

DEVELOPMENT OF RAPE MYTHS SCALE AND ITS RELATION WITH GENDER ROLE ATTITUDES[#]

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The aim of the present research was to develop a Rape Myths Scale which could assess the extent to which people believe/disbelieve in rape myths. This research also aimed at finding a relationship between students' gender role attitudes and their belief in rape myths, and seeing the effects of different demographic variables, like sex of the participants and level of parents' education on these attitudes. Two studies have been carried out. Study I concerned itself with the development of a Rape Myths Scale. Study II involved administering the Sex Role Attitude Scale (Anila & Ansari, 1992) and the Rape Myths Scale to 100 students (50 women, 50 men) of Quaid-i-Azam University. The results showed a significant relationship between gender role attitudes and rape myths. Students who had relatively more traditional gender role attitudes had a greater belief in rape myths and vice versa. The study also revealed that men had significantly more traditional gender role attitudes and beliefs in rape myths, as compared to the women, and the participants with less educated parents had significantly more traditional gender role attitudes and more belief in rape myths. The study pointed out gaps in the literature and stressed the need for more research in the area as well as provided opportunities to design effective interventions in this field.

In 1995 about 70,000 community and political leaders got together in Beijing, China, in the United Nations' Fourth World Conference, to discuss how the gap between women and men, based on their social roles, can be bridged (United Nations, 1996). These social or gender roles were initially known as 'sex roles.' According to Pleck (as cited in Anila, 1992a, p.18), "sex roles are sets of attributes, including attitudes, personality traits, and behaviors, that a culture defines as appropriate for each sex." O'Neil (1981, p.203) has defined 'gender roles' as "behaviors, expectations, and role sets defined by society as masculine or feminine which are embodied in the behavior of the

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individual man or woman and culturally regarded as appropriate to males or females". Thus, gender roles are prescriptions that tell individuals what type of clothes (e.g., color, design, etc.) they should wear, how they should express their feelings, what kinds of toys they should play with, what kind of subjects they should select in college, what kind of professions they should adopt, etc. (Parker, Lozano, & Messner, 1995). According to Walby (1990), specific gender roles typically teach men to show their aggression in a violent manner and teach women to subjugate to the power of men in order to survive in a hierarchical society.

Pleck defined traditional gender role attitudes as those where "...women are relegated to the role of house wife and mother. Women are viewed as weak, vulnerable, in need of protection and deserving of a special respect. ...the man as the provider and final authority." People subscribing to modern gender role attitudes, believe that..."psychological sex differences are primarily socially determined and that the roles of men and women should be essentially the same i.e., it believes in role sharing rather than role differentiation between the sexes" (as cited in Anila, 1992a: p.18-19).

Gender roles have come under heavy criticism by women's movements all over the world. These roles are said to curb people's growth and potential as human beings. There is also evidence that traditional gender roles have strong links with the existence of global violence against women. This is because traditional gender roles expect women to be weak and subservient and men to be authoritative, dominating, and in control (Bunch, 1997; Haq, 1997). The power imbalance between the two genders is sanctioned by the society. In this context, rape and other forms of sexual assault maintain the subordination of women and preserve the system of men dominance (Walby, 1990).

The International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (Venkatachallarn, 1998) defined rape as "a physical invasion of a sexual nature, committed on a person under circumstances which are coercive." This is the first definition which does not restrict itself to gender or body parts. Furthermore, the Tribunal set a precedent by ruling that "coercive circumstances" need not involve force, but that threats and intimidation also qualify.

Pakistan's previous rape laws, repealed by the Zina Ordinance (1979), had defined rape (known as '*zina bil jabhar*') as compulsory sexual intercourse (Burney, 1999). The Zina Ordinance defines rape as sexual intercourse without being validly married when it occurs in any

one of the following circumstances: (a) against the will of the victim; (b) without the consent of the victim; (c) with the consent of the victim, when the consent has been obtained by putting the victim in fear of death or of hurt; or (d) with the consent of the victim, when the offender knows that the offender is not validly married to the victim and that the consent is given because the victim believes that the offender is another person to whom the victim is or believes herself or himself to be validly married (p.34).

"Rape myths are stereotypical assumptions about rape, rape victims, and rapists which put the blame on the victim and/or vindicate the rapist's actions" (Bohner, Weisbrod, Raymond, Barzvi, & Schwarz, 1993, p.562). These beliefs deny the reality of rape as injurious violence and place the responsibility for heterosexual rape on the woman's behaviour (Ellis, O'Sullivan, & Sowards, 1992).

Some common myths are that rape is an act motivated by sexual desire, the rapist being a stranger, rapists are so sick and perverted that they can be readily identified by their physical appearance, women who are raped 'ask for it' or 'lead men on' by dressing provocatively, and rapists lurk in dark and deserted areas. Other common myths are that only young and beautiful women get raped, there is no rape in marriage, women enjoy getting raped, women frequently 'cry rape'...there is a high case of false reporting, if a woman has a strong character, no one can rape her, a woman's will is included in rape, no man can rape his sister or daughter, and a crime like rape is less prevalent in the East.

There is new considerable research that refute stereotypical assumptions about sexual violence, particularly rape. The National Victims Center (1992), and Warshaw (1988) states that 84% of rape survivors know their attackers. Keller (1986) states that many rapists do not differ significantly from the average man physically or on psychological profiles. According to Keller (1986) between one third and two thirds of all rapes occur either in the victim's home or in some other private residence. Rapes occur at all hours of the day or night and the rapists primarily choose their victims by their vulnerability and accessibility, not by their physical appearance. Women are raped by their husbands. Koss and Harvey (1991), and Tavriss and Wade (1984) state that one in every seven married women are sexually assaulted by their husbands. Contrary to popular belief, men have been known to rape their sisters or daughters (Husain, 1991).

The idea that a woman could possibly enjoy forced sexual intercourse is a male fantasy that confuses an act of violence with sex

(Smith & Woolacott, 1977). Like other crimes, there are some instances when women falsely accuse men of rape. However, statistics and studies from the Federal Bureau of Investigations show that the false report rate for rape is about the same as that for other serious felonies which is about 2% to 4% (Rape in America, 1992).

A report in the Daily Nation in 1989 showed that 15,000 rape cases were reported during the previous year in the province of Punjab alone (see Hussain, 1991). Burney (1999) states that there are at least 8 reported rapes in Pakistan every 24 hours. This is a very high rate, although people report the crime less in our country. In Pakistan, crime of rape is still buried beneath silence. Victims of rape are made to feel guilty, they are blamed for somehow causing it and feel that their family has been dishonored because of them (see also, Anila, 1995). Talking about rape is a taboo and as Burney (1999, p.1) states, "the legal framework is biased against women and the law enforcement system retraumatizes female victims instead of facilitating justice."

Rape myths do not only attribute greater responsibility to women, but also indirectly suggest that women can avoid being raped if they follow certain rules of dressing and behaving in public. Clearly, rape myths, provide ready excuses and justifications for the potential rapist (Burt, 1980).

Analysis of the cultural context of sexual assault have focused on associations between acceptance of rape myths and socio-cultural beliefs and attitudes (Burgess, 1987; Burt, 1980; Hussain, 1991; Feild, Karney, & Muehlenhard, Mandoki & Burkhart, as cited in White & Sorenson, 1992). Burkhart and Fromuth (as cited in White & Sorenson, 1992) have identified three aspects of culture that effect sexually coercive behavior. One of them is gender role socialization patterns and power differentials that normalize rape by advancing rape supportive beliefs.

More specifically, subjects with more traditional sex role attitudes have been found to attribute more responsibility to the victim of rape (Deitz, Blackwell, Daley & Bentley, as cited in Pollard, 1992) than those who hold less stereotypical and more progressive beliefs about gender (Coller & Resick, Feild, as cited in Pollard, 1992). A related finding is that traditional sex role attitudes and rape myth acceptance are related (Check & Malamuth, Costin & Schwarz, as cited in Costin & Kaptanoglu, 1993).

Various researches dealing with feminist views have argued that rape against women is supported by beliefs that encourage men's social

and economic domination of women and that acceptance of myths about rape help support those beliefs (Amir, Brownmiller, Burt, Feild, Konat, & D'Emilio, Malamuth, Sanday, Sorenson & White, as cited in Costin & Kaptanoglu, 1993). If this is the case, one would expect that acceptance of 'rape myths' is correlated with beliefs that women's social roles and rights should be more restricted than those of men (Costin & Kaptanoglu, 1993).

Research has also shown that the sex of a person appears to make a difference in gender role attitudes and myths about rape. For example, females are less accepting of rape myths (Burt, 1980) than males (Check & Malamuth; Costin, Feild, Giacomassi & Dull, as cited in Pollard, 1992). Other related findings from several studies show that females attribute less responsibility to a rape victim than do males (Kanekar & Kolsawalla, 1980).

Similar results can also be seen in researches measuring people's gender role attitudes. It was found that men more than women subscribe to traditional sex roles of women (e.g., Garrett-Gooding, & Senter; Muehlenhard & Linton, as cited in Ellis et al. 1992). This finding was replicated in Anila's (1992a) research on university students in Pakistan.

A related finding of Lobel and Bembechat (1992) suggests that maternal employment and education is associated with higher educational and occupational aspirations for daughters...and this, in turn, effect the daughters aspirations for themselves in a favourable way. Fathers' education apparently seems to have the same effect (Faggot, Leinbach, & O'Boyle, 1992; Maccoby, 1992). These findings were also replicated in Anila's research (Anila, 1992a; Anila, 1992b).

It is important for new research to identify gaps in the existing research literature and add to the body of available knowledge. While most of the research studies reviewed were carried out in the West, only a few studies on gender have been done in Pakistan (Anila, 1992b; Anila, Khan, & Sabir, 1993). There are hardly any studies available on rape. Many feminists, psychologists, and social scientists in Pakistan theorize that there are gender differences in people's beliefs in different issues. Many others claim that education makes a difference in people's attitudes. But their claims do not have the support of research studies carried out locally, simply because there have been so few and far between.

Thus, the present research aimed to develop a rape myth scale that can assess the extent to which people believe in different rape

myths. The scale will be used to assess the following (a) to find the relationship between gender role attitudes and myths about rape, (b) to see whether there are gender differences in gender role attitudes and myths about rape, (c) to see the effect of parents education on gender role attitudes and myths about rape, and (d) to identify those myths in which the participants have the most belief in.

STUDY I: DEVELOPMENT OF A RAPE MYTHS SCALE

Item Generation

Items related to the myths of rape were generated for the scale through three different sources. These were (i) Review of the existing literature, (ii) Interviews with experts, and (iii) Group discussions with laypersons. As a result, 18 items were generated, which were phrased in the form of statements, reflecting various myths. The myths covered the areas of (a) who rapes, (b) who the victim is, (c) when and where it happens, and (d) what are the causes. Out of 18 items selected, 15 were phrased in a manner so that they reflected myths and 3 of the items were phrased in the opposite way (statements that were not myths and thus had reverse scoring).

Experts Opinion

The 18 statements constructed were given to five experts in women's issues (Three Ph.D., and two M. Phil. in Psychology, three were teachers and researchers, and two were activists). They were asked to read the statements and give feedback related to the content and the phrasing of the statements. Their feedback contributed to the rephrasing of some of the statements. The items were also arranged in an order of increasing sensitivity, so that the less extreme statements came in the beginning and the more extreme ones i.e., those likely to generate strong emotions were placed at the end.

Responses were recorded on a 5-point scale, with 1 reflecting agreement with the myths, while 5 reflecting disagreement. Items phrased in an opposite way were scored in the reverse order.

Final Selection of Items

In order to select internally consistent items, the 18 item scale was administered to 60 students (30 men and 30 women) of Quaid-i-Azam

University, who were selected randomly. These students were asked to respond to each of the 18 statements on the 5-point scale. Item-total correlation coefficients were calculated. The 12 items which were significant at $p < .05$ (correlation ranges from 0.35 to 0.58) were included in the scale named as Rape Myths Scale (RMS; see Table 1). Out of these 12 items of the final form of RMS, 10 were phrased in a manner so that they reflect myths and 2 were phrased in the opposite way (reverse scored). The alpha reliability coefficient of the selected 12 items of the Rape Myths Scale was 0.72, which is quite satisfactory.

STUDY II: BELIEFS ABOUT RAPE MYTHS AS RELATED TO GENDER ROLE ATTITUDES

The main objectives of Study II were (i) to determine the relationship between participants gender role attitudes and the extent of their belief on rape myths, (ii) to see the relationship of gender role attitudes and beliefs on rape myths with respect to different variables like sex and parents education, and (iii) to determine the most popular myths of the respondents.

METHOD

Sample

The sample consisted of 100 students (50 men, 50 women) from Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad. Their age ranged from 20 to 26 years. Fathers of 42 students had completed Intermediate i.e., FA/F.Sc., and 58 had degrees beyond intermediate level. Mothers of 60 students had completed Matriculation and 40 were educated beyond Matriculation.

Instruments

Rape Myths Scale (RMS)

The RMS, developed in Study I, was used to assess believe/disbelieve in rape myths.

Sex Role Attitude Scale (SRAS)

The SRAS, a 5-point scale, was developed by Anila and Ansari (1992). It consists of 32 declarative statements covering the following

areas: (a) work roles of men and women, (b) parental responsibilities of men and women, (c) personal relations between men and women, (d) level and type of academic achievements for men and women, (e) occupational abilities of men and women, and (f) marriage plan and vital life decisions. Half of the statements are phrased in a modern manner and their scoring is from 5 to 1, ranging from agreement to disagreement. The other half are phrased in a traditional manner and their scoring is reversed. Thus the score range is from 32-160, the higher the score, the more modern the gender role attitude. The SRAS is a well researched scale in Pakistan and has been used in several studies (see, for example, Anila, 1992a; Anila, 1992b; Anila et al. 1993).

Procedure

Participants were taken at random from Quaid-i-Azam University. They were given both the RMS and SRAS by two researchers. Half of the students filled the SRAS before filling the RMS. The procedure was reversed for the other half of the students. This particular method of administering the scales was thus followed to control response bias that may arise from the order of questionnaire given. The participants were ensured confidentiality. Each participants took about 15-20 minutes in responding.

RESULTS

In order to confirm the internal consistency of the Rape Myths Scale (RMS) and the Sex Role Attitude Scale (SRAS) with reference to the present sample, the Cronbach alpha coefficients were calculated. While the reliability of SRAS was 0.88, that of RMS was 0.63 which is low but acceptable. In Study I, however, the reliability of RMS was 0.72.

One of the aims of the study was to get an idea about the extent to which the students believed in rape myths. The results in Table 1 indicate that the statements in which more students believed in, were items 3, 6, 10 and 12 (60%, 48%, 48% and 57%, respectively). Since item no. 10 has reverse scoring, the 52% in the table implies that this percentage of people believe in the statement, which is not a myth, and

therefore, 48% believe in the myth. Similar is the case with item no. 4. Myths in which students have the least belief in are items number 11 and 8 (11% and 14%, respectively).

Table 1

*Percentages of the students who believed in each statement of RMS**

Item No.	Statements	%
1.	If a woman has a strong character, no one can rape her.	44
2.	Rape is committed by strangers.	22
3.	No man can rape his sister or daughter.	60
4.**	There can be rape in a marital relationship.	60
5.	Rape happens outside home, in dark and deserted areas.	45
6.	A curse like rape is less prevalent in an Eastern society.	48
7.	Only young and beautiful women get raped.	31
8.	A woman's willingness is present in rape.	14
9.	A woman who is raped is not worthy of being another man's wife.	25
10.**	Women who stay within the four walls of their house can also be raped.	52
11.	A woman gets pleasure during rape.	11
12.	A woman tempts a man into raping her through her behavior and clothes.	57

* *The original RMS scale is in Urdu, the National Language of Pakistan.*

** *Items with reverse scoring.*

For the determination of the relationship between the beliefs on rape myths and the students modern or traditional gender role attitudes, a correlation coefficient between the RMS and SRAS total, and with traditional and modern items separately were calculated.

Table 2

Correlation Coefficients of RMS with SRAS total and its traditional and modern items (N = 100)

SRAS	RMS	
	<i>r</i>	<i>p</i>
Traditional Items	0.25	0.013
Modern Items	0.41	0.000
Total Items	0.38	0.000

As shown in Table 2, all the correlation coefficients between the RMS and the SRAS, are significant. This indicates that students with more belief in rape myths have more traditional gender role attitudes, and students with less belief in rape myths have more modern gender role attitudes.

The demographic variables studied are sex and the level of parents education. Their effect on the students beliefs in rape myths and their gender role is illustrated in Table 3.

Table 3

Means, standard deviations and t-values for the variables of sex, fathers and mothers education for the RMS

Groups	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
<i>Sex</i>					
Men	50	35.44	6.51	-5.97	0.000
Women	50	43.08	6.28		
<i>Fathers Education</i>					
Upto FA/F.Sc	42	37.10	6.54	-2.55	0.012
Above FA/F.Sc	58	40.83	7.69		
<i>Mothers Education</i>					
Upto Matric	60	37.75	6.75	-2.56	0.012
Above Matric	40	41.53	7.91		

The results in Table 3 indicate that there is a significant difference between belief in rape myths between men and women. The mean scores illustrate that the men's belief in rape myths is more as compared to the women (as a high score indicates low belief in rape myths). The results also show that there is a significant difference between the level of parents education and RMS i.e., participants with less educated fathers and mothers believe in more rape myths than those whose fathers and mothers were more educated. Thus, participants with educated fathers and mothers believe less in rape myths.

Table 4.

Means, standard deviations and t-values for the variables of sex, fathers and mothers education for the SRAS

Groups	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
<i>Sex</i>					
Men	50	93.54	21.17	-5.33	0.000
Women	50	113.22	15.30		
<i>Fathers Education</i>					
Upto FA/F.Sc	42	96.76	22.34	-2.79	0.006
Above FA/F.Sc	58	108.17	18.48		
<i>Mothers Education</i>					
Upto Matric	60	99.45	20.85	-2.36	0.020
Above Matric	40	109.27	19.70		

df = 98

The results in Table 4 show that there is also a significant difference between the gender role attitudes of men and women. Mean scores illustrate that men have relatively more traditional gender role attitudes than the women. There is also a significant difference between the level of parents education and the SRAS. Means scores illustrate that students with less educated fathers and mothers have relatively more traditional attitudes than students whose fathers and mothers are more educated.

DISCUSSION

Study I

Rape Myths Scale (RMS), an empirically developed scale is first of its kind in Pakistan. Opinion of experts was used at all the stages to

ensure its content validity. An item total correlation and alpha reliability analysis was also conducted to ensure its internal consistency.

The author is cognizant that this scale is not comprehensive and may exclude other rape myths in this culture. The direct questions asked may have affected the responses given. The fact that sample size on which it was tested was small, primarily consisting of university students would limit its generalization to other populations. It is imperative that future research utilizing this scale be aware of these limitations.

Study II

The word 'rape' is taboo in our society. Most of us want to maintain a distance from the issue and believe that this is an event that cannot happen to us. Myths that seem to be most commonly believed by students propagate the behaviors of women that are supported by traditional gender roles. The message being, as long as women stay at home, wear modest clothes, do not interact with men outside the home, they will not be subjected to a "mishap" like rape. However, if they deviate from their role, wear flashy clothes, go out of their domain of "home" and interact with men "they could bring it upon themselves". These myths shift the responsibility of the crime of rape from the rapist to the woman who supposedly did not abide by the tradition. Plus, by putting restrictions on women, these myths maintain the power imbalance between the sexes in this patriarchal society.

The present study also found a significant relationship between the RMS and SRAS. This means that people who have strong beliefs in rape myths have traditional gender role attitudes and those who do not subscribe to rape myths have modern gender role attitudes. This finding is further strengthened by the significant correlation found between RMS and the traditional items/modern items of the SRAS. These findings are in accordance to many researches done previously in the West (Schwartz & Brand, as cited in Costin & Kaptanoglu, 1993).

These findings are not very surprising in a country like Pakistan where a patriarchal social system prevails. In patriarchal societies, power imbalance between genders is quite common and one way of its demonstration is through gender violence. It is common to see the society reinforcing the violence against women by creating and perpetuating myths about it. These myths serve the purpose of maintaining the power imbalance between the genders. While, myths

and stigma of rape protects the perpetrator and puts the blame on the victim, it also controls a woman's sexuality and reproduction. This control of women's sexuality is reflected on the importance placed on women's bodies, the concept of honor, women's chastity (as opposed to men)...and various other issues, like mobility (you will be raped if you go outside home). Rape myths successfully maintain the status quo in a patriarchal society and reinforce traditional roles.

This study also revealed that there is a significant difference between gender role attitudes of men and women, with men having a relatively less modern attitude and believing in relatively more rape myths than women. This finding is once again consistent with various researches in this area (see, for example, Anila, 1992a; Niles, 1994; Williams & Holmes, as cited in Bell, Kuriloff, & Lottes, 1994).

The gender differences found in both instances can have many explanations. The first one is that the sample, which consisted of students of Quaid-i-Azam University, may have been pre-selected. The female students who come to the University are more likely to come from families who believe in equal educational opportunities for girls and want their daughters to broaden their horizons. Their attitudes are likely to be transferred to their daughters. However, the boys who reach this University may come from a family which may possess any kind of gender view and attitude. And again, the parents or family's views are likely to be transferred to their children. Thus the group of boys and girls selected may already have this fundamental difference between them and it may have effected the results of the study.

Another possible reason for this difference can be explained by the power differential between men and women's role. Usually, women are more open to change and broadening their roles. If a woman does something outside her role, she is seen to be moving up, but if a man does something that is traditionally seen as 'women's work,' he is seen to be lowering his standards, coming down. Thus, men generally stick to traditional gender role attitudes while women are more open to changing their attitudes or seeing alternate possibilities for their own or others behavior.

A related argument is that even if men do change their traditional attitudes, they would perhaps not be very open in admitting them, because in our society men who believe in equality of the sexes are seen as 'soft,' and that is not acceptable to most men. Thus, it may be possible that some men find it difficult and awkward to express their true opinions.

And the last, but very important possible reason for these results is that in our society, women or girls feel the limitations of these gender roles more directly. The frustration they feel due to mobility issues, harassment, rape is very visible to them. It is easier for them to acknowledge the limitations they feel. On the other hand, men do not have a personal motivation to change their attitudes. Although they too are paying a price due to the highly polarized gender roles, they are not aware of it, it is not easily visible to them (Ahmad, 1998).

An important finding of this research is that parents education does seem to make a difference on their children's gender role attitudes (see also Anila 1992a, 1992b) and belief in rape myths. Children with more educated mothers and fathers have more modern gender role attitudes and less belief in rape myths than children whose parents are less educated.

Usually, parents who have relatively more education are more exposed to different kinds of books, different sources of knowledge. It is possible that these people are better off economically and that opens up doors to further new experiences, like traveling. These are the people who are likely to have a broader way of looking at things and they usually want their children to get the same environment as well. These are the parents who are more open for their children to have new experiences and transmit their values onto them. Thus, these results should not be surprising.

The findings of this research must be seen in the light of certain limitations. First of all, it becomes necessary to be clear of the parameters in which the study took place. Quaid-i-Azam University has students of a variety of socioeconomic backgrounds, and belonging to different localities and ethnic groups. The sample was selected at random. The students were of both the sexes, studying in Quaid-i-Azam University. Their current attitudes were measured. Thus, the results can be generalized within these parameters only. As mentioned earlier in the discussion, there might have been a problem of pre-selection of the sample as well. Therefore, testing of RMS should be done in the future researches with different socioeconomic groups.

Through this study, the conscious minds of the students were accessed. However, gender role attitudes (to some extent) and views towards rape, especially, are reflected at the unconscious attitudinal level. Perhaps the instruments used in this research, while satisfactory for determining the surface intellectual thoughts of the students, were too direct to measure the underlying attitudes of the students. This is especially true for the Rape Myth Scale. It would be interesting to go

deeper into this issue and an in-depth, qualitative study can be a part of future recommendation or conclusion.

While people do talk of gender roles and gender role attitudes in our society, they still do not talk too much about rape. There is still no commonly accepted vocabulary for rape and its related concepts and ideas. It, therefore, becomes difficult to talk about this issue on a verbal level, difficult to select the proper words to get the meaning across and this may come in the way of the participants understanding of what is being asked.

The reliability of the RMS, while acceptable (0.63), was not very high. The reliability coefficient found during its construction, however, was quite satisfactory i.e., 0.72. Nevertheless, the present reliability makes one slightly cautious when talking of the results obtained. The reliability and validity of the RMS still needs to be confirmed through conducting more researches on different populations.

CONCLUSION

Despite the limitations, perhaps the most useful finding of the research has been that it has identified gaps, i.e., it has been able to indicate how much research is needed on gender roles and rape myths. Different instruments must also be developed to study these issues in depth, on different populations. The accumulated research findings will go a long way in helping us understand the extent of the issue in our society. And it is only when we start to have a basic understanding of these issues that we will be able to design effective interventions to deal with them.

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