES, ASK QUESTIONS 13 & 14 FOR THE MOST SERIOUS CRIME. IF ANSWERS ARE ALL NO, SKIP TO QUESTION 18.)

[Part II.]

[Schedule P]

18. I'd like for you to estimate for me how many/of the following kinds of cases you have worked on in the course of your career as a police officer.

(Code 0, 18a - 18f according to the following categories. Do not read unless necessary to probe.)

[0 - None]
[1 - 1 to 5]
[2 - 6 to 10]
[3 - 11 to 20]
[4 - 21 to 30]
[5 - 31 to 50]
[6 - 51 to 100]
[7 - Over 100]
[NO RESPONSE - LEAVE BLANK]

18a. Assault with a deadly weapon

56

18b. Strong arm robbery

57

18c. Armed robbery

58

18d. Forcible rape of an adult

59

18e. Forcible sodomy

60

18f. Homicide

61
(GO TO PART III.)

[Part II.]

[Schedule F]

20. Have you ever served on a jury in a criminal case? (Do not read.)

- | |
|---------|
| 0 - No |
| 1 - Yes |

61

(IF YES, ASK QUESTION 21; IF NO, SKIP TO Q. 22)

21. What was the crime in the most serious case on which you deliberated? (Do not read.)

- | |
|--|
| 0 - Homicide, attempts |
| 1 - Forcible rape, attempts |
| 2 - Robbery, armed & strong arm; attempts |
| 3 - Assault |
| 4 - Breaking & entering, with or without larceny |
| 5 - Larceny theft (pickpocket, purse snatch, etc.) |
| 6 - Auto theft |
| 7 - Other |
| 9 - Don't remember |
| [NO RESPONSE - LEAVE BLANK] |

62

22. Have you ever counseled a victim of a crime? What was that crime? (Do not read.)

- | |
|---|
| 0 - Never counselled a crime victim |
| 1 - Yes, rape victim(s) only |
| 2 - Yes, victim(s) of crimes other than rape only |
| 3 - Victims of rape AND other crimes |
| [NO RESPONSE - LEAVE BLANK] |

75 **

(IF ANSWER IS YES, ASK QUESTION 23, IF NO, GO TO PART III.)

23. How many RAPE victims would you estimate you have counselled? (Do not read.)

- | |
|--------------|
| 0 - 1 to 4 |
| 1 - 5 to 9 |
| 2 - 10 to 20 |
| 3 - 21 to 50 |
| 4 - over 50 |

76 **

24. How many victims of CRIMES OTHER THAN RAPE would you estimate you have counselled? (Do not read.)

- | |
|--------------|
| 0 - 1 to 4 |
| 1 - 5 to 9 |
| 2 - 10 to 20 |
| 3 - 21 to 50 |
| 4 - over 50 |

77 **

(GO TO PART III.)

[PART III. DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONS]

[Schedule F]
[Schedule C]

Finally, I'd like to ask you some questions about yourself.
(Start with Question 3.)

1. (Copy answers to Questions 1 & 2 from FACE SHEET, and code.)
1.

Sex:
0 - Male
1 - Female

 63
2. Age 64 65
-
3. What is your marital status? Are you (Read list.)
- 0 - Married 66
1 - Divorced
2 - Widowed
3 - Separated
4 - Single
4. Are you presently (Read list.)
- 0 - Employed full time
1 - Employed part time
2 - Retired
3 - Student
4 - Housewife
5 - Unemployed
6 - Other 67
- (IF RESPONDENT IS EMPLOYED, UNEMPLOYED OR RETIRED, ASK Q. 5.
IF STUDENT, HOUSEWIFE, GO TO Q. 6.)
5. What is/was your occupation? (Record verbatim, then code according to categories below, FOLLOWING Q. 7) 68 69
- (IF RESPONDENT IS MARRIED, ASK Q. 6 & 7. IF NOT, SKIP TO Q. 8.)
6. Now I'd like to know if your (husband/wife) is presently (Read list.)
- 0 - Employed full time
1 - Employed part time
2 - Retired
3 - Student
4 - Housewife
5 - Unemployed
6 - Other 70
- (IF SPOUSE IS EMPLOYED, UNEMPLOYED OR RETIRED, ASK Q. 7. IF ANY OTHER RESPONSE, GO TO QUESTION 8.)
7. What is/was his/her occupation? (Record verbatim, then code according to categories below.) 71 72

[Part III.]

[Schedule F]
[Schedule C]

(CODING CATEGORIES FOR QUESTIONS 5 & 7.)

- [01 - Clerical, office]
- [02 - Entertainer]
- [03 - Factory worker]
- [04 - Food service worker (cook, waiter, etc.)]
- [05 - Foreman]
- [06 - Health services (not professional)]
- [07 - Laborer (unskilled)]
- [08 - Laborer (skilled)]
- [09 - Manager, administrator]
- [10 - Mechanic, repairman]
- [11 - Police, fire]
- [12 - Professional & technical (engineer, etc.)]
- [13 - Salesperson]
- [14 - Service worker (custodian, etc.)]
- [15 - Steward or stewardess]
- [16 - Teacher]
- [17 - Truck driver]
- [18 - Writer/artist]
- [09 - Other]

8. What is your religion? (Probe for specific denomination.
Record verbatim, then code. Do not read list.)

- [0 - Baptist, Methodist, Lutheran]
- [1 - Congregationalist, Presbyterian, Episcopalian]
- [2 - Other Protestant]
- [3 - Roman Catholic]
- [4 - Eastern Orthodox, other Orthodox]
- [5 - Jewish]
- [6 - Other]
- [7 - None]
- [NO RESPONSE - LEAVE BLANK]

73

(IF RESPONSE IS 0 - 6, ASK QUESTION 9. If NONE, NO RESPONSE,
END INTERVIEW.)

9. How often do you attend religious services? (Do not read.)

- [0 - Never]
- [1 - Once a month or less]
- [2 - Several times a month]
- [3 - Weekly]
- [4 - More than once a week]

74

(End interview.) THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION.

[PART III. DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONS]

[Schedule P]

Finally, I'd like to ask you some questions about yourself.
(Begin with question 2.)

1. (Sex) 0 63
2. How old are you? (Record exactly.) 64 65
3. What is your marital status? Are you (Read list.)
 0 - Married
 1 - Divorced
 2 - Widowed
 3 - Separated
 4 - Single 66
4. What is your present rank with the police department?
 (Do not read.)
 67
 [0 - Patrolman, police officer
 [1 - Corporal
 [2 - Detective
 [3 - Sergeant, detective sergeant (all classes)
 [4 - Lieutenant, detective lieutenant
 [5 - Captain
 [6 - Above captain
5. How long have you been a police officer? (Record verbatim,
then code according to categories below.)
 68
 [0 - Less than 1 year
 [1 - 1 to 5 years
 [2 - 6 to 10 years
 [3 - 11 to 15 years
 [4 - 16 to 20 years
 [5 - over 20 years
6. How many sworn officers are there in your department?
 (Record verbatim, then code:)
 69
 [0 - 10 or fewer
 [1 - 11 to 20
 [2 - 21 to 50
 [3 - 51 to 100
 [4 - 101 to 250
 [5 - 251 to 500
 [6 - 501 to 1000
 [7 - Over 1,000

[Part III.]

[Schedule P]

7. What is your religion? (Probe for specific denomination. Record verbatim, then code. Do not read list.)

0 - Baptist, Methodist, Lutheran
1 - Congregationalist, Presbyterian, Episcopalian
2 - Other Protestant
3 - Roman Catholic
4 - Eastern Orthodox, other Orthodox
5 - Jewish
6 - Other
7 - None
NO RESPONSE - LEAVE BLANK



73

(IF RESPONSE IS 0 - 6, ASK QUESTION 8. OTHERWISE, END INTERVIEW.)

8. How often do you attend religious services? (Do not read.)

0 - Never
1 - Once a month or less
2 - Several times a month
3 - Weekly
4 - More than once a week



74

(End interview.) THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION.

Explanation of Interview Schedule

There were three forms of the interview schedule:

Schedule C, used for laypeople
Schedule P, for police
Schedule F, for feminists.

All respondents were given the same questions that formed the dependent measures, although a somewhat shortened form was used after vignettes 4 through 8.

There were two sets of vignettes. Half the respondents in each group received one, half the other.

APPENDIX II.
Additional Statistical Tables

Table I.
Analysis of Variance for Sentence

<u>Police</u>				
	MS	df	F	p
Crime (C)	1624.50	1	666.73	.001
Precipitation (P)	6.48	1	2.66	.103
Injury (I)	40.50	1	16.62	.001
C x P	.32	1	.13	.717
C x I	5.78	1	2.37	.124
P x I	.18	1	.07	.786
C x P x I	.02	1	.01	.928
Error	2.44	792		
<u>Feminists</u>				
	MS	df	F	p
Crime (C)	1272.60	1	545.49	.001
Precipitation (P)	2.53	1	1.08	.297
Injury (I)	34.04	1	14.59	.001
C x P	.01	1	.00	.945
C x I	5.95	1	2.55	.111
P x I	.36	1	.15	.694
C x P x I	.55	1	.24	.627
Error	2.33	792		
<u>Laymen</u>				
	MS	df	F	p
Crime (C)	1282.71	1	533.84	.001
Precipitation (P)	4.96	1	2.06	.151
Injury (I)	51.51	1	21.44	.001
C x P	.45	1	.19	.665
C x I	8.20	1	3.41	.065
P x I	1.20	1	.50	.480
C x P x I	.28	1	.12	.732
Error	2.40	792		
<u>Laywomen</u>				
	MS	df	F	p
Crime (C)	1039.68	1	327.59	.001
Precipitation (P)	5.44	1	1.72	.190
Injury (I)	32.00	1	10.08	.002
C x P	.04	1	.01	.905
C x I	1.28	1	.40	.525
P x I	1.80	1	.57	.451
C x P x I	.12	1	.04	.840
Error	3.17	792		

Table II.1.

Explanation Of Victimization
To
Forces Under Victim's Control

Vignette	Police		Male Civilian		Female Civilian		Feminist	
	UC*	C*	UC	C	UC	C	UC	C
1	82	18	97	3	95	5	87	13
2	82	18	90	10	90	10	80	20
3	29	71	32	68	6	94	29	71
4	39	61	47	53	12	88	30	70
5	93	7	93	7	85	15	97	3
6	92	8	97	3	82	18	91	9
7	38	62	44	56	27	73	53	47
8	69	31	59	41	38	62	64	36

***Key:**

UC - Number of respondents attributing fault to forces not under victim's control.

C - Number of respondents attributing fault to forces under victim's control.

Table III.

Deservingness of Victimization¹
Percent Giving Each Response

Case	<u>Police</u>				<u>Feminists</u>			
	0	1	2	3	0	1	2	3
RO,P,NI	88	8	4	0	84	12	4	0
RO,P,I	89	6	5	0	85	8	7	0
RA,P,NI	86	10	4	0	95	5	0	0
RA,P,I	100	0	0	0	95	3	2	0

Case	<u>Laymen</u>				<u>Laywomen</u>			
	0	1	2	3	0	1	2	3
RO,P,NI	91	5	4	0	85	8	7	0
RO,P,I	93	7	0	0	79	13	8	0
RA,P,NI	94	6	0	0	83	12	5	0
RA,P,I	100	0	0	0	87	12	1	0

Key:

- 0 - She did not deserve to have anything happen to her.
 1 - She deserved something, but less than what happened.
 2 - She deserved what happened to her.
 3 - She deserved to have something even worse happen to her.

Cases:

RO - robbery; RA - rape
 P - precipitation
 NI - no injury; I - injury

¹In the cases that involved no precipitation, all respondents gave the answer "0" - "She did not deserve to have anything happen to her."

Table IV.

Demographic Information

	AGE			
	Police	Laymen	Laywomen	Feminists
Range	19-56	19-53	18-48	18-47
Mean	33.54	32.70	28.28	29.40
SD	7.41	7.53	6.78	6.92

MARITAL STATUS

	Police	Laymen	Laywomen	Feminists
Married	79	70	61	53
Divorced	8	8	8	10
Widowed	1	0	0	1
Separated	5	7	5	6
Single	7	14	26	30
No information	0	1	0	0

RELIGION

	Police	Laymen	Laywomen	Feminists
Bapt., Meth., Luther.	7	8	9	5
Congr., Presby. Episco.	2	7	2	8
Other Protest.	5	6	9	8
Roman Catholic	59	48	60	35
Jewish	0	4	0	13
Other	0	0	2	0
None	21	23	17	27
No information	6	4	1	4

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