

Lea Spille

Deciding who to blame for rape and robbery in Turkey

Perpetrators' coercive strategy, victim-perpetrator relationship, participant gender and rape myth acceptance

(Verantwortungszuschreibungen in Raub- und Vergewaltigungsfällen in der Türkei: Täterstrategie, Opfer-Täter-Beziehung sowie Geschlecht und Vergewaltigungsmythenakzeptanz der Beurteilenden)

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Summary

Deciding who to blame for rape and robbery in Turkey: Perpetrators' coercive strategy, victimperpetrator relationship, participant gender and rape myth acceptance

The present study investigated the attribution of responsibility to victims and perpetrators in rape compared to robbery cases in Turkey. Each participant read three short case scenarios (vignettes) and completed items pertaining to the female victim and male perpetrator. The vignettes were systematically varied with regard to the type of crime that was committed (rape or robbery), the perpetrator's coercive strategy (physical force or exploiting the victim's alcohol-induced defenselessness), and the victim-perpetrator relationship prior to the incident (stranger, acquaintance, or ex-partner). Furthermore, participant gender and acceptance of rape myths (beliefs that justify or trivialize sexual violence) were taken into account. One half of the participants completed the rape myth acceptance (RMA) scales first and then received the vignettes, while the other half were given the vignettes first and then completed the RMA scales.

As expected, more blame was attributed to victims of rape than to victims of robbery. Conversely, perpetrators of rape were blamed less than perpetrators of robbery. The more participants endorsed rape myths, the more blame was attributed to the victim and the less blame was attributed to the perpetrators. Increasing levels of RMA were associated with an increase in victim blame (VB) in both rape and robbery cases, but the increase in rape VB was significantly more pronounced than in robbery VB. Increasing RMA was associated with an attenuation of perpetrator blame (PB) that was more pronounced for rape than for robbery cases, but the difference was not significant. As expected, victims of rape were blamed more when the perpetrator exploited their defenselessness due to alcohol intoxication than when they were overpowered by physical force. Contrary to the hypothesis, this was also true for robbery victims. Rape victims who knew their attacker (ex-partner or acquaintance) were blamed more than victims who were assaulted by strangers. Contrary to the hypothesis, robbery victims who were assaulted by an ex-partner were blamed more than acquaintance or stranger robbery victims. As predicted, the closer the relationship between victim and perpetrator, the less blame was attributed to perpetrators of rape while this factor had no effect on PB in robbery cases.

Men compared to women attributed more blame to the victims and less blame to the perpetrators. As expected, these gender differences in blame attributions were partially mediated by gender differences in RMA: After RMA was taken into account, the gender differences disappeared nearly completely for VB and were significantly reduced in PB. The order of presentation of the vignettes and the RMA measures was systematically varied to test the causal influence of RMA on

rape blame attributions. The hypothesis that RMA causes VB and PB in rape cases (as opposed to the other way around or both are caused by a third variable) was not supported. Possible reasons for this failed manipulation and its implications for the mediation model are discussed.

With regard to blame attribution in rape cases, the present results match what was expected from previous studies which were mainly conducted in "Western" countries like the United States, the United Kingdom, or Germany. The present results support the notion that the victim-perpetrator relationship and the victim's alcohol consumption are cross-culturally stable factors for blame attribution in rape cases. It was expected that blame attribution in robbery cases would be unaffected by the perpetrator's coercive strategy and the victim-perpetrator relationship, but the results were inconsistent.

One unexpected effect is particularly noteworthy: When the perpetrator used physical force, more blame was attributed to rape than to robbery victims, but intoxicated victims were blamed more and almost equally so for both types of crime. Perpetrators who exploited drunk victims were blamed less in both rape and robbery cases. These results contradict German results collected with the German version of the same instruments (Bieneck & Krahé, 2011). Turkey is a Muslim country and alcohol is surrounded by a certain taboo. Possibly, the results reflect a cultural difference in that intoxicated victims are generally blamed more for their victimization and this factor is not limited to rape cases.

Zusammenfassung

Verantwortungszuschreibungen in Raub- und Vergewaltigungsfällen in der Türkei: Täterstrategie, Opfer-Täter-Beziehung sowie Geschlecht und Vergewaltigungsmythenakzeptanz der Beurteilenden

Die vorliegende Arbeit untersuchte die Verantwortungszuschreibung zu Opfern und Tätern von Vergewaltigung im Vergleich zu Raub in der Türkei. Die Versuchspersonen lasen jeweils drei Vignetten, d.h. kurze Beschreibungen von hypothetischen Raub- und Vergewaltigungsfällen, und wurden im Anschluss an jede Vignette gebeten, die Verantwortung des weiblichen Opfers und des männlichen Täters für den Vorfall zu beurteilen. Die Vignetten variierten systematisch auf den Variablen Art des Verbrechens (Vergewaltigung oder Raub), Täterstrategie (physische Gewalt oder Ausnutzen der Wehrlosigkeit des betrunkenen Opfers) und der Opfer-Täter-Beziehung vor der Tat (Fremder, Bekannter oder Ex-Partner). Zusätzlich wurde die Vergewaltigungsmythenakzeptanz (VMA) der Versuchspersonen erhoben sowie deren Geschlecht als Faktor berücksichtigt. Vergewaltigungsmythen beschreiben Einstellungen, die sexualisierte Gewalt bagatellisieren, indem z.B. Opfern Schuld an der Tat zugeschrieben wird (Victim Blaming) oder die Täter entschuldigt werden. Die Hälfte der Versuchspersonen erhielt zunächst die Skalen zur VMA und bearbeitete im Anschluss daran die Vignetten. Die andere Hälfte der Versuchspersonen bearbeitete die Materialien in umgekehrter Reihenfolge, also zunächst die Vignetten und danach die VMA-Skalen.

Wie erwartet wurde den Opfern von Vergewaltigung mehr Verantwortung für die Tat zugeschrieben als Opfern von Raub. Umgekehrt wurde den Tätern von Vergewaltigung weniger Verantwortung zugeschrieben als Tätern von Raub. Je höher die VMA, desto mehr wurde das Opfer und desto weniger wurde der Täter für die Tat verantwortlich gemacht. Mit steigender VMA stieg die Verantwortungszuschreibung an Opfer beider Verbrechen an, aber der Zuwachs in der Schuldzuschreibung war signifikant stärker ausgeprägter in Vergewaltigungsfällen als in Raubfällen. Mit steigender VMA sank die Schuldzuschreibung an den Täter in Vergewaltigungsfällen stärker als in Raubfällen, der Unterschied war aber nicht signifikant. Wie erwartet wurde Opfern von Vergewaltigung mehr Schuld zugeschrieben, wenn sie betrunken waren als wenn sie vom Täter überwältigt wurden. Entgegen der Hypothese traf dies auch für Raubfälle zu. Vergewaltigungsopfern, die ihren Täter kannten, wurde mehr Schuld zugeschrieben als denen, die von einem Fremden vergewaltigt wurden. Entgegen der Hypothese wurde Raubopfern, die von einem Ex-Partner überfallen wurden, ebenfalls mehr Schuld an der Tat gegeben im Vergleich zu Raubfällen, die von Fremden oder Bekannten begangen wurden. Wie vorhergesagt wurde Vergewaltigern weniger Schuld zugeschrieben je enger die Opfer-Täter-Beziehung, während die Schuldzuschreibung an Raubtätern nicht von ihrer Beziehung zum Opfer beeinflusst wurde.

Männer im Vergleich zu Frauen wiesen den Opfern von Vergewaltigung mehr Schuld zu und den Tätern weniger. Wie erwartet wurden die Geschlechtsunterschiede in Bezug auf Schuldzuschreibungen an das Opfer und den Täter teilweise durch Geschlechtsunterschiede in VMA vermittelt: Nach Berücksichtigung von VMA zeigten sich in Bezug auf Opfer-Schuld keine Geschlechtsunterschiede mehr und in Bezug auf Täter-Schuld nur noch geringe. Die systematische Variation der Reihenfolge von Vignetten und VMA hatte zum Ziel, die kausale Wirkung von VMA auf Schuldzuschreibungen an Opfer und Täter von Vergewaltigung zu testen. Die Hypothese, dass VMA Schuldzuschreibungen an Opfer und Täter auslöst (im Vergleich zum umgekehrten Fall oder dass beide Variablen von einer dritten Variable ausgelöst werden) konnte nicht bestätigt werden. Mögliche Gründe für dieses Ergebnis sowie Implikationen für die Mediationsanalyse werden diskutiert.

In Bezug auf die Vergewaltigungsfälle entsprechen die Ergebnisse dem, was aufgrund früherer Studien erwartet wurde. Der Großteil früherer Studien wurde in "westlichen" Ländern wie den Vereinigten Staaten, dem Vereinigten Königreich oder Deutschland durchgeführt. Die vorliegenden Ergebnisse aus der Türkei stützen daher die Annahme, dass Opfer-Täter-Beziehung und Alkoholkonsum des Opfers interkulturell stabile Faktoren für die Verantwortungszuschreibung in Vergewaltigungsfällen sind. Die Ergebnisse in Bezug auf die erwartete Unterscheidung zwischen Raub- und Vergewaltigungsfällen blieben allerdings inkonsistent.

Ein Effekt ist besonders hervorzuheben: Wenn der Täter Gewalt anwendete, wurde den Opfern von Vergewaltigung mehr Schuld an der Tat gegeben als Opfern von Raub. Wenn das Opfer betrunken war, haben Beurteiler nicht zwischen Opfern von Raub und Vergewaltigung unterschieden. Tätern, die alkoholisierte Opfer ausnutzten, wurde sowohl in Raub- als auch Vergewaltigungsfällen weniger Schuld zugeschrieben. Diese Ergebnisse stehen im Widerspruch zu Ergebnissen aus Deutschland, die mit den gleichen Instrumenten (in deutscher Fassung) erhoben wurden (Bieneck & Krahé, 2011). Die Türkei ist muslimisch geprägt und Alkohol unterliegt einem gewissen Tabu. Möglicherweise zeigt sich hier ein kultureller Unterschied, dass alkoholisierten Opfern im Allgemeinen mehr Schuld zugeschrieben wird und dieser Faktor nicht nur speziell Vergewaltigungsfälle betrifft.

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List of abbreviations and expressions

The following abbreviations and expressions are used multiple times throughout or in parts of this thesis. Each will be introduced in the respective chapter, this list is provided for convenience.

'Alcohol'	Short hand for the perpetrator's coercive strategy "exploiting the victim's
condition	alcohol-induced intoxication"
Istanbul	Informal name of the Council of Europe Convention on preventing and
Convention	combating violence against women and domestic violence (CETS No.210)
РВ	Perpetrator blame, i.e., blame that is attributed to the perpetrator
Questionnaire	Participants were randomly assigned to one of four groups. Each group
group	received three of the twelve scenarios used in this study. These groups
	are referred to as 'questionnaire groups'.
RMA	Rape myth acceptance
'RMA first' and	Refers to the order of instrument presentation: half the sample received
'Scenarios first'	the rape myth acceptance scales before making judgments about the
	case scenarios ('RMA first'), the other half received the instruments in
	the reverse order and made judgments about the case scenarios first
	before completing the rape myth acceptance scales ('Scnearios first')
VB	Victim blame, i.e., blame that is attributed to the victim
Vignettes	Short descriptions of cases, also referred to as scenarios
ZRMA	Composite rape myth acceptance variable from z-standardized AMMSA
	and FPB mean scores

The terms responsibility and blame will be used interchangeably – see section 4.2.5 (p. 43), for a discussion.

1 Introduction

The present study investigates the attribution of blame in rape cases in Turkey within the theoretical framework of schematic information processing (i.e., use of heuristics like beliefs about what constitutes a 'real rape').¹ Sexual assault and rape laws were among the criminal offenses that were redefined in the reform of the Turkish Criminal Code in 2004. Prior to the reform, rape and sexual assault were defined as crimes against public decency and family order rather than crimes against an individual (Parla, 2001). In 2011, Germany signed and Turkey ratified the "Council of Europe Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence (CETS No.210)," (2011, hereafter "Istanbul Convention"). Although Germany has yet to ratify the Istanbul Convention, the signature signals agreement with its Article 36² that defines rape as "nonconsensual vaginal, anal or oral penetration of a sexual nature of the body of another person with any bodily part or object" (p. 10). German and Turkish rape legislation show several differences that will be discussed later. But the Istanbul Convention is a benchmark for the harmonization of rape definitions between countries with a shift to focusing on consent rather than, e.g., victim resistance.

To the best of my knowledge, no studies on prevalence or incidence rates of rape and sexual assault have been conducted in Turkey. According to the *United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime* (UNOCD), the rate of rapes reported to the police in Turkey was 2.3 per 100,000 population for both 2003 and 2004 prior to the reform of the criminal code, and 2.4, 2.5, 1.6, and 1.4 for the years 2005 to 2008 after the reform. In comparison, the number of reported rapes in Germany dropped from 10.6/10.7 per 100,000 population in 2003/2004 to 8.9 in 2008 (UNODC, 2008). Although the legal definitions of rape in Turkey and Germany differ, the figures for both countries were reported to comply with the definition of rape as sexual intercourse without valid consent (UN-CTS M3.4).

¹ The present study is limited to female victims and male perpetrators and, therefore, only female pronouns will be used to refer to the victim, and male pronouns for the perpetrator (unless otherwise noted). This is not meant to imply that victims cannot be male or that perpetrators cannot be female.

² Istanbul Convention, Article 36 – Sexual violence, including rape:

¹ Parties shall take the necessary legislative or other measures to ensure that the following intentional conducts are criminalised:

a engaging in non-consensual vaginal, anal or oral penetration of a sexual nature of the body of another person with any bodily part or object;

b engaging in other non-consensual acts of a sexual nature with a person;

c causing another person to engage in non-consensual acts of a sexual nature with a third person.

² Consent must be given voluntarily as the result of the person's free will assessed in the context of the surrounding circumstances.

³ Parties shall take the necessary legislative or other measures to ensure that the provisions of paragraph 1 also apply to acts committed against former or current spouses or partners as recognised by internal law.

However, the number of police-reported assaults is likely to underestimate the number of actual rapes since reporting rates for sexual assault and rape are notoriously low. Based on a three year average, it was estimated that only between 16 and 26% of rapes in England and Wales were reported to the police (Ministry of Justice Home Office & the Office for National Statistics, 2013). This is similar to the 22% of reported rapes in a US American student sample (Sloan, Fisher, & Cullen, 1997) and 18 and 21% (intimate and non-intimate perpetrator respectively) of reported rapes in the US American *National Violence Against Women Survey* (Tjaden & Thoennes, 2006). The average reporting rate to the police for sexual assault (not just rape) was 14% in the *International Crime Victimization Survey*, but reporting rates for non-Western countries (e.g., Turkey) were lower compared to Western countries (e.g., Germany) (Chon, 2014).

Among those cases that are reported to the police, attrition rates are high (see Temkin & Krahé, 2008, for an overview). Many cases that are reported to the police do not proceed beyond the investigative stage (L. Kelly, Lovett, & Regan, 2005). For example, based on the three year average noted above, 7% of the cases that were reported to the police (estimated 16 to 26% of all rape cases in England and Wales) ended in a conviction; that is 1-2% of the estimated total number of rapes (Ministry of Justice Home Office & the Office for National Statistics, 2013).

Comprehensive research on the situation specifically of rape victims³ in Turkey is hard to come by, but sources on related subjects provide some insight into the situation of victims of sexual violence as well. Traditional Turkish culture emphasizes 'family honor' which is threatened by women's perceived sexual or moral impurity (Moghadam, 1996; as cited in Sakallı-Uğurlu et al., 2007; Parla, 2001; Sev'Er & Yurdakul, 2001). Newspapers are likely to cover more extreme cases, but reports about girls being married to their rapist to restore the family honor⁴ or a woman who killed her repeated rapist to cleanse her honor⁵ point to the intense social pressure that may accompany rape allegations and aggravate the situation of victims far beyond the rape itself. Cortina and Wasti (2005) found that Turkish and Hispanic women who experienced sexual harassment at the workplace showed a greater tendency to negotiate directly with or to avoid the harasser rather than seeking support from authorities (compared to Anglo-American women) and the authors suggest that this may stem from a greater fear of blame or loss of personal and family reputation.

³ Many people who have been raped prefer the term 'rape survivor' over 'rape victim' (e.g., Hockett, 2013; The DC Rape Crisis Center, 2010). In this study, the term 'victim' will be used as it describes the role of the assaulted person in both rape and robbery cases ('victim of a crime').

⁴ "Where girls marry rapists for honor" (Zaman, 2005);

[&]quot;Turkish honor code allows legal sale of daughter to rapist" (Yenginsu, 2012)

⁵ "Turkish woman awaits trial after beheading her alleged rapist" (Kayali, 2012);

[&]quot;Turks protest prison term for woman who killed her rapist" (Hurtas, 2015)

Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International report dire and outright dangerous situations for domestic and sexual violence victims, e.g., when shelter locations are disclosed by the police or schools, or victims are refused help by the police, sent back home and told to reconcile with their spouses (Eissenstat, 2011; Human Rights Watch, 2011). Laws intended to provide (immediate) protection from harm exist but fail to be consistently implemented (e.g., Law 4320 on the Protection of the Family; Human Rights Watch, 2011).

The Turkish Municipal Law No. 5393 states that "[t]he Greater City Municipalities and the municipalities having population more than 50.000 shall open houses for women and children welfare" (Article 14, 2005). According to Human Rights Watch (2011), at least 166 cities in Turkey have more than 50,000 inhabitants, with many more 50,000+ municipalities within those cities, so that several hundred shelters would be necessary to fulfill the requirement; but estimates of the actual number of shelters vary from 52 over 62 (Human Rights Watch, 2011) to 84 (Jones, 2012) in a country with a population of nearly 80 million (Central Intelligence Agency, 2015).

Victims of sexual assault and rape suffer from a number of negative consequences with regard to physical, mental as well as behavioral health. Physical health consequences include injuries (e.g., genital injuries, but also bruises, broken bones, or head/spinal cord injuries), pregnancy, sexually transmitted diseases, and gastrointestinal problems (e.g., indigestion) (Martin, Macy, & Young, 2010; Tjaden & Thoennes, 2006). Compared to non-victims, victimized women show higher rates of psychological problems, e.g., posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD), anxiety, depression, and suicide ideation and attempts, as well as more high-risk behaviors, e.g., alcohol, tobacco, or drug use, or unsafe sex behaviors (see Martin et al., 2010, for an overview).

Another source of distress for rape victims can be their social environment in reaction to rape disclosures: Instead of support, victims of rape may be held responsible for their own victimization and face hostility, suspicion, and disbelief – a phenomenon called *victim blaming* that results in shifting the blame from the perpetrator to the victim (Temkin & Krahé, 2008).

Victim-blaming behavior from systems personnel, e.g., from the legal, medical, and mental health system, is a 'secondary victimization' which adds to the trauma that rape victims endure (Ahrens, Campbell, Ternier-Thames, Wasco, & Sefl, 2007; Campbell, Wasco, Ahrens, Sefl, & Barnes, 2001; Wheatcroft, Wagstaff, & Moran, 2009). Victims who blame themselves or experience negative and unsupportive reactions from others report an increased difficulty of coping with their victimization (Martin et al., 2010). Victim-blaming reactions of medical or legal systems personnel are associated with higher levels of PTSD among victims (Campbell et al., 2001). Rape victims do not consistently receive comprehensive medical and mental health care (Campbell, 2008). In their sample of female veterans, reporting their victimization to the (military or civilian) police frequently

made the victims feel guilty or blame themselves, and made them reluctant to seek further help (Campbell & Raja, 2005).

The acceptance of rape-supportive attitudes and a persistently held stereotype that a 'real' rape is committed by a violent stranger who tries to physically coerce a victim that struggles to resist (e.g., Estrich, 1987) has been linked to victim blaming and is especially pronounced in cases that deviate from the stereotype (Campbell et al., 1999). Victim blaming has been linked to the low reporting rates of sexual violence; and reasons for not disclosing their victimization to authorities include not thinking the event was rape or not thinking the police/others will define the event as rape, fear of disbelief, blame, and judgment, as well as distrust of the police, courts, or the legal process (Regan & Kelly, 2003). Therefore, it is not surprising that sexually assaulted women were found to be more likely to report to the police when their case matches the real rape stereotype (e.g., when the rape is committed by a stranger, involved the use of a weapon, or resulted in physical injuries) and their cases are more likely to be prosecuted (Campbell et al., 2001; Du Mont, Miller, & Myhr, 2003; Fisher, Daigle, Cullen, & Turner, 2003).

Rape victims' worries about the justice system seem justified: Law enforcement or legal system personnel at times discourages victims from filing a report or refuses to take it, tells victims the case is not serious enough to pursue or that they do not believe the victim's story, especially in non-stranger rapes (e.g., Campbell & Raja, 2005; Campbell, 2008; Campbell et al., 1999). Several factors undermine victim credibility and are associated with higher attrition, e.g., when the victim was drunk or drugged, reported with delay, had a previous sexual or non-sexual relationship with the perpetrator, reported previous sexual victimization, showed psychiatric disturbance or intellectual impairment, had filed a previous rape complaint that was perceived to be false, had tried to conceal factors (e.g., heavy drinking), or was perceived to be immoral or promiscuous or as 'having asked for it' through their behavior or dress (Campbell et al., 2001; Du Mont et al., 2003; Fisher et al., 2003; Hester, 2013; Jordan, 2004; Lea, Lanvers, & Shaw, 2003; Temkin & Krahé, 2008; Wheatcroft et al., 2009).

The past decades have seen increased reporting of rape cases to the police in several countries, especially in Northern and Western Europe; but this increase in reporting was generally not matched by a comparable increase in conviction – leading to a decline in conviction rates (Lovett & Kelly, 2009). It is important to understand the factors that influence social decision-making. From a social-cognitive perspective, legal decision-making – although nominally data-driven – can also be influenced by stereotypic notions about rape (Temkin & Krahé, 2008). The stereotypical beliefs that surround sexual violence form a *cultural* definition of rape (Stewart, Dobbin, & Gatowski, 1996) that can be at odds with the *legal* definition. Both the cultural and the legal definition are normative in nature, and reliance on the cultural definition/stereotype of a 'real' rape would result in extra-legal

factors influencing legal decision-making. Any blame that is attributed to the victim of a crime automatically serves to reduce attribution of blame to the perpetrator (Krahé, 2013) and this has been linked to the high attrition rate of rape cases in the legal system (Temkin & Krahé, 2008).

Most of the research cited above was conducted in "Western" countries like Germany, the United Kingdom, and the United States. However, case reports from Turkey suggest that the situation is not more victim-friendly either, and may well be more severe (Human Rights Watch, 2011). In order to plan interventions and programs to counteract victim blaming in a "non-Western" country like Turkey, it is necessary to understand whether the judgment process is influenced by the same factors that were found to be important in "Western" countries.

This study seeks to obtain data which will help to address these research gaps. As stated above, the present study investigates the attribution of blame in rape cases in Turkey within the theoretical framework of schematic information processing. More specifically, it will be tested whether the independent variables victim-perpetrator relationship and the perpetrator's coercive strategy operate differently in the process of attributing blame to the female victims and male perpetrators of rape compared to robbery cases. Apart from the three independent variables *type of crime* (rape or robbery), *coercive strategy* (physical force or exploiting the defenselessness of a drunk victim), and *victim-perpetrator relationship* (stranger, acquaintance, or ex-partner), the role of participants' gender and rape myth acceptance (endorsement of rape-supportive attitudes) are expected to be associated with blame attributions and will be taken into account. Furthermore, it will be tested whether rape myth acceptance has a causal influence on blame ratings.

The short case descriptions (vignettes) that will be used in this study are Turkish versions of the scenarios in German used by Bieneck and Krahé (2011) which were translated specifically for this study and a previous unpublished research project. Using the same scenarios allows for better cross-cultural comparisons. This study adds to the still fairly thin body of studies in the field rape blame attribution in Turkey by investigating the use of schematic information processing (heuristics) for judgments about rape cases.

This thesis is divided into several chapters. Chapter 2 contains a literature review and theoretical considerations leading up to chapter 3 detailing the research question and ensuing hypotheses. Chapter 4 on the methodological aspects of this study presents the instruments used and goes into more detail of the translation process and important methodological considerations (p. 36). Results of the analysis will be presented in chapter 5. A discussion of the results and limitations of the study as well as a conclusion follows in chapter 6. A complete list of references for the work

cited in this thesis can be found in chapter 7. The Appendix contains the English or German versions of the instruments used in this study as well as their Turkish counterparts, an example questionnaire including the consent form, the relevant sections of the German and Turkish Criminal, and lastly a statement of authorship.

2 Theoretical Background

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce the relevant theoretical concepts and to review the literature on the subject. The first section 2.1 presents the belief in a 'just world' (where people get what they deserve and deserve what they get), the defensive attribution hypothesis, and schematic information processing as theoretical frameworks that have been used to investigate and explain victim blaming in rape cases. It then goes on to describe the 'real rape' stereotype of a violent attack of a male stranger on an unsuspecting woman within the larger framework of rape myths, i.e., stereotypical notions surrounding rape and sexual assault, e.g., about what constitutes a 'genuine' rape (section 2.2).

The subsequent section 2.3 provides a brief overview of factors that influence blame attributions in rape cases and then moves on to describe in greater detail the perceiver variables gender and rape myth acceptance, the victim variable alcohol consumption, and the contextual variable victim-perpetrator relationship and empirical results supporting the notion that victim blaming and rape myth acceptance are related to the low reporting rates of rape to the police compared to robbery.

Section 2.4 describes and discusses the popular vignette technique, i.e., short case descriptions, as a methodology to investigate judgments about rape cases. Particularities of the Turkish culture and empirical results obtained in Turkey so far will be presented in section 2.5.

2.1 Belief in a Just World, Defensive Attribution, and Schematic Information Processing

Several partially overlapping theories have been put forward to explain victim blaming and the negative view of victims in rape cases. All these theories can be viewed in the conceptual framework of attribution theory with its fundamental principle that people have a disposition, a basic need, to search for underlying causes of events in the world they experience (Försterling, 2013). Weiner's attributional theory of motivation and emotion (1985) states that the attempt to explain why an event happened is triggered particularly by incidents that are unexpected, negative or important. Rape allegations are typically unexpected and negative (Temkin & Krahé, 2008), even if not necessarily subjectively important to an observer.

2.1.1 Just world theory

Attribution of blame to people who fall victim to negative events is not limited to rape cases but has also been found for, e.g., accidents, illness, unemployment, assault, or theft (see Hafer & Begue, 2005, for a summary). These findings have been linked to Lerner's (1980) 'just world' theory

which assumes that people have the need to believe in a world that is controllable – and where people get what they deserve and deserve what they get. Unjustified suffering is inconsistent with a just world and this conflict can be resolved by blaming the victim. Finding reasons why the victim "had it coming" allows to maintain a sense of control and deny personal vulnerability. Abrams et al. (2003) call the myth of only women with indecent behavior or moral deficits being in danger of rape a "special case of the belief in a just world" (p. 111). While some research was consistent with the just world hypothesis (e.g., Sakallı-Uğurlu, Yalçin, & Glick, 2007), results have been mixed (Hammond, Berry, & Rodriguez, 2011; Lambert & Raichle, 2000; see also van der Bruggen & Grubb, 2014, for a review).

2.1.2 Defensive attribution hypothesis

Shaver (1970) suggested that the level of blame that observers attribute is influenced by their perceived similarity and identification with the victim. If observers feel the victim might have just as easily been themselves, blaming the victim would be like stigmatizing themselves (Bell, Kuriloff, & Lottes, 1994). Bell et al. (1994) further speculate that women might find it easier to imagine falling victim to a stranger rape, which increases identification with the victim and thus lowers the attribution of blame in those cases. But trust in their own social network and personal competency might convince them to be dissimilar from, e.g., a date rape victim who chose her partner poorly, which would allow more victim blame (Bell et al., 1994). Grubb and Harrower (2008) pointed out that the research on the defensive attribution hypothesis is mostly correlational (e.g., Idisis, Ben-David, & Ben-Nachum, 2007; Muller et al., 1994) and thus causal conclusions and generalizability are limited. Most research focuses on female victims and male perpetrators and this confounds the role of victim and perpetrator with gender category (Temkin & Krahé, 2008). Gerber et al. (2004) suggested that men's greater tendency to exonerate the perpetrator might be due to their identification with the male perpetrator rather than the female victim. Gerber et al. (2004) systematically varied the victim and perpetrator gender in their sexual assault vignettes but found that men were generally more inclined than women to exonerate the perpetrator regardless of victim and perpetrator gender.

2.1.3 Schematic information processing

Both the just world theory and the defensive attribution hypothesis center around cognitive adaptation when an individuals' view of the world or themselves is threatened by negative events. These cognitive adaptations focus on observers' self-protective distortions that serve to bolster their positive view of themselves, to deny personal vulnerability, and to ensure a sense of control. Other researchers focus on schematic information processing, a social-cognitive approach within attribution theory and the mechanisms of social decision-making to explain victim blaming in rape cases.

When people judge social information, two modes of information processing are available: Either "careful, elaborate thinking" or "'quick and dirty' processing" (Kunda, 1999, both p. 107). Careful, elaborate thinking and the close examination of available information requires substantial cognitive resources and observers need sufficient motivation and sufficient knowledge to engage in this data-driven mode of information processing. When this is not the case, people refer to their generalized cognitive schemata, i.e., heuristics or 'mental shortcuts', to arrive at a conclusion about a given social situation.

As Temkin and Krahé (2008) describe, incomplete information, contradictory accounts of the victim and perpetrator and ambiguous information that is open to interpretation are common in rape cases and can make it too difficult or too cumbersome for observers to engage in a data-driven appraisal of the information. Therefore, Temkin and Krahé (2008) argue that the more ambiguous the case, the more it should be susceptible to schema-driven interpretations: Observers can refer to their stereotypic notions and generalized beliefs about rape to compensate for the lack of data-based indicators. Schemata allow observers to base their judgement on key elements of the provided information, e.g., the victim's skimpy clothing, or to make inferences about things that were not part of the case information, that is, to "go beyond the information given" (Bruner, 1957, 2006, p. 22), such as inferring that the victim consented because of previous consensual sexual intercourse.

2.2 Rape Myths and the 'Real Rape' Stereotype

The 'real rape' stereotype. As mentioned above, one type of schema surrounding rape is the 'real rape' stereotype of a stranger's violent attack on an unsuspecting woman who attempts to resist (e.g., Estrich, 1987; Rozee, 1999; Williams, 1984). When observers engage in schematic information processing, this stereotypical view of what constitutes a 'genuine' rape serves as a template against which specific rape cases are judged; and cases that deviate from this template are considered to be no rape at all or a less severe type (Wheatcroft et al., 2009), even by victims themselves (e.g., Kahn et al., 2003; Peterson & Muehlenhard, 2004).

Rape myths and their definition. The real rape stereotype is embedded in a larger set of cultural beliefs that surround sexual violence and allow to justify and trivialize rape and sexual assault on both a personal (Bohner, Jarvis, Eyssel, & Siebler, 2005) and societal level (Bohner, 1998; Brownmiller, 1975; Lambert & Raichle, 2000). The concept of rape myths (or rape-supportive attitudes) has been introduced in the 1970s (e.g., Brownmiller, 1975) and Burt (1980) defined rape myths as "prejudicial, stereotyped, or false beliefs about rape, rape victims and rapists" (p. 217). Lonsway and Fitzgerald (1994) added a function that rape-supportive attitudes have in society in their definition of rape myths as "attitudes and beliefs that are generally false but are widely and

persistently held, and that serve to deny and justify male sexual aggression against women" (p. 134). Bohner (1998) criticized the difficulty of establishing a myth as "false", e.g., because they are empirically unfalsifiable ("Many women secretly desire to be raped"; Payne, Lonsway, & Fitzgerald, 1999) or because they are prescriptive rather than descriptive ("A woman should be responsible for preventing her own rape"; Costin, 1985; both examples as cited in Gerger et al., 2007). Furthermore, a myth that is no longer "widely and persistently held" would cease to be a myth under Lonsway and Fitzgerald's definition (1994). Based on this criticism, Bohner (1998) suggested defining rape myths as "descriptive or prescriptive beliefs about rape (i.e. about its cases, context, consequences, perpetrators, victims and their interaction) that serve to deny, downplay or justify sexual violence that men commit against women" (p. 14). Rape myths and victim blaming are not limited to female victims; male rape victims are also blamed for their victimization, especially when the victim and/or perpetrator deviate from traditional gender role expectations, e.g., when the perpetrator is female or the victim is gay (see Davies & Rogers, 2006, for a review).

Content areas of rape myths. Rape myths refer to different content areas, e.g., the denial of the scope of the problem, antagonism toward victims' demands, a lack of support for policies designed to help alleviate the effects of sexual violence, beliefs that male coercion forms a natural part of sexual relationships, or beliefs that exonerate the male perpetrator by blaming the victim or the circumstances (Gerger et al., 2007). Cowan and Quinton (1997) described six different causal beliefs about rape: (1) female precipitation, i.e., the notion that women provoke their assault by the way they behave or dress, (2) male sexuality, which blames men's uncontrollable sex drive for rape, (3) male hostility, i.e., the belief that men's anger and hostility toward women causes rape, (4) society/socialization that blames society's tolerance for (male) violence for rape, (5) male dominance, which emphasizes the traditionally dominant role of men in society as a cause of rape, and (6) male pathology, i.e., the belief that men who rape are mentally deficient. Generally, rape myths can be thought of as a cultural definition of rape (Stewart et al., 1996).

Pervasiveness of rape-supportive attitudes. Acceptance of rape myths has been found in a variety of countries (e.g., Costin & Schwarz, 1987; Ward, 1995, as cited in Temkin & Krahé, 2008) and throughout society. Most studies use (non-law) student samples (e.g., Gölge, Yavuz, Müderrisoğlu, & Yavuz, 2003; Krahé et al., 2007), but rape myth acceptance was also found among the general public (Temkin & Krahé, 2008, Study 3), police officers (Sleath & Bull, 2012; Wheatcroft et al., 2009), undergraduate law students and post-graduate trainee lawyers (*Gerichtsreferendare*; Krahé, Temkin, Bieneck, & Berger, 2008), the clergy (Sheldon & Parent, 2002), and more pronounced in non-therapists than therapists (Idisis et al., 2007). Among legal professionals like judges, stereotypical notions about rape can manifest directly, e.g., through comments, or indirectly by not applying the

law robustly (e.g., California Commision on Judicial Performance, 2012; Supreme Court of the State of Montana, 2014; Temkin & Krahé, 2008).

Correlates of rape myth acceptance. Meta-analyses and reviews found rape myth acceptance and victim blaming to be consistently associated with traditional gender role beliefs, tolerance for aggression and acceptance of interpersonal violence in general or hostile attitudes and behavior toward women in particular (see Anderson et al., 1997; Grubb & Turner, 2012; Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994; Pollard, 1992; Suarez & Gadalla, 2010, for meta-analyses and reviews). In a series of studies conducted in the United States, England, Israel, West Germany and Turkey, Costin and colleagues found rape myth acceptance to be associated with restrictive beliefs about women's social roles (Costin & Kaptanoğlu, 1993; Costin & Schwarz, 1987; Costin, 1985).

Furthermore, rape myth acceptance has been linked to other oppressive (or intolerant) belief systems, such as sexism, racism, homophobia, classism (prejudice against poor people), ageism (prejudice against the elderly), religious intolerance (Aosved & Long, 2006; see also Suarez & Gadalla, 2010) as well as right-wing authoritarianism, i.e., the submission to established authorities perceived as legitimate, an emphasis of conventionalism and uniformity, and hostile attitudes toward people who do not conform to societal norms (Süssenbach & Bohner, 2011).

2.2.1 Functions of rape myths

Bohner, Eyssel, Pina, and Viki (2009) describe cognitive, affective as well as behavioral functions of rape myths with a focus on women as victims and men as perpetrators of rape. In general, rape myths as a schema allows individuals to make sense of information about rape cases in a relatively effortless way (Bohner et al., 2009; Temkin & Krahé, 2008). The endorsement of the rape myths schema serves divergent functions for men and women.

Gender-specific functions for women. For women, endorsing rape myths serves as an anxiety buffer that minimizes the perceived threat of being victimized themselves, e.g., if a woman believes that only skimpily dressed women get raped, she can (subjectively) avoid the same fate by behaving differently. Women with low rape myth acceptance show decreased self-esteem after being reminded of rape, while women with high rape myth acceptance remain unaffected or even show the opposite effect (e.g., Bohner & Lampridis, 2004). One might expect that own sexual victimization experience would decrease rape myth acceptance and, consistent with the defensive attribution hypothesis, lead to less attribution of blame to rape victims. But previously victimized women show similar or only slightly lower results compared to non-victims (Carmody & Washington, 2001; Mason et al., 2004; see Anderson et al., 1997, for a meta-analysis). Carmody and Washington (2001) suggested two interpretations for their finding that victims and non-victims show the same level of rape myth acceptance finding: First of all, the victims and non-victims shared the same gender role

socialization with men as initiators of sexual contact and women as gatekeepers who are responsible for sexual morality and how much sexual activity occurs. Victims might still report an acceptance of rape myths and blame themselves for having failed in that role. The second interpretation is based on the just world hypothesis that people get what they deserve, which blames victims and is consistent with several rape myths, e.g., that women cause rape by the way they dress or behave.

Gender-specific functions for men. Rape myth acceptance allows men to rationalize their aggressive tendencies. Sykes and Matza (1957) proposed a set of neutralizing beliefs to explain how individuals can protect themselves from self-blame and blame from others after showing behavior that violates social norms or the law. Bohner et al. (2009) suggested that the content and function of rape myths are similar to these neutralizing beliefs, especially denial of responsibility ('It was not my fault', 'I was provoked'), denial of injury ('no harm was done'), and denial of the victim ('they had it coming'). Rape myth acceptance in men is positively related to self-reported rape proclivity (Abrams et al., 2003; Chiroro, Bohner, Viki, & Jarvis, 2004). Bohner and colleagues found evidence that rape myth acceptance causally affects rape proclivity in that the correlation between the two measures is higher for participants who are reminded of their rape-supported attitudes before completing the rape proclivity measures (Bohner et al., 1998; Bohner, Siebler, & Schmelcher, 2006; Eyssel, Bohner, & Siebler, 2006). Furthermore, Bohner, Jarvis, Eyssel, and Siebler (2005) found chronic accessibility of rape myths for men who reported that they used sexual coercion before.

Attribution of blame to victims of rape is not uniform and the following section will present some of the factors that influence judgments about rape cases.

2.3 Factors That Influence Attribution of Responsibility in Rape Cases

Victims in rape cases that deviate from the real rape stereotype are generally blamed more than victims of cases that match the stereotype. Factors that influence the attribution of blame in rape cases can be categorized into (1) perceiver variables, (2) victim variables, (3) perpetrator variables, and (4) contextual variables (Temkin & Krahé, 2008). Perceiver characteristics can be, e.g., gender, occupation, or rape myth acceptance. Victim and perpetrator variables can refer to stable characteristics like physical attractiveness, social status or occupation as well was behavior like alcohol consumption or in the case of victims, if they tried to resist the attack. Contextual variables can refer to, e.g., the location and time of day the assault took place or the relationship between victim and perpetrator.

2.3.1 Perceiver variable 'rape myth acceptance' and related attitudes

Rape myth acceptance and judgments about rape cases. The degree of endorsement of rape myths varies by culture (Ward, 1995), but this is unlikely to change the general relationship between rape myth acceptance and victim blaming. Observers with high compared to low endorsement of rape myths consistently attribute more blame to the victims of rape and less blame to the perpetrator (e.g., Krahé et al., 2007, 2008; Mason, Riger, & Foley, 2004; Sleath & Bull, 2012). They also find victims to be less credible (e.g., Wenger & Bornstein, 2006), are less certain that an incident was rape (e.g., Temkin & Krahé, 2008, Study 1), judge the rape to be less traumatic (e.g., Frese et al., 2004), recommend lower sentences for the perpetrator (e.g., Temkin & Krahé, 2008, Study 2) and are more likely to believe that the rape was avoidable (e.g., Kopper, 1996). Observers with high compared to low rape myth acceptance are more likely to believe that sexual coercion is at times to be expected and acceptable in several common dating situations (Morry & Winkler, 2001). Even when their experience meets the legal definition of rape, victims who endorse rape myths are less likely to label their experience rape (Peterson & Muehlenhard, 2004) or to report the incident to the police (Du Mont et al., 2003; Fisher et al., 2003; Heath, Lynch, Fritch, McArthur, & Smith, 2011; Heath, Lynch, Fritch, & Wong, 2013). The effect of rape myth acceptance on blame ratings in rape cases is greater when the information provided is mixed or irrelevant, or if people falsely believe to be informed (see Bohner et al., 2009, for a summary). In their review, Grubb and Turner (2012) found rape myth acceptance and rape victim blaming to be interrelated to such a high degree that they describe the two concepts to be synonymous with each propagating the other.

beliefs have also been found to be related to victim blaming in rape cases. Traditional gender role beliefs have also been found to be related to victim blaming in rape cases (e.g., Ben-David & Schneider, 2005; Simonson & Subich, 1999). Results pertaining to sexism suggest that rape myth acceptance alone may be too broad a concept to capture the differing reactions to cases that conform to or deviate from the real rape stereotype (Abrams et al., 2003). Sexism has two different facets: Hostile sexism, i.e. openly negative gender stereotypes, and benevolent sexism, i.e., attitudes that value women who conform to traditional gender roles and beliefs about "how a good and respectable woman should behave" (Abrams et al., 2003, p. 121). Both hostile and benevolent sexism are related to the attribution of blame to rape victims (e.g., Sakallı-Uğurlu et al., 2007). Hostile sexism has been linked to higher rape proclivity and the belief that an acquaintance rape victim really wanted sex (Abrams et al., 2003, Study 3). But the role of benevolent sexism in blame attribution seems to be more intricate and strongly depends on the information about the case. The level of benevolent sexism is irrelevant for stranger rape cases where the woman can be more easily viewed as the innocent victim (Viki, Abrams, & Masser, 2004). Victims in acquaintance rape cases might be

seen as having behaved in a manner that is inappropriate for women by inviting a relationship with a man, and observers high in benevolent sexism attribute more blame to the victim of acquaintance rape, especially when she deviates from traditional gender roles (Abrams et al., 2003, Study 1 & 2; Viki & Abrams, 2002). Adding to the complexity, Masser, Lee, and McKimmie (2010) found more victim blaming in rape cases where the victim was both a 'bad' woman (leaving her children unattended sleeping in their beds while going to a party) as well as a 'bad' victim (not trying to resist the attacker and unwilling to cooperate with the police). Building on that study, McKimmie, Masser, and Bongiorno (2014) found that being a 'good' (trying to resist the attack and fully cooperating with the police) or 'bad' victim had a greater influence on judgments in acquaintance compared to stranger rape cases, supporting the notion of a hierarchy of schemata.

2.3.2 Perceiver variable 'gender'

Another widely studies perceiver variable apart from rape myth acceptance is gender. Past research often found men to be more willing to blame the victim of rape than women (e.g., Akvardar & Yüksel, 1993; as cited in Gölge et al., 2003; Anderson et al., 1997; Costin & Kaptanoğlu, 1993; Costin & Schwarz, 1987; Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994), but recent years have brought about more studies that found no gender differences (for reviews, see Ferrão & Gonçalves, 2015, for the years 2000 to 2015; or Pollard, 1992, for earlier studies). Although some studies found no differences in rape myth acceptance between men and women (e.g., Krahé et al., 2007, Study 1; Temkin & Krahé, 2008, Study 2), most studies report that men endorse rape myths more than women (see Ferrão & Gonçalves, 2015; or Grubb & Harrower, 2008).

Rape myth acceptance as a mediator of the effect of gender on blame attribution. As

Temkin and Krahé (2008) describe, gender can have no explanatory power for blame ratings by itself, but can only be an indicator, a marker, for differing perceptions between men and women. Because men generally endorse rape myths more than women and attribute more blame to rape victims, rape myth acceptance has been suggested to act as a mediator between gender and judgments about rape cases, i.e., that men blame the victims more and the perpetrators less because they endorse rape myths more than women do.

Bohner, Reinhard, Rutz, Sturm, and Effler (1998) suggested testing the causal influence of rape myth acceptance by manipulating their relative cognitive accessibility ('cognitive priming'). 'Cognitive priming' is a phenomenon from social cognition research. It leverages the effect that reminding participants of certain concepts they hold about the world guides their attention and interpretation of subsequent information (Kunda, 1999). Therefore, reminding participants of their rape-supportive attitudes (the 'prime') immediately prior to a judgment task would activate the associations related to rape myth acceptance and should thus influence their responses in following

measures, e.g., blame ratings after reading scenarios. To test the priming effect, half the sample are given the rape myth acceptance scales before the scenarios ('RMA first') while the other half completes the scenarios first, followed by the rape myth acceptance scales ('Scenarios first'). If the correlation between rape myth acceptance and scenario blame ratings is higher in the 'RMA first' group compared to the 'Scenarios first' group, this would point to their causal role in the judgment process. If the reverse was true and rape myths were adopted to justify pre-existing tendencies to e.g., blame the victim, correlations between rape myth acceptance and blame ratings should be higher in the 'Scenarios first' group compared to the 'RMA first" group. Another possibility would be that both rape myth acceptance and blame ratings were influenced in the same direction by a third variable. In this case correlations should not differ between the 'RMA first' and 'Scenarios first' condition.

Bohner et al. (1998, 2005) focused on the causal role of rape myth acceptance with regard to men's self-reported rape proclivity. Temkin and Krahé (2008, Study 2) investigated the causal role of rape myth acceptance on victim and perpetrator blame in rape cases as well as rape certainty. They found that the link between rape myth acceptance and victim blame ratings was higher among 'RMA first' participants who were reminded of their rape-supportive attitudes *before* completing the scenarios (compared to the 'Scenarios first' group). While the effect was in the expected direction for perpetrator blame and rape certainty as well, it reached significance only for victim blame. The notion that gender differences in rape myth acceptance cause differences in blame attributions is further supported by studies where a lack of gender differences in rape myth acceptance is matched by a lack of differences in blame ratings (e.g., Krahé et al., 2007, Study 1; Temkin & Krahé, 2008, Study 2).

2.3.3 Victim variable 'alcohol consumption'

Attribution of blame to the victim of rape cases is influenced by participants' perception of what kind of person the victim is, e.g., with regard to respectability (Whatley, 1996), past sexual behavior (Schuller & Hastings, 2002), or victim dress (Gölge et al., 2003).

Another important variable is victim behavior, notably alcohol consumption. Victims who are drunk at the time of the assault are perceived as less credible than sober victims (Schuller & Wall, 1998; Wenger & Bornstein, 2006). Generally, victims who are too drunk to resist are blamed more for their assault compared to victims who were overpowered; conversely, perpetrators who exploit the victim's alcohol-induced defenselessness are blamed less than perpetrators who use physical force (Krahé et al., 2007). T. C. Kelly (2009; as cited in van der Bruggen & Grubb, 2014) found indication that victim intoxication or sobriety is judged differently in the general population compared to student samples. Bieneck and Krahé (2011) compared cases of rape to cases of robbery and found that information about victim intoxication operated differently within the two types of crime. When

the victim was drunk compared to sober, she was blamed more and the perpetrator less in the rape cases, while this information made no difference for the attribution of blame in the robbery cases. This supports the notion of a double standard surrounding sexual assault that treats perpetrators of rape more leniently when the victim was drunk and puts victims of rape at a disadvantage, particularly when the case deviates from the real rape stereotype (Bieneck & Krahé, 2011).

2.3.4 Contextual variable 'victim-perpetrator relationship'

According to the real rape stereotype described above, perpetrators of 'real rapes' are strangers, although research shows that only between 10 and 20% of rapes are committed by a person not known to the victim (Du Mont et al., 2003; Fisher, Cullen, & Turner, 2000; L. Kelly et al., 2005; Ministry of Justice Home Office & the Office for National Statistics, 2013; Tjaden & Thoennes, 2006; Walby & Allen, 2004). When investigating the impact of a prior victim-perpetrator relationship on judgments about rape cases, research often distinguishes between rape committed by a stranger, an acquaintance, a date, or a current or former partner (e.g., Frese et al., 2004; Temkin & Krahé, 2008, Study 3; see Grubb & Harrower, 2008; or van der Bruggen & Grubb, 2014, for a summary). Generally, more blame is attributed to victims for their assault when they knew their attacker (e.g., Abrams, Viki, Masser, & Bohner, 2003; Krahé, Temkin, & Bieneck, 2007; Viki, Abrams, & Masser, 2004). When the victim and perpetrator had prior sexual intercourse, perceivers find the victim less credible, more blameworthy and are more likely to believe the victim consented (Schuller & Hastings, 2002). Being raped by a stranger is also rated to be more serious and traumatic compared to assailants known to the victim (e.g., Ben-David & Schneider, 2005; Frese et al., 2004; Simonson & Subich, 1999). Participants with strong beliefs that women precipitate their victimization, e.g., by the way they behave or dress, have been found to be more inclined to make use of information about a prior relationship between victim and perpetrator compared to participants with low rape myth acceptance (Frese et al., 2004; Krahé et al., 2007, 2008).

In Bieneck and Krahé's study (2011) that compared cases of rape to cases of robbery, information about a prior relationship between victim and perpetrator affected blame ratings in rape but not in robbery cases. The closer the relationship between the two, the more blame was attributed to victims who were raped, while victim blame ratings were unaffected by information about the relationship. As was the case for the effect of coercive strategy, Bieneck and Krahé's results (2011) support the notion of a double standard surrounding sexual assault that treats perpetrators of rape more leniently the closer the relationship to the victim which puts victims of rapes that deviate from the real rape stereotype in particular at a disadvantage.

2.3.5 Type of crime: Blame attribution in rape compared to robbery cases

Fisher et al. (2003) found in their national US American sample that women who were sexually assaulted were more likely to report their victimization to the police when the case showed

elements that made it more 'believable', e.g., when the perpetrator was a stranger or used a weapon. The United Nations report on "Progress of the world's women in pursuit of justice" indicated for a variety of countries that victims of robbery are generally much more likely to report the incident to the police compared to victims of sexual assault (UN Women, 2011). The greater reluctance of sexual assault victims to report their victimization compared to robbery victims might indicate a greater negative bias toward sexual assault victims. Reasons why rape victims choose not to report their victimization to the police include criminal justice concerns (e.g., lack of proof or fear of being treated badly by police, lawyers, or other parts of the criminal justice system), not wanting others to know, or non-acknowledgement of rape (e.g., not clear it was a crime or that was intended) (Cohn, Zinzow, Resnick, & Kilpatrick, 2013). The criminal justice concerns seem justified, as legal system personnel at times discourages victims from filing a report or refuses to take it, tells victims the case is not serious enough to pursue or that they do not believe the victim's story, especially in non-stranger rapes (e.g., Campbell & Raja, 2005; Campbell, 2008; Campbell et al., 1999).

Bieneck and Krahé (2011) note that while many studies looked at victim and perpetrator blaming in sexual assault and rape cases, only few experimental studies investigated whether the tendencies found for sexual assault are specific for these cases or extend to other criminal offenses.

In an Indian student sample, victims of robbery were blamed more than victims of rape (Kanekar, Pinto, & Mazumdar, 1985). Brems and Wagner (1994; Study 2) also found more blame attributed to the violently attacked victim of theft than to the victim of rape in a US American female student sample. But Bieneck and Krahé (2011) note that their scenario implied higher victim fault in the theft case by highlighting the display of jewelry by the victim.

In a German student sample, Bieneck and Krahé (2011) found that the tendency to blame the victim and exonerate the perpetrator was more pronounced in rape cases than in robbery cases. Furthermore, information about a previous relationship between victim and perpetrator and about the perpetrator's coercive strategy (physical force or exploiting the victim's alcohol-induced incapacitation) operated differently within the two crimes: The closer the relationship between the two (stranger, acquaintance, ex-partner), the more blame was attributed to the victim and the less blame was attributed to the perpetrator. Information about the victim's alcohol consumption (compared to being overpowered by physical force) increased victim blame and decreased perpetrator blame in the rape cases. While the victim-perpetrator relationship and the perpetrator's coercive strategy critically affected how participants judged the rape cases, blame attributions in the robbery cases for both victim and perpetrator blame remained unaffected by these characteristics. The results suggest a special leniency bias in cases of rape compared to robbery (Bieneck & Krahé, 2011).

2.4 Vignette Methodology

The 'vignette technique' is a popular methodology to investigate attributions of responsibility in the context of sexual aggression (e.g., Brems & Wagner, 1994; Frese et al., 2004; Gölge et al., 2003; Krahé et al., 2007; Viki et al., 2004). Vignettes are short descriptions of an event and normally contain some additional information about the circumstances of the critical incident and/or what happened before or after. After reading the description, participants are usually asked to complete a set of questions pertaining to the scenario they just learned about. For rape cases, this could be questions about victim blame, perpetrator blame, rape certainty, or sentencing suggestions (see Temkin & Krahé, 2008, for an overview). Many studies use vignettes in a text format, but there are alternatives such as audio- or video format or additional use of photographs (Temkin & Krahé, 2008; Süssenbach et al., 2013). Text-based vignettes are very economical as they can be easily administered in a questionnaire format to many participants at the same time without the need for specialized equipment. A major advantage of vignettes is that they allow the systematic variation of critical variables whose influence researchers want to investigate while holding other variables constant, e.g., the victim-perpetrator relationship prior to the event or whether the victim was drunk or sober (Temkin & Krahé, 2008). However, the vignette technique has been criticized for using oversimplified, hypothetical and unrealistic cases not motivating enough for participants to examine carefully and the resulting limited ecological validity, i.e., the extent to which results generalize to real-life situations.

Over-simplified, unrealistic vignettes? Vignettes are necessarily short and simplified and have been criticized as too artificial and simplistic to represent real cases (O'Dell, Crafter, Abreu, & Cline, 2012). It is unknown how participants would behave in real life (van der Bruggen & Grubb, 2014), but Bieneck (2009) argued that basic research seeks to understand the underlying processes of impression formation and social decision-making and is less interested in specific results. To ensure that cases are realistic, Bieneck (2009) suggested building vignettes based on court-documented cases. Süssenbach, Eyssel, and Bohner (2013) further criticized that short descriptions run the risk of drawing the attention of the participants to the relevant cues and as participants know they are part of a study, they might interpret any information provided in the descriptions as relevant. Temkin and Krahé (2008) did not disagree with this criticism but rather argued that telling participants what happened provides much less room for interpretation compared to e.g., having to work out the events from contradictory accounts of the complainant and defendant in real trials: If participants show reliance on stereotypical notions even in these comparatively clear-cut situations, the effect is likely to be more pronounced under uncertainty.

Lack of motivation or knowledge? As described before, data-driven information processing requires substantial cognitive resources (Kunda, 1999) and participants need sufficient motivation and sufficient knowledge to engage in a data-driven appraisal of the available information. Simplified and hypothetical cases might not be motivating enough for participants to closely examine the available information (Bieneck & Krahé, 2011). Supporting this view, Krahé et al. (2007) successfully suppressed reliance on generalized beliefs when judging rape cases in participants with strong female precipitation beliefs who were led to believe they might be chosen to justify their judgment in front of a group. According to J. S. Lerner and Tetlock (1999), an attenuation of bias when confronted with accountability suggests "(a) a lack of self-critical attention to the judgement process and (b) failure to use relevant cues" (p. 270). Krahé et al.'s results (2007) suggest that the participants' reliance on generalized beliefs without accountability was at least partially due to a lack of motivation to engage in data-driven information processing rather than, e.g., a lack of knowledge.

Accountability should have no effect in situations where "(a) a given bias results from lack of special training in formal decision rules and (b) no amount of increased effort illuminates these rules" (J. S. Lerner & Tetlock, 1999, p. 270). Other studies also support the notion that reliance on generalized beliefs about rape and rape myth acceptance is not due to a lack of knowledge: If participants 'just didn't know better', providing the legal definition should make a difference. However, Krahé et al. (2008) found no difference in the judgments of postgraduate trainee lawyers who were provided with the legal definition of rape compared to those who were not, even though the participants provided with the legal definition were instructed to "base [their] assessment of the cases that follow on the definition provided by the law" (p. 472). Both groups relied on generalized beliefs about rape when making judgments about the cases. In his summary of rape prevention programs, Schewe (2002) noted that the knowledge/rape awareness programs failed to influence rape empathy or attitudes about rape. Providing knowledge alone appears to be no effective countermeasure against reliance on rape stereotypes while accountability seems to be effective. The argument mentioned above applies here as well: Telling participants what happened provides relatively little room for interpretation and allows for a more effortless data-driven appraisal of the information compared to having to figure out what happened, e.g., from contradictory accounts of the victim and perpetrator. If participants show reliance on stereotypical notions even in these comparatively clear-cut situations, the effect is likely to be more pronounced under uncertainty (Temkin & Krahé, 2008).

2.5 Turkey

2.5.1 Turkish culture

Most of the research on rape myth acceptance and victim blaming has been conducted in countries in the "North American mainstream" (Krahé et al., 2007, p. 601) or "Western nations" (Sakalli-Uğurlu, Yalçin, & Glick, 2007, p. 889), e.g., the United States, the United Kingdom, or Germany. Several studies indicate that findings from Western countries generally apply in Turkey as well, but due to cultural differences, the extent of the generalizability is not yet clear.

Turkish culture is a 'culture of honor' (Moghadam, 1996; as cited in Sakalli-Uğurlu et al., 2007; Sev'Er & Yurdakul, 2001) with higher endorsement of traditional gender roles (see Sakalli-Uğurlu et al., 2007) and sexist attitudes (Glick et al., 2000) compared to Western countries. Hofstede (1980) also found high power distance (i.e., support for social hierarchy) in Turkey.

Traditional Turkish culture places a high burden on women to be sexually and morally pure (Parla, 2001). Women who are perceived to be sexually impure threaten the family honor and 'honor killings' of the women in question are the most extreme form to 'restore the family honor' (Sev'Er & Yurdakul, 2001). In fact, before the reform of the Turkish Criminal Code in 2004, rape and sexual assault were defined as crimes against public decency and family order rather than crimes against an individual (Parla, 2001). The *Statute for Awards and Discipline in the High School Education Institutions* of the Ministry of Education from January 31, 1995 stated that students 'proven' to be unchaste could be expelled from school; evidence was gathered through 'virginity tests' performed on female students (Anıl et al., 2005). Virginity tests were banned in 1999 and the 'unchastity' reference of the statute changed in 2002 to behavior that "contradicts commonly accepted social values and influences the educational atmosphere in a negative way" (Anıl et al., 2005, p. 60). The new Turkish Criminal Code criminalizes genital examination without authorization from a judge or prosecutor, but the respective Article 287 has been criticized for not explicitly naming and banning the practice and not requiring the woman's consent (Anıl et al., 2005).

The Turkish Constitution stipulates gender equality (Anıl et al., 2005), but Arin (1996) found high endorsement with the statements that restrict women's rights, such as "men should have absolute authority over women" (western Turkey: 56%; eastern Turkey: 73%) and "have the right to punish women if they are challenged by them" (western Turkey: 36%; eastern Turkey: 57%; as cited in Sev'Er & Yurdakul, 2001, p. 969-970). Costin and Kaptanoğlu's results (1993) for the correlation of restrictive beliefs about women's social roles and rights and rape myth acceptance were similar to those found in England, the United States, West Germany, and Israel (Costin & Schwarz, 1987; Costin, 1985).

2.5.2 Rape myth acceptance and judgments about rape cases in Turkey

AMMSA and FPB scale in Turkey. Acceptance with the items of a Turkish version of the Female Precipitation Beliefs scale (FPB; Cowan & Quinton, 1997) in an unpublished research project was nearly identical to results found by Temkin and Krahé (2008, Study 1) in a sample of undergraduate law students in the United Kingdom. Temkin and Krahé's (2008) Study 2 with vocational law students and Study 3 with members of the general public showed slightly lower agreement. The unpublished research project used a Turkish version of the Acceptance of Modern Myths About Sexual Aggression scale (AMMSA; Gerger et al., 2007) and found agreement with the AMMSA statements to be higher compared to results from German (current or former) student samples (e.g., Krahé et al., 2008; Süssenbach, Eyssel, Rees, & Bohner, 2015) and lower compared to a general public sample from the United Kingdom (Temkin & Krahé, 2008, Study 3). Such direct comparisons of specific results need to be interpreted with caution. Not only did the samples differ (e.g., student sample vs general public). But Meisenberg and Williams (2008) found that participants from countries of the Middle East (defined as "the Muslim countries from Morocco to Pakistan", p. 1542) showed a greater tendency compared to participants from "English-speaking" or "Protestant Europe" countries to agree with statements of a questionnaire (acquiescence bias) and to prefer the endpoints of a scale (extreme responding). The AMMSA and FPB items are all coded in the same direction (higher scores indicate higher rape myth acceptance) and are thus particularly susceptible to effects of acquiescent responding. On the other hand, acquiescent and extreme responding were found to be negatively correlated with education in most regions of the world, and most of the reported studies used student samples. The degree of distortion caused by different tendencies to respond in an acquiescent or extreme manner are unclear.

Effect of gender. Consistent with the general results reported above, male participants in Turkey showed higher endorsement of rape myths compared to female participants; and men were also more likely to blame the victims of rape and viewed them more negatively (Akvardar & Yüksel, 1993; Serin, 2001; both as cited in Sakalli-Uğurlu et al., 2007). The finding that men compared to women held more negative attitudes toward rape victims was corroborated by results from Sakalli-Uğurlu et al. (2007). The same study also found beliefs in a just world to be linked to hostile and benevolent sexism as well as negative attitudes toward rape victims (Sakallı-Uğurlu et al., 2007). Furthermore, men compared to women agreed more with statements that blame women's provocative behavior for sexual harassment and were also more willing to trivialize the matter (Sakallı-Uğurlu, Salman, & Turgut, 2010).

Effect of relationship and victim intoxication. Gölge et al. (2003) used written vignettes to compare attribution of responsibility to victims of date rape and stranger rape. Overall, they found that victims of date rape were blamed more than victims of stranger rape. Women blamed the victim less and the perpetrator more than men. Women were also more certain that the date rape was a crime, that the victim should report the rape to the police and recommended higher punishments of the perpetrator compared to men. One stranger rape vignette contained rape myth relevant stimuli (e.g., woman in sexy clothing returning home alone after having fun at a bar with friends) while the other stranger rape vignette contained no rape myth relevant stimuli (modestly dressed woman walking home alone after grocery shopping). The more the incident deviated from the real rape stereotype, the more blame was attributed to the victim and the less blame was attributed to the perpetrator. Recommended sentences increased from (1) the date rape to (2) the stranger rape with myths to (3) the stranger rape without myths. While 33% of the female and 44% of the male participants thought that the date rape victim should report the incident to the police, the rate for the stranger rape with myths was much higher (97% for women, 95% for men); and nearly all participants thought the victim of the stranger rape without myths should report the matter to the police (both genders nearly 100%). Similarly, nearly all of the participants identified the two stranger rape scenarios as a crime, while 12% of the women and 23% of the men did not identify the date rape as a crime. Gölge et al. (2003) proposed the interpretation that the victim-perpetrator relationship was a more prominent myth in Turkey compared to the victim's alcohol consumption or provocative dress. However, while the data rape victim's alcohol consumption was explicit (had "drinks all night", p. 656), the stranger rape victim's behavior was only described as meeting "her friends to go to a movie and then to a bar to have fun" (p. 656).

Effect of relationship and rape myth acceptance. The previous unpublished research project compared three rape scenarios where the perpetrator used physical force to overcome the victim's resistance. The perpetrator was either a stranger, an acquaintance, or a former partner. Consistent with previous studies, the closer the relationship between the victim and perpetrator, the more blame was attributed to the victim, the less blame was attributed to the perpetrator and the less certain participants were that the incident was a rape. In the real rape stereotype-consistent stranger rape scenario, the participants' rape myth acceptance did not correlate with ratings of victim blame, perpetrator blame, or rape certainty. In ex-partner rapes, blame and rape certainty ratings were significantly related to rape myth acceptance. The results for acquaintance rapes were inconsistent. Female precipitation beliefs showed a significant positive relationship with the attribution of victim blame regardless of the victim-perpetrator relationship. Furthermore, the greater blame attributed to rape victims by men was partially mediated by their greater endorsement of female precipitation beliefs.

Despite cultural differences between Turkey and other Western countries, the attitudes and beliefs that are related to the attribution of blame to rape victims, e.g., rape myth acceptance, just world beliefs, or sexism, appear to be overall stable in a cross-cultural setting. However, the body of literature for the Turkish context is still quite thin. Apart from the previous research project, expartner rapes have not been researched at all (to the best of my knowledge). The effect of victim intoxication on and association of rape myth acceptance with blame attribution have not been thoroughly addressed. And it is yet unclear whether victims specifically of rape are blamed for their victimization or whether this extends to other crimes as well in Turkey.

3 The Present Study: Research Questions and Hypotheses

In this section, I will delineate the goal of the present study, describe the research questions in some detail and present the resulting hypotheses.

3.1 Research Questions

The goal of the present study is to investigate factors that influence (or are associated with) the attribution of blame to victims and perpetrators of rape in Turkey.

It is expected that the victim will be blamed more and the perpetrator less in cases that deviate from the real rape stereotype compared to the forcible stranger rape which matches this stereotype. The study is, therefore, embedded in the framework of schematic information processing. To investigate whether the influence of the independent variables (the victim-perpetrator relationship and the perpetrator's coercive strategy) is specific for rape cases, rape is compared to another violent crime, namely robbery. The influence of the victim-perpetrator relationship (stranger, acquaintance, or ex-partner) and the perpetrator's coercive strategy (using physical force or exploiting the victim's alcohol-induced incapacitation) are expected to operate differently within each type of crime. As Abrams et al. (2003) noted, rape myth acceptance may be too broad a concept to capture how observers vary in their judgments about different relationship and coercive strategy constellations. However, the focus of this study was on the general attitudes about rape and rape victims in comparison to robbery, so rape myth acceptance was preferred over related concepts, e.g., ambivalent sexism or traditional gender role beliefs.

Rape myth acceptance is included as a second source of schematic information processing.

Rape myth acceptance is confounded with attitudes and belief systems that are linked to attributions of blame to victims other than rape (like just world beliefs). It is, therefore, conceivable that the blame attributions for *robbery* cases show some link with rape myth acceptance. However, rape

myth acceptance is expected to have a unique association with blame ratings in rape cases beyond a general tendency to blame the victim that might be expected for robbery cases as well.

Bieneck and Krahé (2011) found no effect of gender when using the same vignettes as the present study in Germany, but Gölge et al. (2003) found more victim blaming among men than women in Turkey. And as described above, meta-analyses and reviews generally show that men are more inclined to blame the victim and exonerate the perpetrator than women. So for the present study, men are expected to blame the victim more and the perpetrator less than women as well. As presented above, there is some indication that the effect of gender on blame attributions is mediated by rape myth acceptance, which will be tested in the present study as well.

Mediation models make several causal assumptions (Kenny, 2014). The causal assumptions in this study are (1) that gender cannot cause rape blame ratings directly, (2) that the effect of gender must thus be mediated by another variable (namely rape-supportive attitudes), and (3) that rapesupportive attitudes cause rape blame ratings. The assumptions (1) and (2) are based on reasoning, but the assumption that rape-supportive attitudes cause blame attributions is an empirical question. Alternatively, blame attributions might cause rape myth acceptance (as an after-the-fact justification) or both blame attributions and rape myth acceptance might be caused by another third variable. The present study will attempt to find support for the notion that rape myth acceptance causally influence blame attributions. Bohner et al. (1998) suggested manipulating the salience of rape myths by reminding half the sample of their rape-supportive attitudes immediately prior to the judgment task, i.e., presenting half the sample with rape myths acceptance measures first and after that asking participants to make judgments about specific cases ('RMA first') while the other half of the sample receives the instruments in the reverse order and completes the scenarios first and after that the rape myth acceptance measures ('Scenarios first'). If the correlations between rape myth acceptance and blame attributions are higher in the 'RMA first' compared to the 'Scenarios first' group, then this would point to their causal role in the judgment process. If the correlations, on the other hand, are higher in the 'Scenarios first' condition compared to the 'RMA first' condition, this would indicate that the blame attributions play a causal role in the endorsement of rape-supportive attitudes. If the correlations are the same across both orders of presentation, both rape myth acceptance and blame attributions are likely to be caused by a third variable.

The present study largely built on the work of Bieneck and Krahé (2011), Krahé et al. (2007), and Temkin and Krahé (2008, Study 2). It extends past research by applying the vignettes used by Bieneck and Krahé (2011) and the rape myth acceptance measures created by Cowan and Quinton (FPB scale, 1997) and Gerger et al. (AMMSA scale, 2007) in Turkey and thus a cross-cultural context.

3.2 Hypotheses

The present study aims to replicate and extend findings from Bieneck and Krahé (2011) and Temkin and Krahé (2008, Study 2), so the following – very similar – hypotheses were proposed:

- Hypothesis 1: More blame will be attributed to victims of rape than to victims
 of robbery. Conversely, less blame will be attributed to perpetrators of rape
 than to perpetrators of robbery.
- Hypothesis 2: Information that the victim was drunk at the time of assault will
 reduce perpetrator blame and increase victim blame in the rape cases, but not
 in the robbery cases.
- Hypothesis 3: The closer the prior relationship between perpetrator and victim, the less blame will be attributed to the perpetrator and the more blame will be attributed to the victim, but only for rape cases.
- Hypothesis 4: The participant's level of rape myth acceptance will be positively
 related to their attribution of blame to the victim, and negatively related to
 their attribution of blame to the perpetrator. This effect will be more
 pronounced in rape cases than in robbery cases.
- Hypothesis 5: Rape myth acceptance measured before the presentation of the rape scenarios will be more closely related to ratings of perpetrator blame and victim blame than when these beliefs were measured after the rape case scenarios.
- Hypothesis 6: Participant gender will influence victim blaming indirectly via men's greater belief in rape myths. Men will be less inclined than women to hold the perpetrator liable, and more inclined to blame the victim. This difference will also be attributable to their greater adherence to rape myths.

4 Method

This chapter describes the sample of the study and present the instruments used for the data collection. Furthermore, the translation process and important methodological considerations will be presented and discussed in more detail.

4.1 Sample

A total of 469 students from a mid-size university and the on-campus vocational school in the Mediterranean region of Turkey (Akdeniz Bölgesi) participated in this study on a voluntary basis (143 male, 314 female, 12 participants chose not to disclose their gender; mean age = 21.57 years, *SD* = 2.12, range = 18-33). The distribution of the participants in terms of class year was 20 preparatory students (Hazırlık), 116 first-year, 112 second-year, 130 third-year, 32 fourth-year, and 1 sixth-year student. 58 students did not indicate their year. Most of the participants (93%) were enrolled in philosophy, psychology, translation and interpreting studies, sociology, hair care and beauty services, chemical engineering, environmental engineering, and tourism (ranked in order of frequency).

Paper-pencil questionnaires were handed out during regular classes. Participants were informed prior to receiving the questionnaires that the study was about rape and robbery but not about personal experiences. They were also informed that participation was voluntary and that they could choose to discontinue at any time. The complete consent form can be found in Appendix G:. Participants received no compensation for their participation. A debrief was not possible in all classes, as some lecturers wished to continue their classes right away. The consent form contained an e-mail address and the invitation to contact me should they wish for more information.

4.2 Instruments

4.2.1 Translation

To the best of my knowledge, all instruments employed here did not exist in a Turkish version prior to this study and the (unpublished) preceding research project. The Acceptance of Modern Myths about Sexual Aggression scale (AMMSA, Gerger, Kley, Bohner, & Siebler, 2007), the Female Precipitation Beliefs scale (FPB, Cowan & Quinton, 1997) and the rape vignettes in which the perpetrator used force (three 'rape - force' vignettes for ex-partner, acquaintance, and stranger, Krahé et al., 2007) were translated for the preceding research project and used in this study as well. Additional nine vignettes (three vignettes each for 'rape - alcohol', 'robbery - force', and 'robbery - alcohol', Bieneck & Krahé, 2011) were translated for this study. The six rape vignettes were available

in both English and German, the six robbery vignettes only in German, so the instruments were translated from English as well as German into Turkish.

I organized the translation for both this study and the preceding research project to follow the back-translation process for cross-cultural research described by Brislin (1970) as closely as was feasible. However, the pool of possible translators was limited. Only one person was Turkish-German bilingual, most of the others were native speakers of Turkish who learned English or German as a second language. Most translators were from the field of psychology, English teaching, or German translation and interpreting. The instruments were translated by one person and then back-translated by a different person. The results were discussed with multiple people and the Turkish versions corrected when necessary. After a final approval by a psychology lecturer who obtained her master's and doctoral degree at a US university, all measures were read and interpreted by a person not involved in the translation process thus far. Her interpretations were consistent with the intended content and tone and after a few stylistic improvements, the translations were considered to be adequate.

The names in the scenarios were changed into names common in Turkey. Two of the original vignettes did not contain perpetrator names ('robbery - alcohol - stranger' and 'robbery - force - stranger') and were added, so that the perpetrator was named in all vignettes. The term "robbery" was translated with the colloquial term "soygun" rather than the legal term "yağma" which, according to some of the translators, is not a commonly known or used term. To avoid confusion, the word "porter cabin" from the 'rape - force - stranger' scenario was replaced with "security cabin" ("bekçi kulübesi"), and the word "caipirinha" from the 'rape - alcohol - ex-partner' scenario was replaced with "cocktail" ("kokteyl"), because several translators agreed that porter cabins were uncommon in Turkey and doubted that caipirinhas were commonly known. From my own experience of living and traveling in Turkey I know that security cabins are a common sight in many cities and not necessarily occupied.

4.2.2 Rape Myth Acceptance

Rape myth acceptance (RMA) was measured with two scales:

- 1. the 16-item short form of the 'Acceptance of Modern Myths About Sexual Aggression' scale (AMMSA, Gerger et al., 2007) and
- the 6-item subscale 'Female Precipitation,' a subscale of the 'Perceived Causes of Rape Scale' (PCRS, Cowan & Quinton, 1997), hereafter FPB (for 'Female Precipitation Beliefs')

AMMSA and FPB items were randomly combined and presented as a single instrument. For each item, participants were asked to indicate their agreement with a statement on a seven-point scale ranging from 1 (completely disagree) to 7 (completely agree).

The AMMSA scale addresses five content categories of misconceptions about rape:

- Denial of the scope of the problem (e.g., "Many women tend to misinterpret a well-meant gesture as 'sexual assault'");
- Antagonism toward victims' demands (e.g., "Although the victims of armed robbery have to fear for their lives, they receive far less psychological support than do rape victims");
- Lack of support for policies designed to help alleviate the effects of sexual violence (e.g., "Nowadays, the victims of sexual violence receive sufficient help in the form of women's shelters, therapy offers, and support groups");
- Beliefs that male coercion forms a natural part of sexual relationships (e.g., "When a man urges his female partner to have sex, this cannot be called rape");
 and
- Beliefs that exonerate male perpetrators by blaming the victim or the circumstances (e.g., "Alcohol is often the culprit when a man rapes a woman").

These AMMSA content categories form a single factor and are not separate subscales (Gerger et al., 2007). Compared to the broad range of myths addressed by the AMMSA scale, the FPB scale has a rather narrow focus on causal beliefs that specifically blame the victims for their victimization, e.g., for wearing 'sexy' clothes, drinking alcohol, doing drugs or doing unsafe things (such as being out alone or hitch-hiking). The two scales in their English and Turkish version can be found in Appendix A: and Appendix B:.

4.2.3 Vignettes

Twelve short scenarios (vignettes) were used to assess the attribution of blame to the victim and perpetrator. The scenarios (about 120-230 words in the Turkish version) used in this study are the same as those used by Bieneck and Krahé (2011). Each scenario described either an incident of rape or of robbery (factor 1: type of crime). A second factor was the coercive strategy of the perpetrator: He either used force to overcome the victim's resistance or exploited the victim's alcohol-induced incapacitation⁶. The third factor was the victim-perpetrator relationship prior to the

⁶ To enhance readability, the term 'alcohol' will be used to refer to the scenarios were the perpetrator exploited the victim's alcohol-induced incapacitation.

incident (ex-partner, acquaintance or stranger). This resulted in a total of twelve different scenarios (see Figure 1). In all rape scenarios the victims clearly expressed their non-consent, e.g., by protesting, demanding that the attacker let her go, trying to scream, or struggling. In a couple of the scenarios participants could decide to believe the perpetrator's explanation of the incident. In the rape scenarios where the perpetrator used force, the victims showed active physical resistance but were overpowered by the perpetrator. In the 'rape - alcohol' scenarios, the victims consumed only moderate amounts of alcohol but were disproportionately affected for not being used to drinking alcohol. Their incapacitated state rendered them unable to resist the perpetrator's attack (not explicit in the 'rape - alcohol - acquaintance' scenario), but there was no indication that the perpetrator tried to make the victim drunk. The victims in the 'robbery - alcohol' scenarios may be interpreted to drink more than the victims in the 'rape - alcohol' scenarios (e.g., drinking a bottle of sparkling wine). Regardless of whether they drank moderate amounts of alcohol or a lot: As a result, all the victims in the alcohol scenarios are too drunk to fight the perpetrator. Drinking more alcohol might be interpreted as being more to blame. If there is a bias to blame drunk victims of rape more than drunk victims of robbery, the rape victims' drinking behavior should 'attract less blame' which in turn would attenuate a possible bias with regard to alcohol consumption (see Hypothesis 2). None of the case descriptions contained the expressions 'rape' or 'robbery' so that participants would not be influenced by pre-assigned labels when making their judgments about the cases.

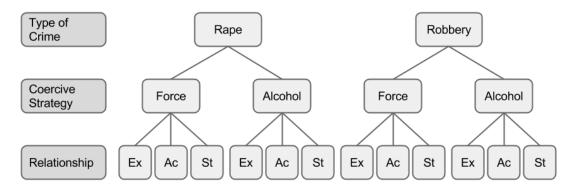


Figure 1. Factor level combinations: The content of the vignettes is systematically varied and is a combination of the factor levels of (1) type of crime, (2) coercive strategy, and (3) relationship. Ex = ex-partner, Ac = acquaintance, St = stranger.

4.2.4 Legal differences between Germany and Turkey

Bieneck and Krahé (2011) created the rape and robbery vignettes against the backdrop of the German Criminal Code. It is important to consider the legal situation when applying the same vignettes under a different jurisdiction as this might have implications for interpreting the results. Participants were not provided with the legal definition of rape or robbery, so the exact legal definitions, current interpretations (e.g., the degree of penalty or criteria for what constitutes 'use of force'), or evidential rules and procedures were a lesser concern. But the normative nature of the law

provides an important benchmark. For example, prior to 1990, Article 438 of the Turkish Criminal Code stipulated a reduced sentence if the rape victim was a prostitute (Anıl et al., 2005). Had that been the current legislation and one victim in the rape scenarios a prostitute, it could have been argued that participants were legally justified to blame the perpetrator less in that scenario as the reduced sentence implies less blameworthiness. Even if the exact degree of penalty was unknown, it might have been common knowledge that the law distinguished between prostitutes and other rape victims. Differences in blame ratings might still have indicated a reliance on stereotypical notions and sex crime legislation itself has been criticized as being based on myths (e.g., Mokosch, 2014, for Germany). But in such a situation it might be beneficial to assess participants' knowledge of the law to facilitate the interpretation of the results.

Legal definition of rape in Germany and Turkey. The rape vignettes (Bieneck & Krahé, 2011; Krahé et al., 2007) were created to conform to the definition of rape in the German Criminal Code (Section 177 Strafgesetzbuch/StGB⁷). The aggravated sexual abuse described in the Turkish Criminal Code⁸ (Article 102 [2]: inserting an organ or instrument into the body) was considered to be rape although it is not explicitly labeled as such.

The German Criminal Code does not differentiate between victim-perpetrator relationships (see also Table 4). Contrary to the German Criminal Code, the Turkish Criminal Code does make references to victim-perpetrator relationship, but only with regard to family members and spouses. Thus, the victim-perpetrator constellations used in this study's scenarios (ex-partner, acquaintance, and stranger) are equal before the law in both Germany and Turkey.

The German Criminal Code explicitly includes both the threat or use of force and exploitation of the victim's defenselessness as coercive strategies. In Turkey, force as a coercive strategy can be punished separately for felonious injury. The German Criminal Code reference to exploiting the victim's helpless state as a coercive strategy was considered to be equivalent to the physical or mental inability to protect oneself described in the Turkish Criminal Code.

Interpretation of the law changes over the years, e.g., the criteria of what constitutes an exploitation of an unprotected situation were changed by the German Federal Court of Justice (*Bundesgerichtshof*) in 2012 (Oestreich, 2014). However, Turkey's ratification and Germany's signing of the *Istanbul Convention* (Council of Europe, CETS No.210, 2011) signifies agreement with its

 $^{^{7}}$ The German Criminal Code in German and English is available at <code>http://www.gesetze-im-internet.de/stgb</code>

⁸ The Turkish Criminal Code (Law No. 5237, 2004) is available in Turkish https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/kanunlar/k5237.html and English http://www.unodc.org/res/cld/document/tur/2004/criminal_code_law_no__5237_html/Turkey_Criminal_Code_Law_No._5237_2004.pdf

definition of rape as "non-consensual vaginal, anal or oral penetration of a sexual nature of the body of another person with any bodily part or object" and that "[c]onsent must be given voluntarily as the result of the person's free will assessed in the context of the surrounding circumstances" (CETS No.210, Article 36, 2011)⁹.

Table 1. Legal definitions of rape in Germany and Turkey: Criminal code references to the independent variables victim-perpetrator relationship and coercive strategy

	German Criminal Code (Section 177 Strafgesetzbuch/StGB)	Turkish Criminal Code (Türk Ceza Kanunu, Article 102)
Victim- perpetrator relationship	- no reference	 Against a spouse: investigation and prosecution upon complaint of the victim Against a family member (up to 3rd degree relation or kinship): sentence increased by one half
Coercive strategy	 Equal sentences for Use of force Threats of imminent danger to life or limb Exploitation of a situation in which the victim is unprotected and at the mercy of the offender 	 Use of force to break down victim's resistance: additional punishment for felonious injury Victim physically or mentally unable to protect him-/herself: sentence increased by one half

Yenginsu (2012) reported that Article 29 "Unjust Provocation" of the Turkish Criminal Code has served as a loophole in some rape cases to achieve lower sentencing by giving provocative dress or behavior as a reason for the attack. The article stipulates reduced sentences (by one quarter up to one third) if an offense was committed in a state of anger or mental anguish induced by an unjust act. Prior to the legal reform in 2004, the article did not refer to anger or mental anguish induced by an "unjust act", but rather by an "unjust provocation", which was criticized as being unclear and subjective (İçli, 2011). The new wording of "unjust act" is interpreted as limiting the scope of application of Article 29 to unlawful acts (e.g., İçli, 2011; İlkkaracan & Amado, 2011; The Advocates for Human Rights, 2011). Article 29 of the Turkish Criminal Code was therefore considered irrelevant for the present study.

From a layperson's point of view, both the German and the Turkish legal definition of rape cover similar aspects. The scenarios were created to conform to the German Criminal Code but seem

⁹ Interestingly, while the Turkish Criminal Code's focus on bodily inviolability appears to be more in line with the *Istanbul Convention*'s focus on consent, Miller (2007) criticizes that the Turkish Criminal Code marginalizes the will of the victim by paying "no attention to consent or agency in defining and punishing sexual crime" (p. 1360). She also notes that the choice of words ("cinsel dokunulmaz", "dokunulmaz" literally translates to "untouchability") evoke "mixed and overlapping connotations of biology, sexuality, uniformity, political identity, citizenship, and physical proximity" (Miller, 2007, p. 1360).

equally applicable in Turkey. No indication could be found that the Turkish Criminal Code would justify blaming the victim or exonerating the perpetrator in any of the rape scenarios.

Comparing rape to robbery. Bieneck and Krahé (2011) chose to compare rape with robbery (as opposed to other crimes) because both include the direct confrontation of the victim by the perpetrator with similar legal sanctions in Germany (not less than two years of imprisonment for rape¹⁰, not less than one year for robbery¹¹). The Robbery/Alcohol/Ex-partner and -Acquaintance scenarios qualify for aggravated theft¹² with a stipulated sentence of three months to ten years. In colloquial German, the terms theft and robbery are often used interchangeably. Some of the translators were consulted on the matter and agreed that the same is true in colloquial Turkish. Therefore, the type of crime will be referred to as 'robbery'.

The Turkish Criminal Code stipulates higher sentences for rape as well as robbery compared to the German Criminal Code. Rape¹³ is punishable by seven to twelve years of imprisonment, with a stipulated increase of the punishment by one half if the victim is physically or mentally unable to protect him- or herself and additional charges are possible for felonious injury if force was used to break the victim's resistance. Robbery¹⁴ is punishable by six to ten years of imprisonment, qualified robbery¹⁵ by ten to fifteen years (e.g., when committed at night, against a person who is physically or mentally unable to protect him- or herself or when the victim is intercepted in a residence or business place; see Appendix E:) and qualified larceny¹⁶ from three to seven years.

The many qualifications in the Turkish Criminal Code that increase or decrease the stipulated sentence make it difficult to determine whether all scenarios can be considered to have similar legal sanctions. However, the direct confrontation of the victim was considered to be the most important commonality and no other crime appeared to be more appropriate than robbery to compare to rape. No legal background information about the definition of the crimes and their respective sentencing was provided. The focus was on participants' intuitive understanding of the situation which was expected to be similar to the German sample described in Bieneck and Krahé (2011). The results from the preceding research project supported this view. Furthermore, Krahé, Temkin, Bieneck, and Berger (2008) found that even trainee lawyers provided with the legal definition relied on their

¹⁰ Germany, sexual assault and rape: Section 177, German Criminal Code (Strafgesetzbuch/StGB)

¹¹ Germany, robbery: Section 249, StGB

¹² Germany, aggravated theft: Section 243, StGB

¹³ Turkey, rape: Article 102, Turkish Criminal Code (Türk Ceza Kanunu)

¹⁴ Turkey, robbery: Article 148, Turkish Criminal Code

¹⁵ Turkey, qualified robbery: Article 149, Turkish Criminal Code

¹⁶ Turkey, qualified larceny: Article 142, Turkish Criminal Code

stereotypic notions about rape. Despite the differences in the details of the legal definitions for rape and robbery in Turkey, there was no apparent reason to exclude, change, or exchange any of the scenarios created by Bieneck and Krahé (2011).

4.2.5 Attribution of responsibility to the victim and the perpetrator

Each scenario was rated by the participants with respect to two aspects: victim blame and perpetrator blame.

Victim blame. Attribution of responsibility to the victim and rape empathy was assessed with three items:

- "How much do you think [the victim] is to blame for what happened?"
- "How much do you think [the victim] had control over the situation?"
- "How much do you think [the victim] could have avoided the incident?"
- "How sorry do you feel for [the victim]?" (reverse-coded)

Perpetrator blame. Attribution of moral and legal responsibility to the perpetrator was assessed with five items:

- "How much do you think [the perpetrator] is to blame for what happened?"
- "How much do you think [the perpetrator] had control over the situation?"
- "How certain are you that [the perpetrator] should be legally punished for rape/robbery?"
- "How strongly do you think [the perpetrator] ought to be held criminally liable for rape/robbery?"
- "If you were the judge, how certain are you that you would find [the perpetrator] guilty of rape/robbery?"

'Blame' versus 'responsibility'. Responsibility and blame are not the same thing. Harvey and Rule (1978) found blame and responsibility to be distinct, separate factors. One can be responsible for an event, but not blameworthy (Shaver, 1985; as cited in Whatley, 1996) or be held responsible for failing to prevent something one did not cause (Lagnado & Channon, 2008; see Whatley, 1996 for a summary). The word for 'blame' in the item "How much is the [victim/perpetrator] to blame for what happened" was translated as 'sorumlu'. In Turkish, 'sorumlu' means 'responsible', but can also be used in the sense of 'to blame for' ('-den sorumlu tutmak'). Furthermore, all items pertaining to blame, control, responsibility etc. were combined to one scale for victims and one for perpetrators. Therefore, 'blame' and 'responsibility' are used interchangeably.

4.2.6 Salience of rape myths

To test the impact of rape myths on judgments about rape cases, Bohner, Reinhard, Rutz, Sturm, and Effler (1998) proposed the following manipulation: If participants had their rapesupportive attitudes brought to the forefront of their mind immediately prior to judging the case

scenarios, the link between the measures should be greater compared to a group that completed the measures in the reverse order. Therefore, half the sample were given the rape myth acceptance measures (AMMSA and FPB) before the scenarios; the other half completed the scenarios first, followed by the rape myth acceptance measures.

4.3 Questionnaire and Procedure

4.3.1 24 different questionnaires and procedure

Different versions of the questionnaire were created. The questionnaires were completed during regular classes and had an allotted time slot of 20 minutes. To satisfy the time constraint, participants were randomly assigned to one of four groups. Three scenarios were randomly assigned to each of the four groups. Each scenario appeared once in each position from first to third to mitigate possible order effects, that is, in case the order in which the scenarios were presented had an effect on how participants judged the individual scenarios. Hypothesis 5 predicted rape myth acceptance to be more closely related to blame ratings if it is measured *before* the scenarios. To test this hypothesis, half of the participants completed the rape myth acceptance measures first, the other half completed the scenarios first. This resulted in 4x3x2 = 24 different questionnaires:

- 4 questionnaires with three different scenarios each
- 3 versions where scenarios each appeared once in position one to three
- 2 groups where one group completed the RMA measures first, and the other group the scenarios

Demographic data was always gathered at the end of the questionnaire. Apart from data about their gender, age, field of study and year of study, participants also answered questions about the region or country where they were born, grew up and live now, and whether those places had support infrastructure for victims of rape, such as therapy offers or support groups. The support infrastructure variables were collected as possible control variables and were not analyzed.

4.3.2 The rating scales

All rating scales were displayed as a series of numerals from 1 to 7 within a circle and presented with the two extreme categories anchored by unipolar and bipolar pairs ("not at all"/"very much" and "completely disagree"/"completely agree"). Respondents were asked to mark the circle that best represented their level of agreement with the statement. There is an ongoing discussion about treating rating scales as interval- rather than ordinal-level data (see Jamieson, 2004, for an overview). It was assumed that participants understand the equidistant points to represent equal intervals in a 'mental continuum' between no agreement and complete agreement (or complete disagreement and complete agreement, respectively). The intervals between the poles were not labeled to avoid the difficulty of achieving semantic equidistance. For each scale between four and

16 items were averaged. A 7-point scale was considered to be sufficiently diffuse to warrant treating it as continuous. Even if participants with the same opinion on an item marked different points, the considerable sample size of N = 469 should ensure that the error is randomly distributed and would only add to the unexplained variance. Also, the specific scores were of minor interest; the focus was on how the response patterns change with the manipulation of the factor levels. According to Akremi, Baur, and Fromm (2011), the danger of over-estimating an effect by treating ordinal scales as interval level is very low. Lastly, treating rating scales as interval level has been empirically useful and is the standard of all of the research this study is based upon (e.g., Bieneck & Krahé, 2011; Cowan & Quinton, 1997; Gerger et al., 2007; Krahé et al., 2007).

5 Results

The goal of the present study was to investigate victim and perpetrator blame ratings in rape compared to robbery cases and measure the differential impact of the variables 'coercive strategy' and 'victim-perpetrator relationship'. The association between rape myth acceptance and blame ratings was taken into consideration and an attempt was made to find evidence for a causal relationship. Evidence that rape myth acceptance cause blame ratings would lend conceptual support to the mediation analysis that investigated whether the effect of gender on blame ratings could be explained through differences in rape myth acceptance.

This chapter presents the descriptive statistics and the results from the hypothesis-testing and exploratory analyses. The chapter will begin with descriptive statistics, including missing values and exclusion criteria (section 5.1). The other three sections follow the order of the hypotheses presented above. Section 5.2 on the effect of type of crime, coercive strategy, relationship, and rapesupportive attitudes on victim and perpetrator blame encompasses Hypotheses 1 to 4. Whether the order of presentation of the vignettes and the RMA measures influences response patterns will be tested in section 5.3 (Hypothesis 5). The relationship between gender and rape-supportive attitudes and their influence on attribution of blame to the victim and perpetrator will be investigated in section 5.4 (Hypothesis 6).

Apart from the descriptive statistics, the sections are divided into four parts: (1) model assumptions and specifications, (2) hypothesis-testing, (3) exploratory analysis, and (4) the conclusion. As this is the first study to employ the newly translated instruments in Turkey (apart from the previous unpublished research project), this study has an exploratory element. For the hypothesis-testing analyses, Type I error control was implemented at the individual hypothesis level. Some of the exploratory analyses were model stability tests which are descriptive in nature. As inference was not the goal, Type I error control was considered unnecessary. Other exploratory analyses were done after the hypothesis-testing was finished. The goal was to understand 'what is happening in the data', to generate new questions and find possible limitations to the conclusions drawn from the hypothesis-testing. Again, inference was not the objective and false positive results a secondary issue. Therefore, the exploratory analyses have no Type I error control unless otherwise stated.

Most analyses were done in IBM SPSS Statistics (version 22). Exceptions are described in the respective paragraph on model assumptions and specifications.

5.1 Descriptive Statistics

5.1.1 Descriptives: Questionnaire groups, exclusion criteria and missing values

Participants were randomly assigned to one of four groups. Each group received three of the twelve scenarios used in this study (these groups will be referred to as 'questionnaire groups'). Eleven participants reported being born and/or having grown up in another country. As this might indicate a cultural influence different from the intended sample of Turkish university students, they were excluded from the analysis. After the exclusion of these eleven students, the number of

Table 2. Allocation of the twelve scenarios to the four questionnaire groups (Q1-4) and group sizes.

Questionnaire group	Three vigne	N		
Q1:	Rape-A-Ex	Rob-F-Ac	Rob-A-St	111
Q2:	Rape-A-St	Rob-F-Ex	Rob-A-Ex	117
Q3:	Rape-F-Ac	Rob-F-St	Rob-A-Ax	113
Q4:	Rape-F-Ex	Rape-A-Ac	Rape-F-St	117

Abbreviations: Rob = Robbery, A = Alcohol, F = Force, Ex = Ex-partner, Ac = Acquaintance, St = Stranger

participants per questionnaire group was still balanced with N ranging from 111 to 117 (see Table 2).

Partial responses were accepted if valid responses were obtained for a minimum of twothirds of items per subscale (AMMSA, FPB, VB¹⁷ and PB for each scenario). If the number of valid responses per subscale was below that minimum threshold, the participant was classified as not having responded to that subscale at all.

Questionnaire group 1 (Rape/Alcohol/Ex-partner, Robbery/Force/Acquaintance, Robbery/Alcohol/Stranger) had more missing values on the rape empathy item "How sorry do you feel for [the victim]?" (n = 94 to 104) than on the other items (n = 108 to 111). This affected only questionnaire group 1. However, when calculating the mean VB and PB scores with the two-thirds criteria described above, the difference disappeared and all questionnaire groups had a maximum number of two missing cases per scenario.

The order in which the scenarios were presented within each questionnaire group had no significant effect on victim blame ratings. There were significant differences for the order in which the scenarios were presented with regard to perpetrator blame. However, the significant effects appeared to be randomly scattered over questionnaire groups, 'RMA first'/'Scenarios first', and type

 $^{^{17}}$ To improve readability, the following abbreviations will be used in the 'Results' chapter: VB = victim blame; PB = perpetrator blame; RMA = rape myth acceptance

of crime. Therefore, the effects were not investigated further. As the scenario order was systematically varied to allow for such effects, no further action was necessary.

5.1.2 Descriptives: AMMSA and FPB

The 16 items of the AMMSA scale were averaged to form an overall score, as were the six FPB items. Table 3 presents the descriptive statistics for those two scales.

Table 3. Descriptive statistics for the AMMSA and FPB scale.

	N	Cronbach's alpha	M (SD)	Min, Max	M _{Men} (SD)	M _{women} (SD)	Skewness (SE)	Kurtosis (SE)
AMMSA	458	0.76	3.47 (0.91)	1.13, 6.13	3.82 ^a (0.91)	3.30 (0.86)	0.10 (.11)	-0.30 (.23)
FPB	458	0.88	3.00 (1.70)	1.00, 7.00	3.62 ^a (1.78)	2.72 (1.59)	0.50 (.11)	-0.95 (.23)

Values could range from 1 to 7 with higher values indicating higher rape myth acceptance. N for Cronbach's alpha are lower due to missing values. Superscript (a) indicates that the means for men and women were significantly different at p < .001.

AMMSA scale. The AMMSA scale had a satisfactory internal consistency with Cronbach's α = 0.76. Item-total correlations of the AMMSA items ranged from r = .20 to .52 with the exception of one item with an item-total correlation of r = .08 ("Because our society has a disproportionate interest in sex, its sensitivity to crimes in this area is disproportionate as well"). Inter-item correlations ranged from -.17 to .43 (mean inter-item correlation = .16). A visual inspection of the histogram, box plots, and quantile-quantile plots indicated that the AMMSA was normally distributed — overall as well as for male and female participants separately. Skewness and kurtosis statistics and the Shapiro-Wilk test supported that interpretation. AMMSA scores ranged from 1.13 to 6.13 (men: 1.13 to 5.88; women: 1.13 to 6.13). The sample as a whole tended to reject rather than accept the AMMSA statements with an overall mean of 3.47 (SD = 0.91; 26.6% of the participants scored at or above the mid-point of 4). Agreement with the AMMSA items was the same for all four questionnaire groups.

FPB scale. The FPB scale had a good internal consistency with Cronbach's α = 0.88 (Kline, 1999). All items of the FPB scale correlated with the scale to a good degree (r = .62 to .75). Inter-item correlations ranged from r = .45 and .67. Histograms, box plots, quantile-quantile plots for the FPB scale showed a positive skew and a platykurtic distribution. The Shapiro-Wilk test for men and women as well as the scale as a whole corroborated that impression. Separate statistics for men and women showed that the distribution for men was not skewed, but platykurtic. The distribution for women was both positively skewed and platykurtic. FPB scores ranged from 1.00 to 7.00 for both

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men and women. The sample as a whole tended to reject rather than accept the statements of the FPB scale with an overall mean of 3.00 (SD = 1.71; 28.6% of the participants scored at or above the mid-point of 4). Agreement with the FPB items differed between the questionnaire groups. Group 2 had a significantly higher mean than group 1 and 4 (from group 1 to 4: M = 2.77, 3.35, 3.04, and 2.85). The overall correlation between AMMSA and FPB was r(456) = .69, p < .001. However, the AMMSA-FPB correlation was significantly higher for the 'RMA first' condition than for the 'scenarios first' condition (RMA first: r(228) = .61; scenarios first: r(226) = .77; Fisher's Z = 3.30; p < .001).

ZRMA as composite RMA variable. AMMSA and FPB were combined into a single rape myth acceptance variable (ZRMA¹⁸). To ensure that both variables were represented equally, the new ZRMA variable was calculated from the *Z*-standardized mean scores of AMMSA and FPB. The high correlation between AMMSA and FPB and a principal component of .92 supported this decision. ZRMA had a Cronbach's alpha of .82 and showed a minimal deviation from the nominal M = 0 and SD = 1 with M = -0.02 and SD = 0.92. Both AMMSA and FPB correlated with ZRMA at r(456) = .92, p < .001. The ZRMA had a positive skewness of 0.29 (SE = .11) and a negative kurtosis of -0.73 (SE = .23). While the skewness and kurtosis scores indicated a deviation from the normal distribution, the histogram showed ZRMA to be quite close to normal.

5.1.3 Desciptives: Victim and perpetrator blame

The four VB and the five PB items respectively were averaged to form overall scores for each scenario. Reliability was satisfactory for PB with Cronbach's alphas for all twelve scenarios ranging from .72 to .90 (Kline, 1999). For VB, reliability was satisfactory for the six rape scenarios as well with Cronbach's alphas ranging from .73 to .85. In the six robbery scenarios the internal consistency was acceptable (Cronbach's α = .62 to .71). The VB-PB correlations were in the moderate to large range with r = -.25 to -.61 (Cohen, 1988). PB had a pronounced negative skew for all scenarios with several ceiling effects (see Table 4). Conversely, VB had a pronounced positive skew for most of the scenarios with several bottom effects. VB histograms for the scenarios 'rape - force - ex-partner', 'rape - alcohol - acquaintance', 'rape - alcohol - stranger', 'robbery - alcohol - ex-partner', and 'robbery - alcohol - acquaintance' indicated only slight deviations from normality. Inter-item correlations for PB were quite high (mean inter-item correlations from r = .37 to .69). However, for most rape scenarios there was a noticeable gap between the inter-item correlations with the "perpetrator control" item compared to the other four PB items amongst themselves ("is to blame", "criminally liable", "legally punished", and "judge guilty", see section 4.2.5 for full items). The only robbery scenario with such a pronounced gap was the 'robbery - alcohol - stranger' scenario.

¹⁸ To avoid ambiguity, RMA will refer to the concept of rape myth acceptance while ZRMA will refer to the composite variable based on the z-standardized AMMSA and FPB mean scores.

Table 4. Descriptive statistics for victim and perpetrator blame. Mean and standard deviation refer to the cell means. The influence of AMMSA and FPB is not accounted for.

	Victim Blame	эте					Perpetrator Blame	or Blame					
Scenario	Alpha	Z	Σ	SD	M _{Men}	Mwomen	Alpha	Z	Σ	SD	M _{Men}	Mwomen	rVB-PB
Rape F Ex	.78	115	3.29	1.43	3.72	3.14	.87	115	5.65	1.30	5.02 ^b	5.82	54***
Rape F Ac	.85	113	2.52	1.43	2.78	2.35	06:	113	6.37	1.07	6.09	6.54	57***
Rape F St	.73	117	1.83	1.05	1.75	1.88	06.	117	6.16	1.39	6.17	6.12	29**
Rape A Ex	.74	110	2.71	1.46	2.67	2.73	.85	111	5.92	1.30	5.35	6.05	***05:-
Rape A Ac	.81	117	3.78	1.52	4.02	3.68	68.	117	5.47	1.38	5.03	5.59	61***
Rape A St	.75	117	3.63	1.55	3.85	3.48	.85	117	5.86	1.33	5.50 ^b	6.15	***52
Rob F Ex	69:	117	2.64	1.26	2.86	2.49	.84	117	6.31	1.05	6.37	6.31	35***
Rob F Ac	.62	110	1.74	0.85	1.79	1.74	.72	111	69.9	99.0	6.57	6.72	***55
Rob F St	69.	112	2.02	1.06	2.14	1.95	06:	112	6.22	1.20	5.91	6.38	45***
Rob A Ex	.71	117	3.55	1.40	3.61	3.54	.87	116	6.17	1.15	6.14	6.19	24**
Rob A Ac	89.	113	3.48	1.39	3.53	3.49	.85	113	5.96	1.09	5.64ª	6.16	30**
Rob A St	.67	110	2.98	1.42	2.89	2.98	90.	110	6.11	1.32	5.89	6.15	25**
\ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \	C/ 200	+ 0	1 100	1	11-11-								

***. Correlation is significant at the .001 level (2- tailed).

**. Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed).

Abbreviations: VB = Victim Blame, PB = Perpetrator Blame, F = Force, A = Alcohol, Ex = Ex-partner, Ac = Acquaintance, St = Stranger, Rob = Robbery. Values could range from 1 to 7 with higher values indicating more blame. N for Cronbach's alpha are lower due to missing values. Superscripts indicate that the means for men and women significantly differed at (a) p < .05, or (b) p < .01.

5.2 Effect of Type of Crime, Coercive Strategy, Relationship, and Rape Myth Acceptance on Victim and Perpetrator Blame (GLM)

Hypotheses 1-3 expected (1) more blame to be attributed to victims of rape compared to victims of robbery, with an increase in VB in rape (but not robbery) cases when (2) the victim was drunk at the time of the assault or (3) a prior relationship existed between victim and perpetrator. Conversely, (1) less PB was expected for rape cases compared to robbery, with PB further attenuated in rape (but not robbery) cases where the perpetrator (2) exploited the victim's alcohol-induced defenselessness or (3) victim and perpetrator had a prior relationship. Hypothesis 4 expected the participants' level of rape myth acceptance to be positively related to their attribution of responsibility to the victim, and negatively related to their attribution of responsibility to the perpetrator, but for rape cases more than for robbery cases.

5.2.1 GLM: Model assumptions and specifications

Model specifications. To test these hypotheses, two general linear models (GLM) were used - one for VB and one for PB as the dependent variable. The three independent variables type of crime, coercive strategy, and prior victim-perpetrator relationship as well as the categorical predictor variable gender were entered as fixed factors. RMA was entered as a continuous variable (ZRMA). VB and PB are correlated measures, but cultural differences (such as more traditional gender roles) could lead to a stronger effect of the independent variables on VB than on PB. Therefore, two univariate analyses were preferred over a multivariate approach. To control the Type I error rate of the two analyses the acceptable individual level alpha was set to p < .025 (instead of adjusting the reported p-values).

Hypothesis 4 and homogeneity of regression slopes. The focus of Hypothesis 4 was the interaction between ZRMA and type of crime. Interactions with ZRMA were mostly non-significant for gender (VB: p = .028; PB: p = .007), strategy (VB: p = .041; PB: p = .055), and relationship (VB: p = .821; PB: p = .979). Apart from the interaction of gender with ZRMA for PB, there were no significant differences in the regression slopes, and heterogeneous regression slopes of ZRMA were expected for rape and robbery. For that reason, and also to maintain reasonable cell sizes, ZRMA was included as a continuous predictor. A preliminary one-way ANOVA indicated that ZRMA levels did not differ significantly between the factor levels of the independent variables type of crime, coercive strategy, and relationship. However, men showed higher ZRMA levels than women, F(1, 1307) = 90.20, p < .001, partial η^2 = .065. This effect will be discussed in the 'Exploratory analysis' section. ZRMA scores also differed between the questionnaire groups, F(3, 1331) = 7.10, p < .001, η_p^2 = .016.

This was not considered to be a problem as ZRMA was included in the model and the participants in the questionnaire groups received randomly assigned factor level combinations.

GLM assumptions. There was no reason to expect curvilinearity and scatterplots indicated linear relationships between ZRMA and VB or PB respectively for all 2x2x2x3 = 24 factor level combinations (gender, type of crime, coercive strategy, relationship). Although the dependent variables were skewed, VB was skewed in the same direction for all scenarios, as was PB. Analysis of the standardized residuals, Cook's distance and leverage values indicated several outliers for VB and PB. With a sample this large, a few extreme values were expected and there was no indication that the values did not come from the intended population. Also, the change in the results after rerunning the analysis without these cases was negligible, so they were retained. The analyses were conducted based on the individual observations with each participant contributing three values for VB and three for PB. Entering subject as a random effect into the models could not be realized due to lack of computational power. The broken assumption of independence will be discussed in the 'Exploratory analysis' section 5.2.3, the consequences for effect sizes in section 6.2.1. Only observations with complete data for both VB and PB were included so that both analyses were based on the same observations. With a sample size of N = 1331 observations, and cell sizes ranging from n= 22 to n = 47 (men) and n = 68 to n = 86 (women), the sampling distribution was assumed to be normal. Without gender, cell sizes for the independent variables type of crime, coercive strategy and relationship were approximately equal with n = 107 to 115. Unequal n were caused by 2.25 times more women than men in the overall sample. All cells were considered to be equally important, so Type III sum of squares was chosen as a conservative method for dealing with unequal n (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007). Scatterplots indicated that the assumption of homoscedasticity was broken. However, the largest cell was less than 4 times larger than the smallest cell (3.91 for both VB and PB). Also, the ratio of the largest cell variance to the smallest was less than 10 (5.11 for VB; 8.60 for PB). Heteroscedasticity was therefore within acceptable limits (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007). Only main effects and 2-way interactions were tested because (1) higher-order interactions make it difficult to determine the 'location' of an effect and (2) to avoid further inflating the experiment-wise error rate that was already quite high due to testing six hypotheses in a single study.

5.2.2 GLM: Hypothesis-testing

Type of crime and gender. As predicted in Hypothesis 1, more blame was attributed to victims of rape (M = 2.95, $SE = .06^{19}$) than to victims of robbery (M = 2.70, SE = .06), F(1, 1310) = 10.53, p = .001, $\eta_p^2 = .008$. Conversely, less blame was attributed to perpetrators of rape (M = 5.85,

¹⁹ Estimated marginal means with standard errors at the ZRMA mean (M = -.02). The Bonferroni correction was used to adjust alpha levels for multiple comparisons.

SE = .05) than to perpetrators of robbery (M = 6.27, SE = .05), F(1, 1310) = 35.40, p < .001, $\eta_p^2 = .026$. Gender was non-significant for VB (p = .459). The interaction of gender and ZRMA for VB was non-significant as well (p = .028). While the omnibus test indicated an overall effect of gender on PB, F(1, 1310) = 5.12, p = .024, $\eta_p^2 = .004$, the difference between the estimated marginal means with ZRMA at the mean for women (M = 6.14, SE = .04) and men (M = 5.98, SE = .06, p = .029) was just above the p-value criterion of .025. Thus, it was not surprising that there was a significant interaction between gender and ZRMA for PB, F(1, 1310) = 9.28, p = .002, $\eta_p^2 = .007$. Both men and women were more inclined to exonerate the perpetrator the more they endorsed rape myths, but this effect was more pronounced for men (standardized $\theta = -.309$, r = .31) than for women (standardized $\theta = -.151$, r = .15). All other 2-way interactions with gender were non-significant (VB: p = .675 to .996, PB: p = .126 to .995). The focus of the analysis was on the interaction of type of crime with information about coercive strategy and victim-perpetrator relationship.

Coercive strategy. Hypothesis 2 predicted that information about the victim's drunkenness would increase VB and decrease PB in the rape cases while no effect was expected in the robbery cases. In general, more blame was attributed to victims incapacitated by alcohol (M = 3.32, SE = .06) than to victims overcome by force (M = 2.32, SE = 0.06), F(1, 1310) = 169.59, p < .001, $\eta_p^2 = .115$. As predicted, victims of rape were blamed more when they were drunk at the time of the assault

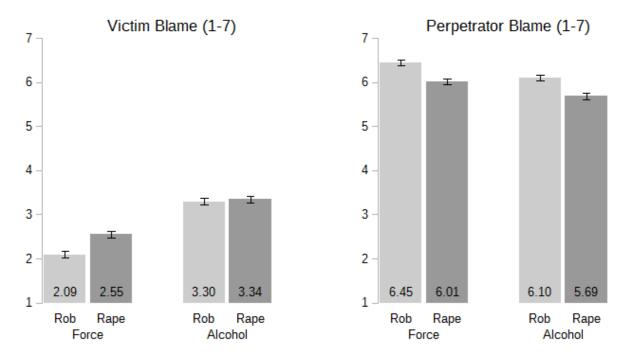


Figure 2. Interaction between type of crime and coercive strategy and the effect on ratings of victim and perpetrator blame. Bars indicate standard errors. The displayed values differ from the reported cell means because they are estimated marginal means for ZRMA = -.02. Values could range from 1 to 7 with higher values indicating more blame. Rob = Robbery.

(M = 3.34, SE = .08) compared to when they were overpowered by force (M = 2.55, SE = .08). Contrary to the hypothesis, the same was true for victims of robbery (alcohol: M = 3.30, SE = .08, force: M = 2.09, SE = .08). The increase in VB from the force to the alcohol condition was slightly more pronounced for robbery, F(1, 1310) = 133.42, p < .001, η_p^2 = .092, than for rape, F(1, 1310) = 57.34, p < .001, η_p^2 = .042. The interaction effect between crime and strategy was not caused by the hypothesized effect of coercive strategy operating differently within the two types of crime, but rather by the two crimes operating differently within the two types of strategies. While overpowered victims were blamed more in the rape than in the robbery cases, F(1, 1310) = 18.82, p < .001, η_p^2 = .014, there was no difference in VB between drunk rape and drunk robbery victims, p = .648 (Figure 2). As predicted, PB was higher when the perpetrator used physical force (M = 6.23, SE = .05) rather than exploited the defenselessness of the drunk victim (M = 5.89, SE = .05), F(1, 1310) = 23.27, p < .001, η_p^2 = .017. However, this was true for both rape and robbery and the expected interaction between type of crime and coercive strategy was non-significant (p = .851).

Victim-perpetrator relationship. Hypothesis 3 predicted an interaction between type of crime and victim-perpetrator relationship. VB for rape cases was expected to increase (and PB to decrease) the closer the relationship between the two while no increase for VB (decrease for PB) was expected for robbery cases. The type of relationship between victim and perpetrator had a main effect on VB, F(2, 1310) = 13.12, p < .001, $\eta_p^2 = .020$. Across both crime types and coercive strategies VB increased from stranger (M = 2.57, SE = .07) to acquaintance (M = 2.85, SE = .07) to ex-partner cases (M = 3.05, SE = .07). Across rape and robbery victims were blamed significantly less in stranger cases compared to acquaintance (p = .009) and ex-partner cases (p < .001), but the difference between acquaintance and ex-partner cases was not significant (p = .108). This effect was moderated by an interaction between relationship and type of crime. For rape cases, the effect of relationship on VB was significant, F(2, 1310) = 7.21, p = .001, $\eta_p^2 = .011$. VB for rape increased from stranger (M =2.67, SD = .09) to acquaintance (M = 3.11, SD = .09, p = .002) and ex-partner rape (M = 3.06, SD = .10, p = .008). However, VB was nearly identical for acquaintance and ex-partner rape (p = 1.00). VB for robbery cases increased from stranger (M = 2.46, SD = .10) to acquaintance (M = 2.59, SD = .10) to ex-partner cases (M = 3.04, SD = .09), F(2, 1310) = 11.35, p < .001, $\eta_p^2 = .017$. While VB was significantly higher for ex-partner robbery compared to acquaintance (p = .001) and stranger robbery (p < .001), the difference between acquaintance and stranger robbery was non-significant (p = 1.00). Looking at the differences from the relationship perspective showed that there was no difference in VB when the crime was committed by an ex-partner (p = .840) or a stranger (p = .102). But in acquaintance cases, victims were blamed more for rape than for robbery (p < .001). The main effect of relationship on PB was non-significant (p = .350). But the type of relationship had a different effect on PB depending on the crime. As predicted, PB decreased from stranger (M = 6.02, SE = .08) to

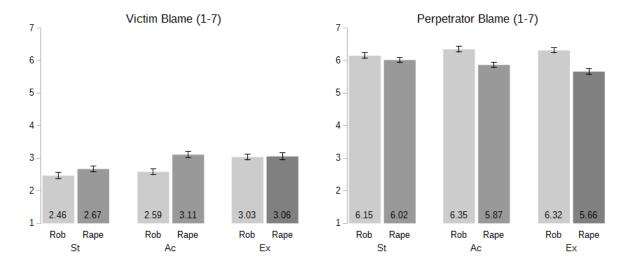


Figure 3. Interaction between type of crime and relationship and the effect on ratings of victim and perpetrator blame. Bars indicate standard errors. The displayed values differ from the reported cell means because they are estimated marginal means for ZRMA = -.02. Values could range from 1 to 7 with higher values indicating more blame. Rob = Robbery, St = Stranger, Ac = Acquaintance, Ex = Expartner.

acquaintance (M = 5.87, SE = .08) to ex-partner rape (M = 5.66, SE = .09), F(2, 1310) = 4.48, p = .012, $\eta_p^2 = .007$. However, only the difference for PB between ex-partner and stranger rape was significant (p = .009). In line with the hypothesis, there was no change in PB in the robbery cases when the victim and perpetrator had a prior relationship (p = .213), see Figure 3. From the relationship perspective, perpetrators of rape and robbery were blamed equally in the stranger cases. But while the blame attributed to perpetrators of rape decreased the closer the relationship to the victim, no such decrease was observed in the robbery cases.

Rape myth acceptance. Participants' attribution of blame to the victims of rape and robbery were associated with their rape-supportive attitudes, F(1, 1310) = 154.42, p < .001, $\eta_p^2 = .105$. The relationship between ZRMA and VB was moderated by an interaction of ZRMA with type of crime. As predicted in Hypothesis 4, higher RMA was associated with higher VB for rape (standardized $\theta = .383$, r = .38). Higher RMA was associated with higher VB for robbery as well (standardized $\theta = .229$, r = .23), but the effect was more pronounced in rape cases, F(1, 1310) = 17.25, p < .001, $\eta_p^2 = .013$. Figure 4 shows that VB ratings for participants with low RMA were very similar for rape and robbery. The more participants endorsed rape myths, the more they differentiated between victims of robbery and victims of rape. Attribution of blame to the perpetrator was associated with RMA as well, F(1, 1310) = 76.89, p < .001, $\eta_p^2 = .055$. The higher the RMA, the more participants were inclined to exonerate the perpetrator (standardized $\theta = -.232$, r = .23). The slope for rape PB appeared to have a steeper decline than the slope for robbery PB (Figure 4). But contrary to the hypothesis, the

association between RMA and rape PB was not significantly different from the association between RMA and robbery PB (p = .055).

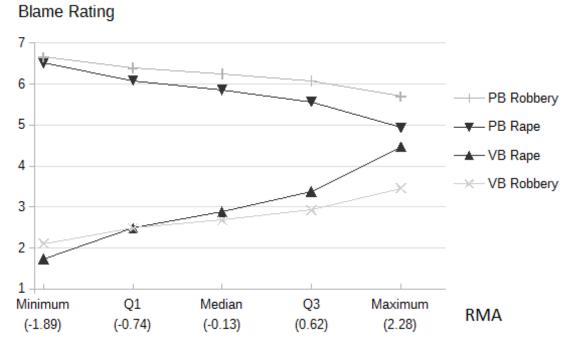


Figure 4. Association between rape myth acceptance (RMA) and ratings of perpetrator blame (PB) and victim blame (VB). To improve readability, the X-axis was offset slightly to the left. Each group between Minimum, Q1, Median, Q3, and Maximum represents 25% of the participants in the sample, the RMA score is the ZRMA cut-off value for that group.

5.2.3 GLM: Exploratory analysis

VB, PB and ZRMA. Figure 4 suggests that the participants with the highest RMA attributed almost as much blame to the perpetrators as they did to the victims of rape. Paired-samples t tests indicated that the difference between the blame attributions to the victims and perpetrators of rape was not significantly different (p = .353) for participants with the highest 5% of ZRMA (n = 22 participants). It also appeared as if participants with low ZRMA scores assigned just as much blame to perpetrators of rape and perpetrators of robbery. This seemed to be true for the lowest 18% of ZRMA scores (n = 82 participants). Most participants received one rape scenario, but some participants received three rape scenarios. Since this analysis was exploratory, it was performed without averaging the blame ratings of participants who received three rape scenarios first; so the two reported effects are likely to be somewhat overestimated.

Relationship by coercive strategy interaction. There was also a non-hypothesized interaction between strategy and relationship for both VB and PB. Perpetrators who committed a rape or robbery were blamed the same when they were ex-partners or strangers, regardless of whether they

used force (p = .289) or exploited a drunk victim (p = 1.00). Acquaintances were judged quite differently: When they used force, acquaintances (M = 6.54, SE = .09) were blamed more than expartners (M = 5.98, SE = .08) or strangers (M = 6.17, SE = .09), F(2, 1310) = 11.77, p < .001, η_p^2 = .018. But when they exploited drunk victims, acquaintances (M = 5.67, SE = .08) were blamed less than expartners (M = 6.00, SE = .09) or strangers (M = 6.00, SE = .08), F(2, 1310) = 5.31, p = .005, η_p^2 = .008. Correspondingly, drunk victims were blamed most in the acquaintance cases (M = 3.61, SE = .09) compared to the ex-partner (M = 3.13, SE = .09) and stranger cases (M = 3.22, SE = .09), F(2, 1310) = 7.82, p < .001, η_p^2 = .012. Overpowered victims on the other hand were blamed most in the expartner cases (M = 2.96, SE = .09) compared to acquaintance (M = 2.09, SE = .10) and stranger cases (M = 1.92, SE = .09), F(2, 1310) = 39.04, p < .001, η_p^2 = .056. Interestingly, victim blame in ex-partner cases was very similar for both coercive strategies (p = .163), but within the respective coercive strategy, it was highest when physical force was used, but lowest when victims were drunk.

Gender, RMA, and their interaction. To check whether the results hinged on the decision to include the AMMSA and FPB scales as a z-standardized composite variable, I ran several analyses for VB with different ways to include AMMSA and FPB, e.g., one or both of the scales separately as covariates or fixed factors (with 2 or 4 categories), or combined to a single measure based on the raw scores of AMMSA and FPB (both as covariate or fixed factors with 2, 3 or 4 categories). Most effects remained stable with only minimal differences in F-, p- and η_p^2 -values. The main effect of rapesupportive attitudes remained unaffected by the different ways of including them in the analysis (all effects significant at p < .001 and in the η_p^2 -range of .10). However, the effect of gender varied greatly with p-values ranging from p = .024 to .911. The interaction between gender and rapesupportive attitudes was affected to a lesser degree with p-values ranging from p = .001 to .061. The proportion of explained variance for VB was nearly identical for the reported model ($R^2 = .29$, adjusted $R^2 = .28$) and a model that excluded gender ($R^2 = .29$, adjusted $R^2 = .28$). When gender but not ZRMA was included in the model R^2 dropped to .19 (adjusted R^2 = .18). For PB, the results from the models showed a similar pattern, albeit less pronounced (reported model: $R^2 = .14$, adjusted $R^2 =$.13; without gender: $R^2 = .12$, adjusted $R^2 = .12$; without ZRMA: $R^2 = .09$, adjusted $R^2 = .08$). The models that excluded gender had balanced cell sizes with n = 107 to 115, so it appears that unequal nand heteroscedasticity in the reported model were not a major concern.

Assumption of independence. With each participant contributing three VB and PB values the assumption of independence was broken. To gauge how that affected the results, the analysis was repeated with three subsamples with only one participant value each that were created through stratified random sampling. There were a few deviations from the expected pattern in the three subsamples, but the deviations seemed to be randomly scattered across subsamples and effects. And

in each case, only one of the three subsamples were affected while the other two fit the pattern. With cell sizes ranging from n = 4 to 32 for the subsamples, I attributed the phenomenon to the reduced robustness against heteroscedasticity, non-normality and outliers. The results for the subsamples were largely the same as the ones for the overall models reported above, apart from the expected drop in power with subsample sizes being only one-third of the overall sample size. Therefore, the results were considered reliable despite the broken assumption of independence.

5.2.4 GLM: Conclusion

Overall, the chosen model explained more variance of VB (R^2 = .29, adjusted R^2 = .28) than of PB (R^2 = .14, adjusted R^2 = .13). Evaluation of Hypothesis 1 to 3 was done at an average level of rapesupportive attitudes (ZRMA at the mean).

Hypothesis 1 that victims of rape were blamed more than victims of robbery was confirmed by the data. As expected, perpetrators were blamed less for rape than for robbery.

Hypothesis 2 that information about the victims' alcohol consumption would increase VB and attenuate PB only for rape cases was partially supported by the data. Instead of VB increasing and PB decreasing only in the rape cases when the victim was drunk, the same effect was found for robbery cases. And while rape victims who succumbed to force were blamed more than victims of robbery in the 'force' scenarios, victims of both rape and robbery were blamed equally when they were drunk. As predicted, the perpetrator was blamed more when he used physical force rather than exploited the alcohol-induced defenselessness of the victim. Unexpectedly, this was true for both rape and robbery.

Hypothesis 3 received partial confirmation from the results as well. The hypothesis predicted to two things for VB: (1) an increase in VB for rape from stranger to acquaintance to ex-partner rape and (2) *no* increase in VB for robbery from stranger to acquaintance to ex-partner robbery. As predicted, victims of stranger rape were blamed less than victims of acquaintance or ex-partner rape. However, the expected increase in VB from acquaintance to ex-partner rape could not be found. Contrary to the hypothesis, victims of ex-partner robbery were blamed more than victims of acquaintance or stranger robbery. From the relationship perspective victim blame differed for rape and robbery only in the acquaintance cases. In conclusion, the first part of the hypothesis that rape victims would be blamed more the closer the relationship was partially confirmed in that victims were blamed more in cases where victim and perpetrator knew each other (acquaintance and expartner cases) compared to when they did not (stranger cases). The second part of the hypothesis that attribution of blame to victims of robbery would not be influenced by the relationship between victim and perpetrator was not supported by the data. Interestingly, whether a rape or robbery was committed made a difference on VB only when the perpetrator was an acquaintance.

For PB, Hypothesis 3 predicted (1) a decrease in perpetrator blame for rape from stranger to acquaintance to ex-partner rape and (2) *no* decrease in PB for robbery from stranger to acquaintance to ex-partner robbery. In the rape cases, PB ratings were attenuated the closer the relationship between the two, but the results were significant only for the difference between the two extremes ex-partner and stranger rape. Thus, the first part of the hypothesis for PB was partially supported by the data. The second part of the hypothesis that attribution of blame to the perpetrator of robbery would be the same regardless of the relationship between victim and perpetrator was consistent with the data. Furthermore, perpetrators of rape and robbery were blamed equally when they did not know the victim. Knowing the victim decreased perpetrator blame in the rape cases, but not in the robbery cases.

Hypothesis 4 that the more participants endorsed rape myths, the more willing they would be to blame the victim and exonerate the perpetrators of rape was supported by the data. As predicted in Hypothesis 4, ZRMA was positively related to VB ratings. The more participants endorsed rape-supportive attitudes, the more they blamed victims for the assault. This effect was significant across both types of crime, but significantly more pronounced for rape than for robbery, as expected. ZRMA was negatively related to PB ratings, and the attenuation of PB with increasing RMA was more pronounced for rape than for robbery cases, but the difference was non-significant.

Across all scenarios, men blamed the perpetrator less than women did and there was a main effect of gender that was not explained by the interaction of gender with ZRMA. Gender did not appear to be an important factor for the attribution of blame to the victim beyond what could be explained by the interaction with ZRMA. However, the effect of gender and to a lesser degree the interaction between ZRMA and gender was unstable in the exploratory analysis. The chosen approach appeared to be suboptimal for modeling the effect of gender, ZRMA and their interaction at the same time. The relationship of gender and rape-supportive attitudes will be further investigated in Hypothesis 6.

5.3 Order of Presentation and the Causal Influence of Rape Myth Acceptance on Blame Ratings

Hypothesis 5 postulated a direct causal link from rape-supportive attitudes to judgments about rape cases. If RMA was directly responsible for blame ratings in rape cases, then those blame ratings should be more closely related to RMA when participants were reminded of their rape-supportive attitudes *before* making judgments about rape cases (condition 'first RMA – then scenarios', from here on referred to as 'RMA first'). The correlation between RMA and blame ratings should be lower when the RMA measure is completed *after* judgments about rape cases were made (condition 'first scenarios – then RMA', from here on referred to as 'Scenarios first').

5.3.1 Oder of presentation: Model assumptions and specifications

To test this hypothesis, overall scores for both PB and VB were created by averaging across the six rape scenarios, and the six robbery scenarios, respectively. Pearson's r correlation coefficients for ZRMA ratings with VB and PB for rape and robbery were calculated separately for the 'RMA first' and the 'Scenarios first' condition. Fisher's Z was used to assess the significance of the difference between the correlations coefficients for 'RMA first' and 'Scenarios first'. To test whether two correlation coefficients are different, they need to be compared relative to the expected variability for the respective sample size. The variance of r grows smaller as it approaches 1. Fisher's r-to-z transformation stabilizes the variance, so that the two z-transformed r values can be compared with a Z-test (Garbin, 2010). For a discussion of the data being interval level, see section 4.3.2. Scatterplots indicated a linear relationship between the variables for all 16 combinations of RMA measures, blame ratings, type of crime, and order of presentation (2x2x2x2). The dependent variables VB and PB were highly skewed with quite a few outliers. The assumption of homoscedasticity was not tenable for most of the factor level combinations. These factors suggested using the robust Spearman's rank correlation coefficient rho instead of Pearson's product-moment correlation coefficient r. But as Pearson's r is more common and often used despite violated assumptions, both correlation coefficients will be reported. According to Sheskin (2003), Fisher's r-toz transformation can be used for Spearman's rho if $N \ge 10$ and rho < .90 and by replacing the term 1/(n-3) with 1.06/(n-3). I adapted the spreadsheet version of Garbin's FZT Computator (n.d.) for that purpose. Fisher's Z-test has low power (Kenny, 1987). Two independent samples of N = 230 each would require, for example, r = .45 vs .29 or r = .30 vs .12 for the null hypothesis to be rejected at p <.05. Due to the low power of the test, the hypothesis-testing was limited to testing the difference between 'RMA first' and 'Scenarios first' in the rape cases, with alpha levels for both VB and PB set a p < .025.

5.3.2 Order of presentation: Hypothesis-testing

The overall rape VB was M = 2.94, SD = 1.45, $\alpha = .81$ and the overall rape PB was M = 5.97, SD = 1.20, $\alpha = .88^{20}$. Correlations were computed between the ZRMA and the two blame ratings (VB, PB) for each of the two orders of presentation. Pearson's r ranged from .31 to .47, all p < .01. Spearman's r ranged from .27 to .46. Contrary to the expectation, correlation coefficients between

 $^{^{20}}$ Every participant contributed three sets of VB and PB scores because three scenarios each were randomly assigned to one of the four questionnaire groups for data collection (which entails four groups of participants). Three groups of participants contributed one VB/PB set for rape and two sets for robbery. One group of participants contributed three VB/PB sets for rape and none for robbery. The overall mean and standard deviation are based on participant averages, so that the opinion of the sample as a whole would not be distorted by some participants contributing multiple values. Cronbach's α as a scale property was based on the complete set of individual item scores regardless of how many scores were contributed by the same participant.

ZRMA and VB/PB were higher for the 'Scenarios first' condition. Fisher's *Z* indicated no significant differences between 'RMA first' and 'Scenarios first' condition (see Table 5).

5.3.3 Order of presentation: Exploratory analysis

Three questionnaire group completed only one rape scenario each, whereas one

Table 5. Pearson's and Spearman's correlation coefficients rape and robbery VB/PB sorted by 'RMA first' and 'Scenarios first'. The correlation coefficients were compared using Fisher's Z.

		ZRMA (Pearson's r))	ZRMA (Spearman's <i>rho</i>)			
	RMA first (N)	Scenarios first (N)	Fisher's <i>Z</i> (<i>p</i>)	RMA first (N)	Scenarios first (N)	Fisher's <i>Z</i> (<i>p</i>)	
Victim blame							
Rape	.409** (229)	.470** (225)	0.80 (.423)	.400** (229)	.457** (225)	0.72 (.616)	
Robbery	.340** (172)	.266** (169)	0.75 (.456)	.355** (172)	.265** (169)	0.89 (.376)	
Fisher's <i>Z</i> (<i>p</i>)	0.79 (.430)	2.32 (.021)		0.50 (.616)	2.10 (.036)		
Perpetrator blame							
Rape	308** (230)	367** (228)	0.71 (.479)	264** (230)	342** (228)	0.89 (.375)	
Robbery	296** (172)	217** (169)	0.77 (.439)	278** (172)	217** (169)	0.58 (.563)	
Fisher's <i>Z</i> (<i>p</i>)	0.13 (.897)	1.61 (.092)		0.14 (.885)	1.29 (.197)		

^{**.} Correlation is significant at p < .01. Correlations are based on participant averages so that each participant's opinion would count only once. Correlation coefficients and Fisher's Z in bold font with gray shading were part of the hypothesis-testing, the correlation coefficients for robbery and the other Fischer's Z values were computed as part of the exploratory analysis.

questionnaire group completed three rape scenarios ('rape - force - stranger', 'rape - alcohol – acquaintance', and 'rape - force - ex-partner'). It is conceivable that the results above are at least partially due to most participants completing only one rape scenario, e.g., because participants reacted differently to information about the coercive strategy or relationship. To explore this possibility, correlations between the ZRMA and the blame ratings (VB, PB) were computed separately for each of the questionnaire groups. For rape, only questionnaire group 1 with 'rape - alcohol - expartner' had the expected pattern of a higher correlation between ZRMA and VB/PB for 'RMA first'. The three other groups showed higher correlation between VB/PB with ZRMA in the 'Scenarios first'

condition. More interesting was the observation that blame ratings for both VB and PB for rape and robbery were more similar in the 'RMA first' than in the 'Scenarios first' condition.

5.3.4 Order of presentation: Conclusion

Hypothesis 5 predicted a causal link from RMA to blame ratings in rape cases in that RMA ratings would be more closely related to blame ratings when participants were reminded of their rape-supportive attitudes *before* making judgments about rape cases. The correlation coefficients showed a consistent pattern: For rape, all correlations were *higher* in the 'Scenarios first' condition, and not in the 'RMA first' condition as predicted. The exploratory analysis showed that RMA scores also correlated with blame ratings in the robbery cases. Unlike the rape cases, correlations were higher in the 'RMA first' than in the 'Scenarios first' condition in the robbery cases. This resulted in a pattern where correlations of blame attributions with ZRMA were more similar for rape and robbery in the 'RMA first' condition and more disparate in the 'Scenarios first' condition. But with regard to Hypothesis 5, Fisher's *Z* indicated no significant differences between the 'RMA first' and 'Scenarios first' condition. Thus, the hypothesis that RMA would be more closely linked to rape blame ratings when RMA measures were completed before the scenarios was not supported by the data.

5.4 Rape Myth Acceptance as a Mediator for the Effect of Gender

Hypothesis 6 stated that men would be more inclined to blame the victim and exonerate the perpetrator than women due to men's greater adherence to rape myths. Thus, the effect of gender on blame ratings was expected to be mediated by RMA. In a simple mediation model (Figure 5), the mediator (partially) explains the relationship between a predictor and an outcome variable. The traditional causal steps approach to mediation (Baron & Kenny, 1986) focuses on the reduction of the total effect between the predictor and the outcome when the mediator is included in the model. The indirect effect (ab) is not tested itself but is inferred from the amount by which the total effect (c) of the predictor is decreased (c) when the mediator is included in the analysis (ab = c - c). More recent studies showed that a significant total effect was not necessary for an indirect effect to occur. For example, the total effect of experimental exposure to political campaign news (predictor) on the likelihood of voting (outcome) could be non-significant, while an indirect effect is present: Exposure to political campaign news could reduce trust (mediator), which results in a lower likelihood of voting (Hayes, 2009).

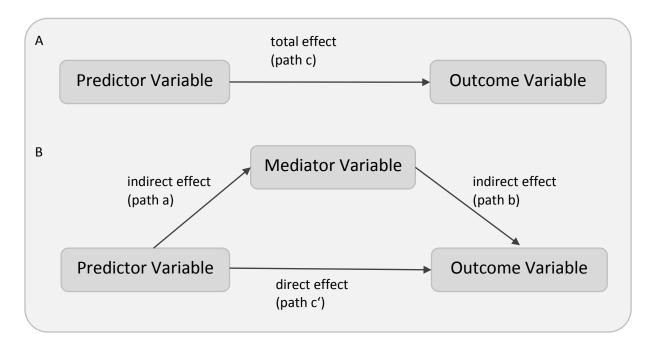


Figure 5. Model (A) shows the total effect of the predictor on the outcome variable. Model (B) shows a simple mediation model.

5.4.1 Mediation: Model assumptions and specifications

The indirect effect of gender on blame ratings via rape-supportive attitudes was tested with Hayes' PROCESS²¹ macro for SPSS (v2.13, released 26 September 2014). This approach was preferred over the traditional causal steps approach (Baron & Kenny, 1986) due to its higher power and because it allows to test the indirect effect itself (Hayes, 2009). Since the order of presentation did not have any significant immediate effect on blame ratings (Hypothesis 5), both 'RMA first' and 'Scenario first' data was included in the model. Two overall scores for rape, one for VB and one for PB, were computed for each participant. Gender was entered as the predictor variable, ZRMA as the mediator. VB for rape (and PB, respectively) were entered as outcome variables (PROCESS model number 4). The percentile bootstrapping confidence intervals (CI) were chosen for better Type I error control compared to the bias corrected CIs (Fritz, Taylor, & MacKinnon, 2012; Hayes & Scharkow, 2013). Hayes and Preacher (2014) suggest adjusting p-values or using CIs greater than 95% to account for multiple testing. However, Bender and Lange (2001) caution that CIs greater than 95% slightly reduce the risk of Type I error in multiple testing but do not adequately control the error rate. Therefore, the acceptable individual level alpha was set to p < .025 (instead of adjusting the reported p-values). The report of the indirect effect does not come with a p-value, so as a compromise the 99% CI was requested for this test. As recommended by Hayes (2009), the results are based on 5000 bootstrapping samples. The PROCESS macro uses listwise deletion per default. Mediation analysis requires outcome variables to be quantitative, continuous and unbounded (Field, 2013). VB for rape

²¹ http://processmacro.org/

ranged from 1.00 to 7.00 both men and women. Frequency analyses showed no apparent gaps within the range for both men and women. PB for rape ranged from 1.80 to 7.00 for both genders. For both men and women, the PB scores were a slightly further apart on the low end of the range. But with no apparent gaps, both VB and PB for rape were considered to be unbounded. For a discussion of a 7-point scale being interval level, see section 4.3.2. The upper and lower bound for the Durbin-Watson test statistic are dL = 1.83 and dU = 1.85 for N = 440, k = 2 (including the intercept), $p < .05^{22}$. With d-values ranging from 1.78 to 1.86, some paths appeared to be positively autocorrelated. However, with a sample of N > 440, the Durbin-Watson test statistic is fairly strict and computing overall scores per participant provided independent, cross-sectional data for this analysis. The d-values were considered close enough to d = 2 that further investigation into clustering on variables such as age or field of study was considered unnecessary. Unstandardized coefficient (B) and the standard error (SE) will be reported. Since ZRMA is a standardized variable, an interpretation of the B values involving this variable is not possible in terms of the original 7-point scale.

5.4.2 Mediation: Hypothesis-testing

N=443 cases were included in the rape VB model. Gender had a significant total effect on rape VB (path c, B=-0.18, SE=.07, p=.014, negative values from gender indicate higher scores for men). Gender also had a significant effect on ZRMA with B=-0.28, SE=.05, p<.001 (path a). The effect of ZRMA on rape VB (path b) was significant at B=0.71, SE=.07, p<.001. Including both gender and ZRMA in the model resulted in a non-significant direct effect (path c', B=0.01, SE=.07, p=.893) and an indirect effect of B=-0.19, 99% CI [-0.31, -0.10], see model (A) in Figure 6. In addition, the Sobel test statistic =-0.19 indicated a significant reduction from the total to the direct effect (p<.001). $\kappa^2=.13$, 95% CI [.08, .18] indicated an effect in the medium range (Preacher & Kelley, 2011).

N=446 cases were included in the rape PB model. As was the case for rape VB, gender had a significant total effect on rape PB (path c, B=0.25, SE=.06, p<.001). The effect of ZRMA on rape PB (path b) was significant at B=-0.40, SE=.06, p<.001. After including both gender and ZRMA in the model, gender still had a significant direct effect on PB rape (B=0.14, SE=.06, p=.021). The indirect effect of gender on rape PB through ZRMA was B=0.11, 99% CI [0.05, 0.19], see model (B) in Figure 6. Additionally, the Sobel test statistic of 0.11 indicated a significant reduction from the total to the direct effect of gender on rape PB (p<.001). $\kappa^2=.08$, 95% CI [.05, .12] indicated a small to medium effect size (Preacher & Kelley, 2011).

 $^{^{22}}$ All critical Durbin-Watson d values for N > 200 obtained from http://web.stanford.edu/~clint/bench/dw05c.htm

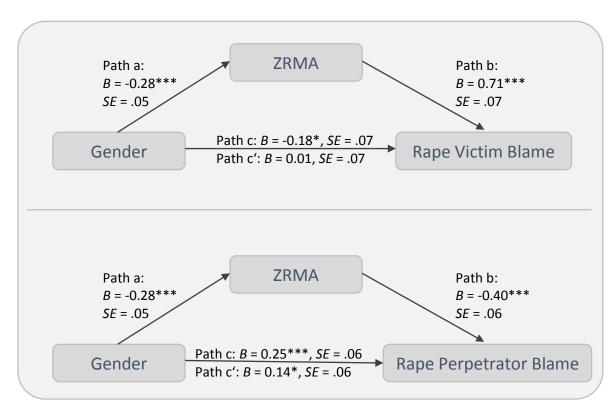


Figure 6. * = significant at p < .025. *** = significant at p < .001. ZRMA as a mediator between participant gender and rape victim blame (A) and rape perpetrator blame (B) respectively. Path c' shows a reduced direct effect of gender on VB and PB when ZRMA is included in the model. Gender was coded as -1 for male and as 1 for female participants, so that negative paths from gender indicate higher scores for men. Path coefficients are unstandardized beta coefficients.

5.4.3 Mediation: Exploratory analysis

Due to the exploratory nature of the following analysis, no adjustment for multiple testing was made apart from a p-value criterion of 0.025 for each VB/PB couplet. Hypothesis 5 indicated that the link between RMA and blame ratings was not stronger when RMA were measured first. Based on this observation, data from both orders of presentation were included in the mediation model reported above. To check whether it would have changed the results to include only participants from the 'RMA first' condition, separate analyses for 'RMA first' and 'Scenario first' were conducted. Apart from the loss in power, the results were largely the same both 'RMA first', 'Scenarios first' and the overall model reported above. To investigate whether the mediating effect of ZRMA between gender and VB/PB could also be found in the robbery cases, the analyses were conducted again with robbery VB and PB as outcome variables. While the total and direct effect of gender on robbery VB and PB was non-significant, the analyses found an indirect effect for both VB and PB when ZRMA was included in the model. Furthermore, when rape VB and PB were entered as mediators into the model with ZRMA as the outcome variable, indirect effects for gender on ZRMA through rape VB/PB emerged as well. Interestingly, the reduction from the total to the direct effect was much smaller when rape VB was the mediator instead of ZRMA (however, the reduction was still significant). Exchanging ZRMA and rape PB as mediator and outcome variable resulted in largely the same drop

from total to the direct effect that was observed for ZRMA as the mediator and rape PB as the outcome. Zero-order correlations between RMA (ZRMA, AMMSA and FPB) and blame ratings (VB and PB) were consistently higher for rape than for robbery cases.

5.4.4 Mediation: Conclusion

Hypothesis 6 postulated that men would be more inclined to blame the victim and exonerate the perpetrator than women due to men's greater adherence to rape myths. For both rape VB and PB there was a significant indirect effect of gender on blame ratings through rape-supportive attitudes. For VB, the direct path from gender to rape VB was nearly zero when ZRMA was included in the model. In this sample, gender no longer affected rape VB after ZRMA had been controlled. However, the 95% CI for B = .01 was [-0.13, 0.15], so a partial mediation in the population is possible. In the case of rape PB, gender still had predictive power even after ZRMA was included in the model. This suggests a partial mediation. However, conclusions from mediation analysis are only valid to the degree that the causal assumptions are valid (Judd & Kenny, 2010; as cited in Kenny, 2014). The causal assumptions in this study were (1) that gender cannot cause rape blame ratings directly, (2) that the effect of gender must thus be mediated by another variable (namely rape-supportive attitudes), and (3) that rape-supportive attitudes cause rape blame ratings. According to the exploratory analysis, rape blame ratings cause rape-supportive attitudes almost to the same degree as rape-supportive attitudes cause rape blame ratings. This result suggests either (1) an omitted variable that causes both rape-supportive attitudes and rape blame ratings, (2) a common method effect in that both measures are self-reports from the same person, or (3) a model specification error in that rape blame ratings in fact cause ZRMA (Kenny, 2014). A reverse causal effect cannot be determined statistically. But it is reasonable to assume that attributing blame to victims and perpetrators is somehow an expression of personal opinions and attitudes (as opposed to, e.g., purely situational factors). Thus, the reverse causal effect seems improbable. The exploratory analysis showed a mediating effect of rape-supportive attitudes from gender to blame ratings for robbery cases as well. It is possible that an omitted variable causes both RMA and blame ratings for rape and robbery. In this case, ZRMA acts as a "proxy" for the omitted variable (Kenny, 2014). Whether the results are caused by an omitted variable or are a common method effect is unclear. In conclusion, Hypothesis 6 that the effect of gender on rape blame ratings is mediated by rapesupportive attitudes is supported by the data, but exploratory analysis questions the causal assumption of the model.

6 Discussion

The last chapter is dedicated to critically discuss the analysis. I will summarize and interpret the most important results and compare them to other relevant research. This will be followed by a reflection on methodological strengths and limitations of the present study. I will close with a conclusion and suggestions for future research.

One interest of the present study was to see whether attribution of blame to the victims and perpetrators was different depending on whether a rape or robbery was committed, and how judgments were influenced by participants' rape myth acceptance. Another goal was to investigate how the perpetrators' coercive strategy and the victim-perpetrator relationship operated differently within the crimes of rape and robbery. Furthermore, this study investigated the causal role of rape myth acceptance on blame ratings by testing whether reminding participants of their rapesupportive attitudes prior to rating the case scenarios would have an immediate impact on their judgment. Lastly, it was expected that men would blame the perpetrators of rape less and victims of rape more than women due to men's higher rape myth acceptance.

The study was embedded in the framework of data-driven and schema-driven information processing. Data-driven information processing is the careful, elaborate way of thinking, whereas schema-driven information processing, the 'quick and dirty' way of thinking, relies on prior opinions and generalized beliefs (schemata) to categorize and judge available information (Kunda, 1999). The reliance on the schema of the real rape stereotype – the violent attack of a stranger on an unsuspecting victim – has been linked to the phenomenon of victim blaming, where cases that deviate from the real rape stereotype are denied the status of a genuine rape.

The present study largely built on the work of Bieneck and Krahé (2011), Krahé et al. (2007), and Temkin and Krahé (2008, Study 2). It extends past research by applying the vignettes used by Bieneck and Krahé (2011) and the rape myth acceptance measures created by Cowan and Quinton (FPB scale, 1997) and Gerger et al. (AMMSA scale, 2007) in Turkey and thus a cross-cultural context.

6.1 Discussion of the Results

The discussion of the results will broadly follow the order of the hypotheses but with a few exceptions. The first section (6.1.1) will compare the results of the two rape myth acceptance scales AMMSA and FPB with those found in other studies. Hypothesis 1 and 4 will be discussed collectively in section 6.1.2. Hypothesis 2 will be discussed in section 6.1.3 and Hypothesis 3 in section 6.1.4. Section 6.1.5 on the causal role of rape myth acceptance will combine a discussion of Hypothesis 5 with considerations for the causal assumptions of the mediation model of Hypothesis 6. The results

of Hypothesis 6 will be discussed separately in the subsequent section 6.1.6. The discussion of the results will be concluded section 6.1.7

6.1.1 Rape myth acceptance scales AMMSA and FPB

The present study was the second one to employ the Turkish version of the AMMSA and FPB scale after the unpublished previous research project. Said unpublished previous research project indicated that the AMMSA and FPB scale (Gerger et al., 2007; and Cowan & Quinton, 1997, respectively) performed as well in Turkey as they did in countries of the North American mainstream (see below). The present study supports this impression as well.

AMMSA scale. The AMMSA scale was developed to measure contemporary myths regarding sexual violence and to achieve distributions that approximate normality better than other rape myth acceptance scales through more subtle wording (Gerger et al., 2007). The results from the present study indicated no deviation from normality for the AMMSA scale. The mean agreement with the items of the AMMSA scale²³ (M = 3.47, SD = 0.91, $\alpha = .76$) was slightly lower compared to the previous research project (M = 3.78, SD = 0.81, $\alpha = .72$). Results from both this study and the previous research project were higher compared to results from Krahé et al. (2008) from Germany with undergraduate law students (M = 2.97, SD = 0.84, $\alpha = .84$, Study 1) and postgraduate trainee lawyers (*Gerichtsreferendare*, M = 2.92, SD = 0.75, $\alpha = .77$, Study 2). Another recent study in Germany with a student sample (Süssenbach et al., 2015) found lower rape myth acceptance (measured with the 11-item AMMSA scale) compared to the Turkish results as well (M = 3.05, SD = 1.18, $\alpha = .89$, Study 1). The results from Turkey were lower compared to results from the general public in the United Kingdom (M = 3.90, Temkin & Krahé, 2008, Study 3).

FPB scale. The FPB scale showed positive skewness and negative kurtosis in the present study. While the FPB scale was positively skewed and platykurtic in previous research project as well, the effect was more pronounced in the present study. Agreement with the FPB scale (M=3.00, SD=1.70, $\alpha=.88$) was slightly lower compared to the previous research project as well (M=3.17, SD=1.52, $\alpha=.82$). Temkin and Krahé (2008) found similar or lower agreement with the FPB scale in the United Kingdom among undergraduate law students (M=3.12, SD=1.46, $\alpha=.87$, Study 1), vocational law students (M=2.68, $\alpha=.85$, Study 2) and the general public (M=2.99, Study 3). Cowan and Quinton's (1997) original results in a US-American sample were higher (M for men = 4.29, SD=1.46; M for women = 3.64, SD=1.62) than in the present sample (M for men = 3.62, SD=1.78; M for women = 2.72, SD=1.59). However, a quick internet search shows that sexual assault and rape

²³ Both the AMMSA and the FPB scale were measured on 7-point scales ranging from 1 (*completely disagree*) to 7 (*completely agree*). All studies referred to in this section used 7-point AMMSA and FPB scales as well. Unless otherwise noted, the AMMSA scale was used in the 16-item short version (Gerger et al., 2007).

have been a topic of public interest in many jurisdictions during the past two decades. This is also reflected in the legislative changes and initiatives in several countries like Turkey (Anıl et al., 2005), Germany (Spiegel Online, 2015), the United Kingdom (Temkin & Krahé, 2008), or the United States of America (Criminal Justice Information Services (CJIS) Division Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Program, 2013). Therefore, comparisons with older results must be interpreted with caution.

Response bias. A caveat for the cross-cultural comparison of AMMSA and FPB results is that the items of both scales are coded in the same direction (higher scores indicate higher rape myth acceptance). Meisenberg and Williams (2008) found a greater tendency in countries of the Middle East (defined as "the Muslim countries from Morocco to Pakistan", p. 1542) to agree with statements of a questionnaire (acquiescence bias) and to prefer the endpoints of a scale (extreme responding). It is unclear to what degree the results of the presented study were affected by this tendency compared to the other studies in this section. Education was found to be negatively related to acquiescent and extreme responding in most regions of the world (Meisenberg & Williams, 2008), but as most of the studies (including this one) were based on current of former university student samples, this is a lesser concern.

Validity. The AMMSA and FPB scale were applied in the Turkish version with the implicit assumption that the validity found for their English and German counterparts extended to the Turkish version as well. Both scales have face validity: They appear to be measuring the concept they are supposed to measure. The effect of both scales on victim and perpetrator blame in the rape cases indicate criterion validity: Both seem to measure the same construct. The similar results for studies from Germany and the United Kingdom from the past decade give rise to optimism that the scales are appropriate in the Turkish context as well. However, the validity of the scales in their Turkish version has not been tested thoroughly. The partial overlap for blame in both rape and robbery cases suggests that research specifically testing convergent and discriminant validity, i.e. the degree to which the scales correlate with concepts they should or should not correlate with, is necessary.

6.1.2 Attribution of blame in rape and robbery cases the association with rape myth acceptance

Type of crime. The first hypothesis expected more blame to be attributed to victims of rape than to victims of robbery while less blame was attributed to the perpetrators of rape than to the perpetrators of robbery. This hypothesis referred to a general leniency toward perpetrators and harsher judgment of victims of rape compared to robbery. The results from this study were consistent with the hypothesis for participants with average rape-supportive attitudes: Perpetrators

of rape were blamed less than perpetrators of robbery. Conversely, victims of rape were blamed more than victims of robbery. However, rape myth acceptance operated differently for rape and robbery within victim and perpetrator blame, respectively.

Rape myth acceptance and blame attribution. Hypothesis 4 pertained to rape myth acceptance as a source of schematic information processing with regard to ratings of victim and perpetrator blame. Based on previous research which found that the more participants endorsed rape myths the more blame they attributed to rape victims (Anderson et al., 1997; Grubb & Turner, 2012; Ward, 1995; as cited in Krahé et al., 2007), the same was expected in this study. Conversely, higher rape myth acceptance was expected to be related to a greater willingness to exonerate the perpetrators of rape (e.g. Krahé et al., 2008; Temkin & Krahé, 2008). As discussed in section 2.2 rape myth acceptance is generally correlated with other oppressive belief systems and just world beliefs which might lead to an interaction of rape myth acceptance for both rape and robbery. While some association between rape myth acceptance and blame ratings was expected for both types of crime, the increase in victim blame and the decrease in perpetrator blame with higher levels of rape myth acceptance was expected to be more pronounced in rape cases than in robbery cases.

The analysis showed a main effect of rape myth acceptance on both victim and perpetrator blame. The results supported the hypothesis that higher rape myth acceptance would be related to more victim and less perpetrator blame. Despite receiving the exact same case descriptions, participants with stronger rape-supportive attitudes were more willing to exonerate the perpetrator compared to participants with less rape-supportive attitudes. This was true for both rape and robbery cases. An inspection of Figure 4 (which shows the association between rape myth acceptance and ratings of victim and perpetrator blame separately for rape and robbery) suggests that participants with high rape myth acceptance were more willing to exonerate the perpetrators of rape than the perpetrators of robbery. Exploratory analysis supported that impression. But the effect in the overall model was above the accepted alpha level (p < .025) with p = .055. This is possibly a drawback of the chosen approach. A model that did not assume independent observations but rather accounted for the effect of subject might have produced a significant effect. But in the chosen model, the level of rape myth acceptance was not associated with a significant distinction between perpetrators of rape and perpetrators of robbery.

Rape myth acceptance and robbery blame attribution. The effect of attenuating perpetrator blame with increasing rape myth acceptance regardless of whether a rape or a robbery was committed is consistent with the expectation that in the case of robbery, rape myth acceptance served as a 'proxy' for another variable that is confounded with rape myth acceptance. Although rape myth acceptance was correlated to perpetrator blame ratings in both rape and robbery cases,

exploratory correlational analysis showed that correlations were consistently higher for rape than for robbery blame ratings. Suarez and Gadalla (2010) conducted a meta-analysis on 37 studies and found high rape myth acceptance levels to be consistently and significantly associated with several behavioral and attitudinal indicators, such as acceptance of interpersonal violence, or hostile attitudes and behaviors toward women. However, exactly which underlying or correlated variable caused perpetrator blame in robbery cases to be correlated with rape myth acceptance cannot be answered in the present study.

Victims in both rape and robbery cases were blamed more by participants with stronger rape-supportive attitudes. Participants with low rape myth acceptance did not differentiate between rape and robbery victims when making judgments about victim responsibility. But the increase in victim blame with increasing rape myth acceptance was not parallel for the two types of crime. The increase in victim blame was significantly more pronounced for rape than for robbery victims. As described for perpetrator blame, there appears to be a confounding variable that results in attribution of blame to both rape and robbery victims: One possible underlying variable that may be correlated with victim blame ratings in both rape and robbery cases are just world beliefs. The need to believe in where people get what they deserve and deserve what they get (Lerner, 1980) has been linked to the attribution of blame to victims of negative outcomes ranging from illness over unemployment to assault and theft (see Hafer & Begue, 2005, for a summary). The level of rape myth acceptance was related to a unique increase in rape victim blame beyond a general tendency to blame the victims of both crimes. This means that while participants with high compared to low rape myth acceptance attributed more blame to the victim in general, they did so particularly in the rape cases.

For both perpetrator and victim blame participants evaluated the exact same case descriptions differently depending on their attitudes about rape. While both rape and robbery victims were held more responsible by participants with high rape myth acceptance, this bias put victims of rape in particular at a disadvantage. There was a main effect of crime that was not explained by the interaction between crime and rape myth acceptance. Due to the differences of the two crimes, this main effect of crime is open to interpretation.

The focus of the study was on how background information about the victim's intoxication and prior victim-perpetrator relationship operated differently within each type of crime.

6.1.3 Influence of the perpetrator's coercive strategy on blame ratings

Hypothesis 2 expected that – compared to cases where the perpetrator used physical force – information about victim intoxication would reduce perpetrator blame and increase victim blame in the rape cases where the victim was too drunk to resist, but not in the corresponding robbery cases.

Coercive strategy. At an average level of rape myth acceptance the analysis showed an influence of the perpetrator's coercive strategy on ratings of both victim and perpetrator blame. Perpetrators who used force were blamed more than perpetrators who exploited the victim's alcohol-induced defenselessness, but this was true for both rape and robbery cases. The expected leniency bias that participants would be more willing to exonerate perpetrators who raped rather than robbed drunk victims could not be found. For perpetrator blame, coercive strategy operated in the same way in both rape and robbery scenarios and the hypothesis of a special leniency toward perpetrators of rape who exploited the victim's alcohol-induced incapacitation was not supported.

Coercive strategy and type of crime. The attribution of responsibility to the victim was influenced by an interaction between type of crime and coercive strategy, but not in the expected manner. The hypothesis postulated that coercive strategy would operate differently within each type of crime. However, this was not the case. Instead, type of crime operated differently within each type of coercive strategy. When the perpetrator used force, rape victims were blamed more than robbery victims. But when the perpetrator exploited the victim's alcohol-induced defenselessness, victims were blamed more in both rape and robbery cases compared to overpowered victims. Participants distinguished between the two crimes when the victims succumbed to force, but not when the victim was drunk.

Alcohol in Turkey. Most Turks are Muslims (Central Intelligence Agency, 2015). Recreational consumption of alcohol is forbidden (haram) in Islam because it can lead to intoxication (sukr), "a state in which he or she may forget the creator" (Ahmed, Memish, Allegranzi, & Pittet, 2006, p. 1026). Although only 23% of respondents described themselves as a religious person in a Turkish national telephone survey in 2012^{24} , Turkey is influenced by the taboo surrounding alcohol: The country has the lowest per capita alcohol consumption rate in Europe (1.5 litres a year), 83% of the population indicate practicing abstinence (Letsch, 2013) and laws surrounding alcohol are restrictive, e.g., with high taxes, an advertising ban and blurred images of alcohol on TV (Hürriyet Daily News, 2013). This suggests that any negative bias toward rape victims (indicated in the 'force' condition) may have been overlain by a stronger negative bias toward *intoxicated* victims. The main effect of strategy was in fact the largest of the whole victim blame model ($\eta_p^2 = .115$). This is somewhat at odds with Gölge et al. (2003) who interpreted their results in a Turkish sample to indicate that the victim-perpetrator relationship was a more prominent factor in the attribution of blame to victims of

 $^{^{24}}$ In response to the question: "Irrespective of whether you attend a place of worship or not, would you say you are a religious person, not a religious person or a convinced atheist?", 23% described themselves as a religious person, 73% as not a religious person, 2% as a convinced atheist, and 2% did not know or gave no response (N = 1031).

rape than alcohol consumption. While their date rape victim and perpetrator were described as having "drinks all evening", the alcohol consumption of one of the stranger rape victims was only insinuated with going "to a bar and have fun" (both p. 656). The alcohol consumption of the stranger and ex-partner rape victim in the present study were more explicit and probably contributed to the difference.

Bias against intoxicated victims? Although all of the victims in the 'alcohol' condition were drunk as a result, the drinking behavior of the robbery victims²⁵ could have appeared more disreputable compared to the rape victims²⁶. When reading the same case descriptions, participants in the Turkish sample appeared to be more sensitive to information about alcohol and intoxication than participants in Bieneck and Krahé's German sample (2011). The effect was not hypothesized, so future research is necessary to test whether it can be replicated with scenarios where both rape and robbery victims display more comparable drinking behavior, to what degree it depends on factors like traditional gender roles or beliefs about female purity and behavioral propriety, and whether it extends to male victims as well. The Turkish Criminal Code considers perpetrators who exploit a victim's physical or mental inability to protect themselves as deserving of a higher punishment (see 4.2.4), yet participants were more willing to exonerate perpetrators who exploited the victim's alcohol-induced defenselessness. This study set out to investigate (among other things) how perceptions of blame are influenced by stereotypical notions that deny cases where rape victims were intoxicated the status of a 'real rape'. The present results suggest that there might be more prominent stereotypical notions that deny cases which involve victim intoxication the status of a 'real crime'.

6.1.4 Influence of the victim-perpetrator relationship on blame ratings

Hypothesis 3 predicted an interaction between type of crime and victim-perpetrator relationship. The first part of the hypothesis postulated that in the rape cases, victim blame would increase and perpetrator blame would decrease the closer the relationship between victim and perpetrator prior to the event. The second part of the hypothesis predicted that victim and perpetrator blame would be the same in the robbery cases regardless of the relationship between victim and perpetrator. This hypothesis was evaluated at an average level of rape myth acceptance as well.

²⁵ Drinking behavior of the three robbery victims: (1) two bottles of sparkling wine with a friend, (2) drunk enough to vomit, (3) drinking vodka alone in the presence of a non-drinker.

²⁶ Drinking behavior of the three rape victims: (1) quickly drunk on cocktails due to not being used to alcohol, (2) a bottle of wine at a dinner is mentioned but no reference to drinking or the victim being drunk, (3) quickly drunk from several drinks due to not being used to alcohol.

Relationship: Victim blame. For victim blame, the first part of the hypothesis that blame ratings would increase from stranger over acquaintance to ex-partner rape was partially supported by the data. Victim blame was lower in the rape cases where victim and perpetrator did not know each other (stranger rape) compared to when they did know each other (acquaintance and expartner rape). The blame rating for acquaintance rape was expected to fall in between stranger and ex-partner rape, but instead victims in the acquaintance rape scenarios were blamed about as much as in the ex-partner cases. In the preceding unpublished research project, victim blame in the acquaintance cases was more similar to stranger cases. However, the previous research project only contained scenarios in which the victims were overcome by physical force and none of the victims was drunk. The second part of the hypothesis that victims of robbery cases would not be blamed differently in any of the relationship constellations was not supported by the data. The victim blame in the robbery cases corresponded to the attribution of victim blame in the rape cases: Robbery victims in the ex-partner cases were held more responsible than robbery victims in the stranger cases. But unlike the rape cases, the victims of acquaintance robberies were judged more like the victims of stranger robberies. The results for victim blame showed a negative bias toward victims who knew their attacker, but victims of robbery were affected by this bias about as much as rape victims (at an average level of participants' rape myth acceptance).

Relationship: Perpetrator blame. Hypothesis 3 that perpetrator blame would decrease only in the rape cases the closer the relationship to the victim was supported by the data. Perpetrators who assaulted a stranger were blamed equally for rape and robbery. A closer relationship to the victim decreased perpetrator blame in the rape cases, but not in the robbery cases. While perpetrator blame in the rape cases decreased from stranger to acquaintance to ex-partner rape as predicted, only the difference between strangers and ex-partners was significant. The results can be considered to reflect schematic information processing and indicate a double standard: Relationship information affected participants' perception of perpetrator blame more strongly in the rape cases than in the robbery cases. When assessing the responsibility of the perpetrator, participants let their judgment be influenced by generalized beliefs and stereotypic notions that deny cases that deviate from the stranger rape stereotype the status of a 'real rape'. The victim-perpetrator relationship is not a critical feature of the legal definition of rape, 27 so there was no legal justification to exonerate the perpetrators the closer the relationship to the victim. The influence of the victim-perpetrator relationship on blame ratings is among the most widely researched variables in the field and most studies find deviations from the stranger rape stereotype to be associated with increased victim

²⁷ As reported in 4.2.4, the Turkish Criminal Code stipulates higher sentences for a rape committed against a family member (up to third degree relation or kinship) and spousal rape is investigated and prosecuted only upon complaint of the victim. However, this is irrelevant for the cases at hand.

blame, decreased perpetrator blame, and/or reduced certainty that a rape has taken place (e.g., Bieneck & Krahé, 2011; Cowan, 2000; Gölge et al., 2003; Krahé et al., 2007; Simonson & Subich, 1999; Viki et al., 2004).

Relationship and coercive strategy. The analysis showed an unhypothesized interaction between the victim-perpetrator relationship and the perpetrator's coercive strategy for both victim and perpetrator blame. When the perpetrator was an ex-partner (collapsed over rape and robbery), victim blame was highest in the force-related cases and lowest in the alcohol-related cases. These results are similar to those found by Krahé et al. (2008) in a study that contained only rape cases. Krahé et al. (2008) found victim blame to be higher when there was a prior relationship and in the alcohol-related cases compared to force-related cases, but with a reverse pattern in ex-partner cases. The present results are consistent with Krahé et al.'s (2008) suggested interpretation that victims who get drunk to the point of incapacitation might have been considered more careless when interacting with someone they do not know very well compared to a former partner; possibly, victims are not expected to be on their guard around a person they know and trust. Conversely, victims who were overpowered by an ex-partner may have been expected to anticipate the violence and were thought to be more careless. While Krahé et al. (2008) found a complementary pattern for perpetrator blame, the results in this study were inconsistent. Possibly, Turkish culture places a higher burden on women to prevent their own victimization in that they are expected to be on their guard when interacting with people they do not know very well or in cases where they 'should have known better' (ex-partner/force cases). This interpretation is based on the comparison of the results compared to a single study (Bieneck & Krahé, 2011), so further research is necessary to corroborate these findings.

Acquaintances. The role of acquaintances in the present study was inconsistent. Acquainted perpetrators of rape were judged more like ex-partners in this study (contained both 'force' and 'alcohol' condition), but more like strangers in the previous research project (contained only 'force' scenarios). This and the unhypothesized interaction between coercive strategy and relationship add to the complexity. Across rape and robbery, overpowered victims were blamed almost as little in the acquaintance as in the stranger cases, but drunk victims were blamed most in the acquaintance cases. When the perpetrator was an acquaintance he was blamed most for using force but least for exploiting the victim's intoxication (compared to strangers and ex-partners, across rape and robbery). These results add to a body of literature where the attribution of blame in acquaintance cases is inconsistent (for a summary, see Grubb & Harrower, 2008).

Whatley (1996) suggested the disparity of the scenarios as a possible reason for inconsistent findings concerning acquaintance (rape) cases. It is possible that acquaintance cases are considered

more ambiguous with regard to consent (Temkin & Krahé, 2008) so that other variables (such as victim intoxication or behavior, location, time of day, or delay of reporting to the police) become more important. This interpretation is consistent with studies that found a hierarchy of rape-related schemata The scenarios in this study were the same as the ones used by Bieneck and Krahé (2011) but yielded different and, more importantly, less consistent results. Apart from the manipulated variables the vignettes contained unsystematically varying content since participants received more than one scenario. It is possible that this additional content in the vignettes operates differently in different cultures. It seems that with written vignettes the role of acquaintances can only be resolved by tighter control of the circumstances of the incident and an application of the same scenarios across cultures. Another possibility is the use of a different methodology: Süssenbach, Bohner, and Eyssel (2012) used eye-tracking to investigate which elements of an alleged crime scene photo participants focused on. In another study, Süssenbach et al. (2015) let participants read about a rape case and look at a photograph of the alleged crime scene that contained RMA-applicable (e.g. alcoholic beverages) or neutral stimuli. Photographs with manipulated stimuli (with or without eyetracking) could be adapted to investigate whether participants focus on different elements depending on the relationship between victim and perpetrator.

6.1.5 The causal influence of rape myth acceptance on blame ratings

Hypothesis 5 investigated whether evidence could be found that rape myth acceptance causes blame ratings. To test this causal role of rape myth acceptance on blame ratings, half of the participants were reminded of their rape-supportive attitudes immediately prior to making judgments about the cases while the other half made the case judgments first and then completed the rape myth acceptance scales.

Contrary to Hypothesis 5, blame ratings in the rape cases (for both victim and perpetrator) showed a weaker link with rape myth acceptance when the rape myth acceptance measures were completed first. However, the differences were not significant. This result is in contrast with findings from Temkin and Krahé (2008, Study 2) who found victim (but not perpetrator) blame ratings in rape cases to be significantly more closely linked to rape myth acceptance when rape myth acceptance was measured first.

Subsequent exploratory analysis showed that the link between rape myth acceptance and *robbery* blame ratings was higher for both victim and perpetrator blame when rape myth acceptance was measured first. This resulted in a situation where the correlations between rape and robbery blame ratings (for both victim and perpetrator) and rape myth acceptance were more similar in the group that completed the rape myth acceptance measures first. Conversely, correlations between blame ratings for both victim and perpetrator with rape myth acceptance differed more when participants judged the cases before completing the rape myth acceptance scales. While

Hypothesis 5 was not supported by the data, being reminded of one's rape-supportive attitudes before making blame ratings appeared to have an anchoring effect for participants that influenced the interpretation of both rape and robbery cases.

Looking only at the results of the present study, it is possible that the endorsement of rape myths does not have the expected causal influence on blame attribution in rape cases. But there are two main aspects inherent to the design of the present study that might have contributed to the failure of the intended manipulation. First of all, studies where the manipulation had the expected effect, e.g., Bohner et al. (1998, 2005 for rape proclivity) or Temkin and Krahé (2008, Study 2, for rape victim blame), focused on rape cases exclusively. While Hypothesis 5 pertained to the rape cases as well, most participants completed only one rape scenario: Each scenario was randomly assigned to one of the four groups of participants (questionnaire groups), so that each group completed three of the twelve scenarios. While one group of participants completed three rape scenarios, the other three groups all completed one rape and two robbery scenarios. The rape and robbery cases did not differ only with regard to the independent variables coercive strategy and victim-perpetrator relationship. Since each participant received three scenarios, the 'fill material', i.e., the content of the vignettes that creates the backdrop of the scenarios, had to be varied to create more realistic and less artificial situations. This subtlety left more opportunity for participants to interpret the situations based on their generalized beliefs compared to more blatantly worded scenarios (e.g., Brems & Wagner, 1994; Frese et al., 2004²⁸; Gölge et al., 2003). On the downside, this made controlling for the additional content difficult. Furthermore, rape myth acceptance could be expected to have less influence on cases that are closer to the real rape stereotype. In the present study, the specific content of the scenarios may have created too much variation, especially for the three-fourths of the sample that completed only one rape scenario and where blame attributions could not be averaged over several scenarios. The reported general linear models in the hypothesistesting section were limited to main effects and 2-way interactions, but in support of the notion that rape myth acceptance operates differently within the various factor level combinations, exploratory analysis indicated higher-order interactions of rape myth acceptance with the independent variables and gender. On the other hand, analyzing the correlations between rape myth acceptance and blame ratings for both orders of presentation (separately for each questionnaire group) yielded similar but less consistent results for both the groups that completed one rape scenario and the group that received three rape scenarios. Only the group whose only rape scenario was the one that deviated most from the real rape stereotype ('rape - alcohol - ex-partner') showed consistently higher

²⁸ Frese et al.'s (2004) acquaintance rape scenario: "Imagine that a young woman who is drunk and dressed in a short skirt leaves a party accompanied by a man who she doesn't know very much and this man forces her to have sexual intercourse with him."

correlations in the 'RMA first' condition than in the 'Scenario first' condition. It is possible that controlling for benevolent and hostile sexism might have yielded more distinct results. As described in section 2.2, these two facets of sexism operate differently in cases that conform to the real rape stereotype compared to cases that deviate from it (see also Abrams et al., 2003).

Secondly, another aspect inherent to the study design that might have contributed to the failure of the intended manipulation is a possible interaction between the order of presentation and type of crime. As described above, completing the rape myth acceptance scales first appeared to have an anchoring effect so that correlations between blame ratings and rape myth acceptance were more similar for rape and robbery cases in the 'RMA first' group than in the 'Scenarios first' group. This pattern was consistent at the macro level (aggregation up to the two orders of presentation), but more inconsistent at what one might call a mezzo or meso level (questionnaire groups) and micro level (single scenarios). While this is unsurprising, it adds to the difficulty of interpreting this effect.

Causal assumptions of the mediation analysis. The reason for testing the causal influence of rape myth acceptance on blame ratings (Hypothesis 5) was the implicit causal assumption of the mediation analysis of Hypothesis 6 that the effect of gender on blame ratings is mediated by rape myth acceptance. Mediation analysis makes several causal assumptions²⁹ (Kenny, 2014). But the important one in this study is the assumption that rape-supportive attitudes cause blame ratings (as opposed to the other way around or both are caused by a third variable). As discussed in the previous paragraphs, the causal assumption was not supported by the data. This has implications for the mediation model of Hypothesis 6.

Since the order of presentation failed to have an effect, results from both the 'RMA first' and the 'Scenarios first' condition were included in the mediation model.³⁰ This entails conducting mediation analysis on purely observational data with no experimental support from the present study for the causal assumption. Some researchers, notably Judea Pearl (e.g., Pearl, 2001, 2010), state that causal inference can never be proven with statistics, regardless of whether experimental or observational data was used. They argue that the strength of the inference depends on the validity of the design alone.

Exploratory analysis indicated that rape myth acceptance and rape blame ratings could be exchanged as mediator and outcome variables (although the mediation effect was generally greater when rape myth acceptance was entered as the mediator and the blame rating as the outcome

²⁹ The causal assumptions for the mediational model in this study were (1) that gender cannot cause rape blame ratings directly, (2) that the effect of gender must thus be mediated by another variable (namely rape-supportive attitudes), and (3) that rape-supportive attitudes cause blame ratings.

³⁰ Separate exploratory analyses for both orders of presentation had little impact on the results except for the loss of power due to cutting the sample in half.

variable rather than the other way around). Both measures were self-reports, so a similar result after exchanging the mediator and outcome variable might be a common method effect (Kenny, 2014). In their review, Grubb and Turner (2012) found rape myth acceptance and rape victim blaming to be interrelated to such a high degree that they describe the two concepts to be synonymous with each propagating the other.

Further exploratory analysis indicated that rape myth acceptance acted as a mediator for blame ratings in the robbery cases as well (although the indirect effect was less pronounced). Apart from a possible common method effect, this suggests an omitted variable (Kenny, 2014) that is confounded with rape myth acceptance, rape blame ratings as well as robbery blame ratings. Some possible variables were discussed in 6.1.2.

6.1.6 Mediation: Gender as a marker for rape-supportive attitudes

Effect of gender. Based on findings like that of Krahé et al. (2007) who found gender differences in rape blame ratings to be partially mediated by rape myth acceptance, the same was expected in the present study. Hypothesis 6 tested whether the effect of gender on blame ratings was due to men's higher rape myth acceptance using Hayes' approach to mediation (2009). Men blamed the victim more and the perpetrator less than women did and preliminary analysis showed that men also endorsed rape myths more than women. When rape myth acceptance was included in the model, the predictive power of gender on victim blame all but vanished: Men's greater tendency to blame the victim could be almost completely explained by their greater endorsement of rape-supportive attitudes. For perpetrator blame, the effect of gender was partially mediated by rape myth acceptance as well, but some predictive power of gender on blame ratings remained after including rape myth acceptance.

Male perpetrators, female victims. The perpetrators of the present study were all male, the victims all female. This confounded the role of victim and perpetrator with gender category (Gerber et al., 2004). According to the defensive attribution hypothesis (Shaver, 1970), the observers' perceived similarity and identification with the victim or perpetrator influences the attribution of blame. It is possible that men were more willing to exonerate the perpetrator and blame the victim because they identified with the male perpetrator rather than the female victim. In their US-American sample, Gerber et al. (2004) found that men were more willing to exonerate the perpetrator regardless of whether it was a man or woman. It was assumed but not tested that this finding extended to the Turkish sample here.

Causal assumptions of the mediation model. As discussed in section 6.1.5, the causal influence of rape myth acceptance on blame ratings could not be established in the present study.

This does not change, however, that gender by itself has no explanatory value with regard to blame ratings. According to MacKinnon, Krull, and Lockwood (2000), mediation and confounding effects are statistically the same and only differ conceptually. So the causal inference of the mediation effects described above is valid to the degree that rape myth acceptance scales measure an attitude (or concept) and rape blame ratings are an expression of these attitudes in specific situations. Other studies found different conceptual support for the notion that the effect of gender on blame ratings is mediated by rape myth acceptance: When male and female participants did not differ in their rape myth acceptance, neither did they differ in blame ratings (e.g., Krahé et al., 2007, Study 1; Temkin & Krahé, 2008, Study 2).

6.1.7 Conclusion of the results

With regard to the influence of the victim-perpetrator relationship and the perpetrator's coercive strategy on rape blame attributions, the results were consistent with the hypotheses and with previous studies: Victims who were drunk at the time of the assault were blamed more than victims who were overcome by force. Furthermore, victim blame increased and perpetrator blame decreased when the rape deviated from the stranger rape stereotype; although victims were blamed almost equally in acquaintance and ex-partner cases. This study adds to the body of literature that found victim-perpetrator relationship and the victim's alcohol consumption to be important predictors for schematic information processing and the attribution of blame in rape cases. Furthermore, the results lend support to the notion that the real rape stereotype is a cross-culturally common phenomenon.

Rape myth acceptance was strongly associated with blame ratings which further underlines the importance of that factor for social decision-making in rape cases. Rape myth acceptance also acted as a mediator between gender and blame attributions – for victim blame more so than for perpetrator blame. The support for the causal influence of rape myth acceptance on blame attribution in rape cases was not found, but as discussed, several particularities of the study design may have contributed to that. However, the exploratory analysis did support the notion that reminding participants of their rape-supportive attitudes immediately prior to the judgment task did have an anchoring effect that is open to interpretation.

Results for the robbery cases were overall similar to the results of the rape cases. Apart from the main effect of the type of crime, the only effect that was fully consistent with the hypotheses was that perpetrator blame in robbery cases did not change the closer the relationship to the victim. The effect of the perpetrator's coercive strategy, or possibly more aptly named 'victim's alcohol consumption' may have contributed to this: Unexpectedly, alcohol consumption of the victim had an important influence on blame attributions in both rape and robbery cases. The results for rape suggests that cases which deviate from the real rape stereotype are denied the status of a 'real rape,'

but possibly, the cases in which the victim consumed alcohol are denied the status of a 'real crime.' Possibly, this effect is linked to more restrictive beliefs about women's social roles, i.e., that the robbery victims were blamed because participants considered their behavior as inappropriate for a woman or that the victims should have been more careful to prevent their own victimization.

6.2 Discussion of the Limitations of the Study Design

The instruments and materials used in this study worked generally well. But the instruments as such as well as the conclusions drawn based on the analysis are subject to several limitations. This section discusses the methodological limitations of the present study. The implications of the chosen GLM approach with regard to effect sizes will be presented in section 6.2.1 and limitations regarding the Turkish university student sample will be outlined in section 6.2.2. The difficulties of comparing two crimes, rape and robbery, will be addressed in section 6.2.3. The vignette methodology will be scrutinized in section 6.2.3, followed by a discussion of the influence of additional scenarios content in section 6.2.5. The limitations of self-report questionnaires and possible impact of response biases will be described in section 6.2.6.

6.2.1 Effect sizes

The effect sizes found for the general linear models in this study were lower compared to those reported by Bieneck and Krahé (2011) and those found in the previous research project. However, those studies both employed a within-subject design. The present study had a partial within-subject design, but including subject as a random factor could not be realized due to lack of computational power. Therefore, the effect of subject was not accounted for, as discussed in 5.2.3. Ignoring the (partial) within-subject structure of a study design underestimates the effect size and thus the reported effect sizes of the general linear models are biased toward the low end. While the effect sizes were useful to judge their relative importance within the two models, comparisons beyond the present study should be interpreted with caution.

6.2.2 Sample

The current sample was composed of university and on-campus vocational school students, aged 18-33, and thus fairly homogeneous. Higher education was found to be associated with lower rape myth acceptance (see Suarez & Gadalla, 2010), so it is possible that the level of rape myth acceptance is higher in the general population. The focus of the study was on the underlying factors and processes of impression formation with regard to victim and perpetrator blaming in rape compared to robbery cases in Turkey. While the underlying factors and processes of impression formation might be less affected by education or age than specific results, there is some indication that e.g., victim intoxication and sobriety is judged differently in the general population compared to

student samples (T. C. Kelly, 2009; as cited in van der Bruggen & Grubb, 2014). It remains to be seen whether the results generalize to the Turkish population as a whole. From a cross-cultural perspective the student sample of this study allows for better comparisons to the many other studies that use student samples as well.

6.2.3 Comparing rape to robbery

Choosing an adequate criminal offense to compare rape to is not a simple matter, especially in cross-cultural research where legal definitions vary between countries. Consent plays a critical role in rape cases. Regarding consent, theft or larceny (without a direct confrontation of the victim) is a crime where it may be difficult to determine whether one person agreed to the other person taking an item. However, this would completely disregard the violence, violation, and threat to personal safety inherent in rape. This aspect is better represented in robbery with a direct confrontation of the victim. Brems and Wagner (1994; Study 2) found more blame attributed to the victim of theft (including an attack against the person) than to the victim of rape. But as Bieneck and Krahé (2011) noted, their scenario implied higher victim fault in the theft case by highlighting the display of jewelry by the victim. In their study, as well as in the present study (which used the same scenarios as Bieneck and Krahé, 2011, in the Turkish version), victims of rape were blamed more than victims of robbery. Due to the differences between the crimes, the main effect of type of crime is open to interpretation.

6.2.4 Vignette methodology

The present study relied on short written vignettes of a fictional event. Participants read the descriptions and after each vignette were asked to complete several questions about the scenario they just learned about. Using vignettes in this study allowed to systematically vary the critical variables type of crime, the perpetrator's coercive strategy, and the victim-perpetrator relationship. Furthermore, written vignettes allowed to test many participants at the same time without special equipment. The vignettes and ensuing blame rating scales proved to be a reliable tool and the association with the rape myth acceptance scale give rise to optimism about their validity, although more effort is necessary to disentangle the relationship between *rape* myth acceptance and *robbery* blame attribution.

As described before, the vignette technique has been criticized, mainly for using over-simplified and hypothetical cases that might not motivate participants enough to engage in data-driven appraisal of the information. This limits the ecological validity of the vignettes, i.e., the extent to which the results generalize to real-life situations (Bieneck, 2009).

Realism and plausibility. The descriptions are necessarily short and simplified, and might not properly represent real cases (O'Dell, Crafter, Abreu, & Cline, 2012). However, the German version of

the vignettes used in this study were rated to be realistic and plausible for the robbery scenarios in a pilot study (Bieneck & Krahé, 2011); the rape scenarios were taken from previous research (Krahé et al., 2007). It was assumed that the scenarios were equally realistic and plausible in Turkey. The translators suggested minor changes in the content to make the scenarios more plausible in a Turkish context, e.g., using a security cabin instead of a porter cabin, but no objections were raised against the scenario situations as a whole. But whether participants found the scenarios realistic and plausible was not specifically tested.

Ecological validity. It is unclear to what extent the results generalize to real-life situations. But, following the argumentation of Bieneck (2009), the purpose of this study was to deepen the understanding of the underlying processes of impression formation and social decision-making with regard to rape cases in Turkey. The brevity of the description may have drawn the participants' attention to the relevant cues and being part of a study could have led them to interpret any information in the case descriptions as relevant (Süssenbach et al., 2013). As discussed in 6.1.5, the vignettes of the present study were more subtle than some earlier vignettes (e.g., Brems & Wagner, 1994; Frese et al., 2004; Gölge et al., 2003). Each participant received three out of twelve randomly assigned scenarios. It cannot be excluded that some participants were able to identify the critical variables, but both the higher subtlety and seeing only a fraction of the scenarios make this reasonably unlikely.

Participants may have interpreted any information in the case descriptions as relevant, but as Temkin and Krahé (2008) point out: Providing participants with an account of what happened provides much less room for interpretation compared to real-life situations (although in some scenarios participants were left to decide if they believed the perpetrator's explanation of the event). If participants show reliance on stereotypical notions even in these relatively clear-cut situations, the effect is likely to be more pronounced in real-life situations, e.g., a real trial, where accounts of the victim and perpetrator might well be contradictory and incomplete (Temkin & Krahé, 2008).

Lack of motivation. Participants knew that their judgments would not affect any real people and alternatives are very limited due to ethical and legal considerations (Bieneck, 2009). The reliance on generalized beliefs in the present study might well be due to a lack of motivation to engage in data-driven appraisal of the information. The ecological validity is limited, because it is unknown how the participants would behave in real life. But while the ecological validity of vignettes is under dispute, rape victims do face rape myths in their interactions with their social environment, and/or the legal, medical, and health care system (e.g., Ahrens et al., 2007; Brown et al., 2007; Campbell et al., 2001; Campbell, 2008; Jordan, 2004; L. Kelly, Temkin, & Griffiths, 2006; Wheatcroft et al., 2009)

and several jurisdictions³¹ have implemented rape shield laws which limit the admission of evidence in trials, e.g., with regard to the victim's past sexual behavior. Even if rape shield laws are not always applied robustly (Temkin & Krahé, 2008), they show a recognition of the problem that stereotypical notions about rape, even if legally irrelevant, can influence the legal decision-making in rape trials.

6.2.5 The influence of additional scenarios content

Bieneck and Krahé (2011) employed a within-subject design and so it was necessary to create scenarios with different content rather than e.g., creating one generic scenario and exchanging the type of crime, the perpetrator's coercive strategy and victim-perpetrator relationship. Furthermore, each combination of type of crime, coercive strategy, and victim-perpetrator relationship was represented by only one scenario. The additional content beyond the critical variables may have influenced participants' responses (Bieneck & Krahé, 2011). Since the same scenarios were used in the present study, this limitation applies here as well. As Krahé et al. (2007) point out, this limitation does not apply to the differences in blame ratings associated with the level of rape myth acceptance: Participants evaluated the exact same case scenarios differently depending on their rape-supportive attitudes.

6.2.6 Self-report questionnaires and response biases

Self-report questionnaires are subject to response biases, i.e., systematic errors of measures due to, e.g., respondents' individual differences or the survey situation (Furnham, 1986).

Social desirability bias. Simonson and Subich (1999), as well as Aosved and Long (2006), found a link between the tendency to respond in a socially accepted way and perception of rape victims or rape myth acceptance, respectively (both studies used short versions of the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale; Strahan & Gerbasi, 1972). Due to the 20-minute time constraint a measure of social desirability was not feasible in the present study. The data was collected with self-report questionnaires in a classroom setting. Sitting close to other people might have elicited a feeling of being watched, even though participants completed the questionnaires individually. It cannot be excluded that this reinforced a tendency of some or all participant to present themselves in a favorable way. Sexual assault and rape are socially sensitive and emotionally charged issues and, as discussed above, have been a matter of public interest in Turkey over the past decade. It is possible that rape and robbery cases were subject to socially desirable responding to a different degree. As a mitigating factor, the scenarios were randomly assigned to the questionnaire groups

³¹ Jurisdiction with rape shield laws include the United States (National Districts Attorneys Association, 2011), the United Kingdom (Temkin & Krahé, 2008), or Australia (Australian Law Reform Commission, 2006)

and individual participants' tendency to respond in a socially desirable way was thus spread over the different factor level combinations.

Acquiescent and extreme response styles. As discussed in 6.1.1, Meisenberg and Williams (2008) found a greater tendency to agree with statements or use the endpoints of a scale in the Middle East compared to other "cultural provinces" (p. 1543), e.g., "Protestant Europe" or "English-speaking". To what degree this biased the results of the AMMSA and FPB scale compared to results from other countries is unclear. The vignettes, on the other hand, should all be affected to the same degree, since the scenario items were the same for all vignettes (apart from the names and crime references). The focus of the study was the influence of the independent variables on the blame attribution rather than the specific scores, so acquiescent or extreme response styles were not a major concern for the vignette items.

6.3 Conclusion

When considering the causes for any event, the maximum responsibility that can be attributed to a single factor is 100% ('sole responsibility'). Any blame that is attributed to the victim of a crime automatically serves to reduce attribution of blame to the perpetrator (Krahé, 2013). As presented in the introduction, this effect has been linked to the attrition of rape cases in the justice system (Temkin & Krahé, 2008). While Temkin and Krahé (2008) focused on the United Kingdom, reports from Turkey (e.g., Anıl et al., 2005; Gölge et al., 2003; Human Rights Watch, 2011; Yenginsu, 2012) give little reason to suspect that the situation in Turkey is different, if not more severe.

Despite the limitations discussed in the previous section, the present study offers valuable insight into social decision-making rape cases in Turkey and thus a cultural context different from most studies conducted in Western countries.

The more participants endorsed rape myths, the more they blamed the victim, and the less they blamed the perpetrator. While this put the victims of both crimes at a disadvantage, it did so particularly in the rape cases and participants were more willing to exonerate the perpetrators rape than the perpetrators of robbery. Turkey's ratification of the *Istanbul Convention* (Council of Europe, CETS No.210, 2011) signifies agreement with its Article 36 which demands to criminalize any nonconsensual acts of a sexual nature. All victims in the rape scenarios did express their non-consent. Regardless of what the victims did or did not do to look after their personal safety, no decision of the victim makes the perpetrator's action any less blameworthy. This is also reflected in the Turkish Criminal Code which only stipulates increased punishment for aggravating circumstances and not

reduced sentences for assaulting certain victims (as was the case for raping prostitutes before 1990, see 4.2.4).

The results showed a general tendency to blame the victims and exonerate the perpetrators in cases of rape more than in cases of robbery. The level of rape myth acceptance was associated with more leniency toward the perpetrator and harsher judgment of the victims in general, but proved to be particularly detrimental for victims of rape. Consistent with previous results, men blamed victims more than women, and the effect of gender on blame attributions was (partially) mediated by men's higher rape myth acceptance. The results for rape complement results from Western studies and are consistent with schematic information processing: Rape cases that deviated from the real rape stereotype (because the victim was drunk or because of a previous sexual or non-sexual relationship with the perpetrator) resulted in higher blame attribution for victims and lower blame attribution for perpetrators. The results are consistent with the notion that the real rape stereotype is a cross-cultural phenomenon and victim-perpetrator relationship as well as alcohol consumption of the victim are stable predictors.

Future research. The results regarding robbery cases raise several questions for future research: First of all, rape myth acceptance, a correlate of other victim blaming attitudes (Hafer & Begue, 2005), was also a predictor for robbery blame attributions and rape and robbery perpetrator blame were not significantly different in the chosen model. Secondly, cases that involved victim intoxication showed similar patterns between rape and robbery. However, in cases where the perpetrator used physical force, rape victims were blamed more than robbery victims. Also, victims of ex-partner robberies were blamed about as much as victims of ex-partner rape. Blame attributions to the perpetrator of robbery were unaffected by the victim-perpetrator relationship. As discussed before, the drinking behavior of the robbery victims may have appeared more disreputable than that of the rape victims.

Possibly, all these effects are linked to more restrictive beliefs about women's social roles, i.e., that both rape and robbery victims were blamed because participants considered their behavior as inappropriate for a woman or that the victims should have been more careful to anticipate critical situations and prevent their own victimization. In this case, the degree of stereotypicality of the circumstances (victim's role) may have been confounded with women's gender role. Future research could usefully separate the victim's role from the female gender role, as suggested by Masser et al. (2010), e.g., by using scenarios with systematic variation of women (not) doing 'appropriate things' and (not) being overall 'good victims,' e.g., being assaulted while helping out in the household of a hospitalized friend and showing a lot of resistance. It may be difficult to integrate the victim's alcohol consumption with stereotypically appropriate behavior, but another line of research with more comparable drinking behavior of rape and robbery victims would be helpful to determine whether

there is bias with regard to victim intoxication that treats perpetrators more leniently and victims of different crimes more severely.

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7 References

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Appendix

Appendix A: The Modern Myths about Sexual Aggression scale (AMMSA; Gerger, Kley, Bohner, & Siebler, 2007) in English and Turkish

AMMSA scale in English	AMMSA scale in Turkish
After a rape, women nowadays receive ample support.	Günümüzde tecavüzden sonra kadınlar yeterli desteği alabilmektedir.
To get custody of their children, women frequently falsely accuse their ex-husbands of sexual violence.	Kadınların çocuklarının velayetini almak için eski eşlerinecinsel saldırı iftirası atması sık görülür.
Many women tend to exaggerate the problem of male violence.	Pek çok kadın erkeklerin şiddet problemini abartma eğilimindedir.
Nowadays, a large proportion of rapes is partly caused by the depiction of sexuality in the media as this raises the sex drive of potential perpetrators.	Günümüzde medyanın cinselliği betimleme şekli potansiyel suçluların cinsel dürtülerini artırmaktadır. Bu da tecavüzlerin büyük bir kısmının sebebidir.
When a woman starts a relationship with a man, she must be aware that the man will expect to will expect to have a sexual relationship.	Bir kadın bir erkekle ilişkiye başladığında, erkeğin cinsel ilişki beklentisi içinde olduğunun farkında olmalıdır.
Most women prefer to be praised for their looks rather than their intelligence.	Pek çok kadın zekalarından ziyade görünüşlerininövülmeini tercih eder.
Because our society has a disproportionate interest in sex, its sensitivity to crimes in this area is disproportionate as well.	Toplumumuzun cinselliğe yönelik orantısız bir ilgisi olduğu için bu alandaki suçlara duyarlılığı da orantısızdır.
Women like to play coy. This does not mean that they do not want sex.	Kadınlar naz yapmayı severler; bu seks istemediklerianlamına gelmez.
When a man urges his female partner to have sex, this cannot be called rape.	Bir erkek kadın partnerine seks yapma konusunda ısrarcı davrandığında buna tecavüz denemez.
Women often accuse their husbands of marital rape just to retaliate for a failed relationship.	Kadınların kocalarını evlilik içi cinsel tacizle suçlamalarının nedeni çoğunlukla kötü gitmiş bir ilişkinin intikamını almaktır.
The discussion about sexual harassment on the job has mainly resulted in many a harmless behaviour being misinterpreted as harassment.	İş yerinde cinsel taciz tartışmaları, çoğunlukla taciz olarak yorumlanmış zararsız davranışın sonunda oluşmuştur.
In dating situations the general expectation is that the woman "hits the brakes" and the man "pushes ahead".	Flörtlerde genel beklenti erkeğin "itmesi", kadınınsa "frenlemesidir".
Although the victims of armed robbery have to fear for their lives, they receive far less psychological support than do rape victims.	Silahlı soygun kurbanları hayatları için daha çok korkuyor41 olmalarına rağmen tecavüz kurbanlarından çok daha az psikolojik destek almaktadır.
Alcohol is often the culprit when a man rapes a woman.	Bir erkeğin kadına tecavüz etmesinde suç etkeni çoğunlukla alkoldür.

Many women tend to misinterpret a well-meant	Pek çok kadın iyi niyetli bir hareketi cinsel saldırı	
gesture as a "sexual assault".	olarak yanlış yorumlama eğilimindedir.	
Nowadays the victims of sexual violence receive	Günümüzde cinsel şiddet kurbanları kadın	
sufficient help in the form of women's shelters,	sığınakları, terapi seçenekleri, destek grupları	
therapy offers, and support groups.	şeklinde yeterli yardımıalmaktadır.	

Appendix B: Female Precipitation Beliefs (Cowan & Quinton, 1997) in English and Turkish

FPB scale in English	FPB scale in Turkish
One of the causes of rape is that women do unsafe things (such as being out alone, hitchhiking).	Tecavüze sebep olan şeylerden biri kadınların güvenli olmayan şeyler yapmasıdır (Dışarıya yalnız çıkmak, otostop çekmek gibi).
One of the causes of rape is that women tease men.	Tecavüzün sebeplerinden biri kadınların erkekleri kışkırtmasıdır.
One of the causes of rape is that women use drugs or alcohol.	Tecavüzün sebeplerinden biri kadınların uyuşturucu ya da alkol kullanmasıdır.
One of the causes of rape is that women dress in a "sexy" way.	Tecavüzün sebeplerinden biri kadınların "seksi" giyinmesidir.
One of the causes of rape is that women allow the situation to get out of control.	Tecavüzün nedenlerinden birisi, kadının durumun kontrolden çıkmasına izin vermesidir.
One of the causes of rape is that women allow men to touch them intimately.	Tecavüzün nedenlerinden birisi kadının erkeğin yakın dokunuşlarına izin vermesidir.

Appendix C: Victim Blame and Perpetrator Blame Items in English and Turkish

How much do you think [the victim] is to blame for what happened?	Sizce [kurban] bu olaydan ne derecede sorumlu tutulabilir?
How much do you think [the victim] had control over the situation?	Sizce [kurbanın] durum üzerinde ne derece kontrolü vardı?
How much do you think [the victim] could have avoided the incident?	Sizce [kurbanın] olaydan kaçınabilmesi ne kadar muhtemeldir?
How sorry do you feel for [the victim]?	Kurban için ne kadar üzüldünüz?
How much do you think [the perpetrator] is to blame for what happened?	Sizce [mücrim] bu olaydan ne derecede sorumlu tutulabilir?
How much do you think [the perpetrator] had control over the situation?	Sizce [mücrimin] durum üzerinde ne derece kontrolü vardı?
How certain are you that [the perpetrator] should be legally punished for rape/robbery?	[Mücrimin] tecavüz/soygun için yasal olarak cezalandırılması gerektiği konusunda ne kadar eminsiniz?
How strongly do you think [the perpetrator] ought to be held criminally liable for rape/robbery?	[Mücrimin] tecavüzün/soygunun cezai sorumluluğunu alması gerektiğini ne ölçüde düşünüyorsunuz?
If you were the judge, how certain are you that you would find [the perpetrator] guilty of rape/robbery?	Hakim siz olsaydınız, [mücrimin] tecavüzden/soygundan suçlu bulacağınıza ne kadar eminsiniz?

Appendix D: The Rape and Robbery Vignettes in German or English and Turkish

Rape – Force – Ex-partner

Until their separation a few weeks ago, Sally and Tom had been a couple. After the separation, Sally moved into a flat of her own. She asked Tom, with whom she was still friendly, to help her with a few jobs in the flat. Tom gladly agreed and came round one evening after work. When he had fixed all the lamps and hung up all the pictures, the two of them sat down and chatted about old times. They moved closer and closer towards each other on the sofa, embraced and finally kissed. Tom's kisses became more and more passionate, and his hands wandered from her breasts down between her legs. At that point, Sally protested. She got up from the sofa and asked him to leave instantly. Tom took no notice and pushed her back onto the sofa. He held down her arms and pushed her down with his own weight. She tried to fight him off unsuccessfully, and he had sexual intercourse with her. Tom denied having forced her and claimed that Sally consented. He said that throughout their relationship Sally had enjoyed rough sex.

Birkaç hafta önceki ayrılıklarına kadar Selma ve Burak sevgiliydiler.

Ayrılıklarından sonra Selma kendi evine taşındı. Selma, hala arkadaşı olarak gördüğü için Burak'tan eviyle ilgili birkaç iş için yardım istedi. Burak bu teklifi memnuniyetle kabul etti ve bir akşam işten sonra Selma'nın evine gitti.

Burak, tüm lambaları tamir ettikten ve resimleri astıktan sonra ikisi birlikte kanepeye oturdular ve eski günler hakkında konuşmaya başladılar. Kanepede gitgide birbirlerine yaklaştılar, sarıldılar ve en sonunda öpüştüler. Burak'ın öpücükleri gittikçe daha tutkulu bir hal almaya başladı ve eli Selma'nın göğüslerinden bacaklarının arasına doğru gezinmeye başladı. Bu noktada Selma karşı çıktı. Birden kanepeden kalktı ve Burak'a gitmesini söyledi. Burak bu sözlere aldırış etmedi ve Selma'yı tekrar kanepeye itti. Onu kollarından sıkıca tuttu ve kendi vücut ağırlığını kullanarak kanepeye yatırdı. Selma başarısızca ondan kurtulmaya çalıştı ama Burak onunla cinsel ilişkiye girdi. Burak, Selma'yı zorladığını inkar etti ve Selma'nın rızasının olduğunu iddia etti. İlişkileri süresince de Selma'nın sert seksten zevk aldığını söyledi.

Rape – Force – Acquaintance

said "Aren't you going to invite me in for coffee?" Ada explained that she was regular basis. Ada and Guy have talked a few times in the past, and Guy gave this. She reported the matter to the police a month later. Guy denied having forced her and said that Ada consented. He told the police that he knew that feeling tired but thanked him for the lift and said that she looked forward to away. Whilst waiting for the bus, Guy drove past in his car. He offered her a she sees Guy there who is a sports coach and offers courses at the club on a She struggled and protested but he had sexual intercourse with her despite she had had sex with at least three of the instructors at the gym and had no Guy immediately. He laughed and proceeded to attempt to remove her clothes. Every Tuesday night, Ada goes to a fitness club for a workout. Occasionally, evening Guy was showing some new customers round the club so that Ada finished her workout, she was rather tired and wanted to go home straight ift which she readily accepted. When they arrived outside her house, Guy and Guy did not have a chance to exchange a few words. When Ada had her valuable advice on how to work out on the different machines. One She opened the car door to get out. then leaned over her and shut the door. She demanded that he open reason to think she would not do the same with him. seeing him next week at the club.

görüşmeyi sabırsızlıkla beklediğini söyledi. Dışarı çıkmak için arabanın kapısını girişiminde bulundu. Ada karşı çıktı ve mücadele etti ama buna rağmen Mert bulundu. Mert onu zorladığını inkar etti ve onun razı olduğunu söyledi. Ayrıca onunla cinsel birleşme yaşadı. Bir ay sonra Ada polise durumla ilgili şikayette görüyordu. Ada ve Mert'in geçmişte birkaç kez konuşmuşluğu vardı ve Mert açtı. Sonra Mert Ada'nın üzerinden eğilerek kapıyı kapattı. Ada derhal kapıyı Ada, her Salı akşamı bir fitness kulübüne antremana gidiyordu. Ada zaman akşam Mert yeni müşterilere kulübün içini gösteriyordu bu yüzden Ada ve yaşamış olduğunu bildiğini ve kendisiyle de aynısını yaşamaması için hiçbir açmasını istediğini söyledi. Ancak o güldü ve Ada'nın kıyafetlerini çıkarma önerdi ve Ada hemen kabul etti. Evine vardıklarında Mert "Beni bir kahve çmek için içeri davet etmeyecek misin?" dedi. Ada çok yorgun olduğunu ona farklı aletlerde nasıl çalışacağı ile ilgili değerli tavsiyeler vermişti. Bir Mert polise Ada'nın spor kulübündeki hocaların en az üçüyle cinsel ilişki beklerken Mert arabasıyla önünde durdu. Onu gideceği yere bırakmayı bitirdiğinde oldukça yorgundu ve direk eve geçmek istiyordu. Otobüsü Mert'in birkaç kelime de olsa konuşma şansı olmadı. Ada antremanını söyledi, onu eve bıraktığı için teşekkür etti ve gelecek hafta kulüpte zaman, orada düzenli olarak ders veren bir spor hocası olan Mert'i sebep olmadığını düşündüğünü söyledi

Rape – Force – Stranger

meeting with colleagues and afterwards they had all gone out for a meal to a harm her. She tried to escape from his grip, but he was stronger than her and necessary. It was a frosty night, and she felt cold. As she started crossing the police arrived within minutes and searched the area. Not far from the scene, unlit parking lot to her house, she stopped to admire the beautiful night sky. hit her in the face. Suddenly, he pushed her to the ground, kneeled over her hey arrested a suspect, Rob, who had acted suspiciously by trying to dump alcohol. The road where she lives was closed because of road works, so she way. At first, Alice thought the man was drunk and attempted to walk past Alice was on her way home on a cold night in January. She had attended a so that she could not resist, and had sexual intercourse with her. After her small Italian restaurant. Since she had to drive home, she didn't drink any Suddenly, a man stepped out from behind a porter cabin and blocked her against the porter cabin. When she tried to scream, he held his hand over nis coat in a paperbank. Alice recognised him as her attacker, and he was her mouth. He told her to be quiet because otherwise he would have to attacker fled the scene, Alice made an emergency call to the police. The left her car in the parking lot around the corner. One of her colleagues him quickly. However, he grabbed her with a firm grip and pushed her offered to walk her back to her house but she told him this was not

Aslı soğuk bir ocak akşamında evine gidiyordu. İş arkadaşlarıyla bir toplantıya vermesi gerekeceğini söyledi. Aslı adamın kollarından kurtulmaya çalıştı ama adam ondan güçlüydü ve ona tokat attı. Aniden, adam Aslı'yı yere itti ve karşı zzaklaşamadan, çöp kutusuna ceketini atmaya çalışarak şüpheli hareketlerde katıldıktan sonra hep birlikte yemek yemek için küçük bir İtalyan restoranına gökyüzünü izlemek için durdu. Aniden bir adam bekçi kulübesinin arkasından ve adamı hızlı bir şekilde geçmeye çalıştı. Ama adam Aslı'yı sımsıkı bir şekilde çıkarak Aslı'nın yolunu kesti. İlk başta Aslı adamın sarhoş olduğunu düşündü dakika içinde olay yerine vardı ve etrafı aramaya koyuldu. Olay yerinden çok arkadaşlarından biri onunla birlikte eve kadar yürümeyi teklif etti ancak Aslı koyamasın diye üzerine diz çökerek onunla cinsel ilişkiye girdi. Ona saldıran gitmişlerdi. Aslı eve arabayla gideceği için hiç alkol almadı. Evinin önündeki tuttu ve bekçi kulübesinin karşı tarafına itti. Aslı bağırmaya çalışınca adam arkadaşına bunun gerekli olmadığını söyledi. Hava ayazdı ve o üşüdüğünü adam olay yerinden kaçtıktan sonra, Aslı hemen polisi aradı. Polis birkaç eliyle onun ağzını kapattı. Adam ona sessiz olmasını aksi halde ona zarar bulunan Selim polisler tarafından tutuklandı. Aslı adamı ona saldıran kişi nissetti. Aslı karanlık otoparktan evine yürümeye başlamış iken, güzel yolda çalışma olduğu için arabayı köşedeki park yerine bıraktı. olarak belirledi ve adam tutuklandı.

Rape – Alcohol – Ex-partner

Aufräumen zu helfen, aber Anne war so betrunken, dass sie dazu nicht mehr Sven hatten viel Spaß miteinander. Es wurde über Erinnerungen gelacht, als Alkohol verträgt, war sie schon bald ziemlich angeheitert. Es war schon früh sie noch ein Paar waren, sie tanzten sehr oft und flirteten auch ein bisschen mehrere Wochen mit sich gerungen hatte, zeigte sie den Vorfall schließlich in der Lage war. Also räumte Sven alleine auf. Am Ende trug er Anne in ihr und forderte ihn auf, damit aufzuhören, aber er reagierte nicht darauf und sie war zu betrunken, um sich gegen ihn zur Wehr zu setzen. Nachdem sie getrennt. Der Kontakt bestand weiterhin, und sie trafen sich auch noch ab sich auf sie und schlief mit ihr. Als Sven sich auf sie legte, wachte Anne auf (unter anderem Sven), und die Party war ein voller Erfolg. Auch Anne und wehrlos schlafend und nackt da liegen sah, zog er sich ebenfalls aus, legte umfunktioniert, ein Freund mixte Caipirinhas, und da Anne nicht sehr viel Zimmer, legte sie in ihr Bett und zog ihr die Sachen aus. Als er sie dann so Überraschungsparty in ihrer Wohnung. Es wurden viele Leute eingeladen Anne und Sven waren früher mal ein Paar, hatten sich aber vor kurzem verabschiedeten und nur noch Sven übrig blieb. Er bot an, Anne beim am nächsten Morgen, als sich schließlich auch die letzten Gäste und zu. Zu Annes letztem Geburtstag planten ihre Freunde eine miteinander. Annes Freunde hatten einen Tisch zur Cocktailbar bei der Polizei an

kullanmış, bir tanesi de o masada kokteyl hazırlamıştı. Normalde alkol almaya güzel geçmişti. Şenay ve Mehmet birlikte zaman geçirmekten keyif almışlardı uyurken gören Mehmet, kendi kıyafetlerini de çıkardı, Şenay'ın yanına uzandı izerinde olduğunu hissedince uyandı ve Mehmet'ten durmasını istedi, ancak Arkadaşları, Şenay'ın doğum günü için evinde sürpriz bir parti hazırlamışlardı. Şenay'yı yatağına taşıdı ve kıyafetlerini çıkardı. Şenay'yı çıplak olarak yatakta alışkın olmayan Şenay, bir anda çakırkeyf hissetmeye başladı. Son misafirler Senay çok sarhoş olduğu için temizlik yapabilecek halde değildi; bu nedenle Mehmet onu dinlemedi. Şenay onu durduramayacak kadar sarhoştu. Şenay Birlikte oldukları zamanları hatırlayıp gülmüş, sonra tekrar tekrar dans edip naftalarca bu konu üzerine kafa yorduktan sonra durumu polise bildirmeye misafir Mehmet'ti. Mehmet, Şenay'a evi birlikte temizlemeyi önerdi, ancak ve onunla cinsel ilişkiye girdi. Şenay Mehmet'in bedeninin kendi bedeninin biraz flörtleşmişlerdi. Şenay'ın arkadaşları, bir masayı kokteyl barı olarak ayrılmışlardı, ancak hala iletişim halindeydiler ve ara sıra görüşüyorlardı. Mehmet dahil, partiye birçok kişiyi davet etmişlerdi. Parti gerçekten çok de tüm temizliği Mehmet kendi başına yaptı. Temizliği bitirdikten sonra, de partiden ayrıldıklarında neredeyse sabah olmuştu ve evde tek kalan Şenay ve Mehmet, üç yıllık bir ilişkinin ardından, kısa bir süre önce karar verdi.

Rape – Alcohol – Acquaintance

Claudia, 40 Jahre alt und Lehrerin, hatte sich vor kurzer Zeit von ihrem Mann Anruf entgegen zu nehmen, und machte die Tür hinter sich zu. Claudia setzte erzählte sie ihrer besten Freundin, was passiert war. Die Freundin überredete Abendessen mit einem sehr guten Wein vorbereitet. Nach dem Essen schlug nahm sie in den Arm, aber sie machte ihm klar, dass sie seine Annäherungen sich wieder auf das Sofa. Nach etwa einer Viertelstunde kam Helmut zurück. wäre, sich zu wehren, und deshalb versuchte sie es gar nicht erst. Er vollzog mir ihr den Geschlechtsverkehr. Als sie aufstand, lud er sie für den nächsten Claudia bedankte sich für das Kompliment, erklärte ihm aber, sie wäre noch scheiden lassen und lebte seitdem allein. Schon seit längerem interessierte vor Jahren seine Frau verloren hatte. Eines Tages rief Helmut sie an, um sie er vor, dass sie sich neben ihn aufs Sofa setzen sollte, und sie willigte gerne nicht wieder bereit für eine neue sexuelle Beziehung. Dennoch legte er sich mit einer plötzlichen Bewegung auf sie. Sie protestierte heftig, aber er war zum Essen einzuladen. Als sie ankam, war sie überrascht, aber keineswegs ein. Er machte Musik an, und nach einer Weile begannen sie zu tanzen. Er sie sich für ihren Nachbarn Helmut, einen fünfzigjährigen Architekten, der unglücklich darüber, der einzige Gast zu sein. Er hatte ein phantastisches diesem Moment klingelte das Telefon. Er ging ins Nebenzimmer, um den ein großer und schwerer Mann. Es war ihr klar, dass es sinnlos gewesen Er setzte sich wieder neben sie und sagte ihr, wie attraktiv er sie fände. nicht wollte. Er machte weiter, ohne auf ihren Protest zu reagieren. In Abend ins Kino ein. Sie antwortete nicht und ging. Eine Woche später Claudia, zur Polizei zu gehen und Helmut anzuzeigen.

Cemile'nin üzerine yattı. Cemile sert bir şekilde karşı çıktı ama Harun yapılı ve oturmasını teklif etti ve Cemile da memnuniyetle kabul etti. Harun müziği açtı ve bir süre sonra dans etmeye başladılar. Harun Cemile'yi kollarına aldı, fakat Cemile'nin yanına oturdu ve onu ne kadar çekici bulduğunu söyledi. Cemile, kaybetmiş ve mimar olan 50'li yaşlardaki komşusu Harun'dan hoşlanıyordu. ertesi akşam için sinemaya davet etti. Cemile hiç cevap vermedi ve gitti. Bir telefonu açmak için yan odaya gitti ve kapıyı da arkasından kapattı. Cemile zamandan beri de yalnız yaşamış birisiydi. Uzun zamandır, yıllar önce eşini 40 yaşında öğretmen olan Cemile, kısa bir süre önce eşinden ayrılmış ve o yeniden koltuğa oturdu. Yaklaşık onbeş dakika sonra Harun yeniden geldi, kendisinin tek misafir olmasına çok şaşırdı ama bu durum onu üzmüş de hazırlamıştı Harun. Yemekten sonra, Harun Cemile'ye yanındaki koltuğa Cemile Harun'nun kendisine sokulmasını istemiyordu. Harun Cemile'nin koymadı. Harun onunla cinsel ilişkiye girdi. Ayağa kalktığında Harun onu onun bu iltifatı için teşekkür etti ve ona yeniden cinsel bir birliktelik için hafta sonra bir arkadaşına tüm olup biteni anlattı. Arkadaşı onu, Harun itirazlarına aldırmadan sarılmaya devam etti. O an telefon çaldı. Harun henüz hazır olmadığını söyledi. Buna rağmen, Harun ani bir hareketle ağır bir adamdı. Cemile direnmenin manasız olacağını anlayınca karşı Bir gün Harun onu yemeğe davet etmek için aradı. Oraya vardığında, değildi. Mükemmel bir şarap eşliğinde, muhteşem bir akşam yemeği hakkında polise suç duyurusunda bulunması konusunda ikna etti.

Rape – Alcohol – Stranger

zur Polizei zu gehen. Über den Betreiber der Disco gelang es der Polizei, Mark nahm sie noch einen weiteren Drink an. Sie begannen zu tanzen, aber Carola Carola, 18, ging an einem Freitagabend mit ein paar Schulfreundinnen in die nicht ihn wegzuschieben, weil sie sich immer schlechter fühlte. Mark vollzog Disco. Sie machte sich sorgfältig zurecht, denn sie hatte noch keinen Freund jemand Nettes kennen zu lernen. Sie zog einen kurzen Minirock Top. Kurz nachdem sie in der Disco angekommen waren, verschwanden die merkte schnell, dass ihr schlecht wurde. Sie bat Mark, sie an die frische Luft Mark begann, Carola zu küssen, und sie erwiderte seine Küsse. Dann fing er Carola hatte keine Verletzungen erlitten und erzählte niemandem von dem Wirkung des Alkohols schon bald, aber da sie sich gerade so gut amüsierte, zu bringen, und sie gingen zu einer abgelegenen Ecke gegenüber der Disco. Monat später offenbarte sie sich jedoch ihrer Mutter, die beschloss, mit ihr an, der ihre langen Beine gut zur Geltung brachte, und dazu ein hautenges anderen Mädchen auf der Tanzfläche, und Carola blieb allein zurück. Nach einem Drink ein. Bald unterhielten sie sich angeregt, und er spendierte ihr noch einige weitere Drinks. Da Carola nichts gewöhnt war, spürte sie die Vorfall, weil sie sich vor ihren Freundinnen nicht blamieren wollte. Einen an, sie an intimeren Stellen zu streicheln. Carola bat ihn aufzuhören und zurückkehren würde. Mark machte einfach weiter, und Carola gelang es mit ihr den Geschlechtsverkehr und ging dann allein in die Disco zurück. kurzer Zeit kam ein junger Mann namens Mark auf sie zu und lud sie zu sagte, dass sie weiter nicht gehen wollte und gerne wieder in die Disco als Tatverdächtigen zu identifizieren. und hoffte,

Henüz bir erkek arkadaşı olmamasından ve diskoda hoş biriyle tanışmayı ümit kaldı. Kısa bir süre sonra, Metin isimli bir genç yanına geldi ve onu içki içmeye başladılar ama çok geçmeden Seda kötüleştiğini fark etti. Metin'den kendisin biraz temiz hava almaya götürmesini rica etti, diskonun karşısındaki kuytu bir etmesinden dolayı özenle hazırlanmıştı. Bacaklarının uzunluğunu göstermek daha ısmarladı. Seda alkol almaya alışkın değildi ama çok eğleniyor olmanın için mini bir etekle dar bir bluz giymişti. Diskoya gitmelerinden kısa bir süre olaydan bahsetmedi. Bir ay sonra olanları annesine anlattı ve birlikte polise köşeye gittiler. Metin onu öpmeye başladı ve o da ona karşılık verdi. Sonra 18 yaşında olan Seda, bir cuma akşamı okuldan arkadaşlarıyla diskoya gitti. Metin Seda'nın mahrem yerlerini okşamaya başladı. Seda ondan durmasını gitmeye karar verdiler. Disco işletmecesinin sayesinde, polis zanlıyı teşhis davet etti. Kısa sürede sohbet etmeye başladılar ve Metin ona bir kaç içki döndü. Seda yaralanmadı ve arkadaşlarına rezil olmamak için kimseye bu sonra, kız arkadaşları dans pistinde gözden kayboldular ve Seda da yalnız ve aldığı alkolün de etkisiyle bir içki daha içmeyi kabul etti. Dans etmeye başaramadı. Metin, onunla cinsel ilişkiye girdi ve tek başına diskoya geri rica etti ve daha fazla ileriye gitmek istemediğini belirterek, diskoya geri dönmek istediğini söyledi. Metin okşamaya devam etti ve Seda kendini gittikçe daha kötü hissettiğinden dolayı, onu kendinden uzaklaştırmayı etmeyi başardı.

Robbery – Force – Ex-partner

Annemarie war mit Til unterwegs, einem Exfreund von ihr, um ein paar Besorgungen zu erledigen. Til, der gerade keinen Job hatte, bat Annemarie ihr ein bisschen Geld zu leihen. Annemarie hatte ihm aber bereits vor einiger Zeit € 300 geliehen, die sie erst einmal zurückhaben wollte und verneinte deswegen die Bitte. Til reagierte darauf sehr wütend. Unterwegs musste Annemarie noch für ihren Großvater, den sie versorgte, Geld holen. Die Bank hatte schon geschlossen, aber im Vorraum befanden sich Bankautomaten, wo sie € 200 abhob. Kurz nachdem sie die Bank verlassen hatten und in eine Seitenstraße abgebogen waren, schubste Til Annemarie plötzlich und drückte sie gegen eine Hauswand. Er hielt ihre Handgelenke fest und griff nach ihrer Geldbörse. Dabei drohte er ihr Schläge an, wenn sie versuchen würde zu schreien. Er nahm Annemaries Geldbörse und verschwand. Annemarie lief sofort nach Hause und verständigte die Polizei. Am nächsten Tag wurde Til

Meltem, kendisinin eski erkek arkadaşı olan Emre ile bir kaç ihtiyacını karşılamak üzere yola çıkmıştı. O aralar işsiz olan Emre, Meltem'den ona biraz borç para vermesini rica etti. Ona, kısa bir süre önce zaten 900 Lira borç vermiş olan Meltem, önce bu borcunu geri ödemesini isteyerek Emre'nin bu ricasını reddetti. Emre buna çok sinirlenmişti. Yolda giderken Meltem, baktığı büyükbabası için para çekmeliydi. Banka çoktan kapanmıştı, ama bankanın önünde bulunan bankamatik'ten 600 Lira para çekti. Meltem ve Emre bankadan ayrıldılar ve ara sokaklara girdiler. Emre aniden Meltem'i itekledi ve bir binanın duvarına yapıştırdı. El bileklerinden tutarak cüzdanına uzandı. Bağırmaya yeltenirse onu döveceğini söyledi. Emre Meltem'in cüzdanını alıp ortadan kayboldu. Meltem, eve gider gitmez olayı polise ihbar etti. Ertesi gün Emre tutuklandı.

Robbery – Force – Acquaintance

Wenn Corinna für Prüfungen lernen musste, legte sie mittags immer eine Pause ein, in der sie im nahegelegenen Park spazieren ging, um sich zu erholen. Da heute ein besonders schöner Tag war, hängte sie sich zudem ihre Kamera um den Hals. Sie hatte lange dafür gespart und sich kürzlich dieses teure Modell (€ 925) gekauft. Besonders gern fotografierte sie Häuserfassaden und außergewöhnliche Details. Dieses Hobby entspannte sie und bereitete ihr gute Laune. Unterwegs sah sie von weitem Achim, einen Bekannten aus ihrer Foto - AG. Auch Achim hatte sie bereits erkannt und wartete auf sie. Gemeinsam gingen sie ein paar Schritte, als Achim sie plötzlich schmerzhaft an den Handgelenken packte und sie ins Gebüsch schubste. Dann riss er ihr die Kamera vom Hals, verpasste ihr noch einen Schlag ins Gesicht und rannte davon. Als Corinna wieder halbwegs zu sich gekommen war, lief sie sofort nach Hause und rief die Polizei an. Diese konnte Achim, nach Corinnas Aussage, verantwortlich machen.

Dilek, sınavlara hazırlanırken öğlen molalarını değerlendirmek üzere yakınlardaki bir parka giderdi. O gün ayrıca güzel bir gün olması sebebiyle, fotoğraf makinasını yanına almıştı. 2.700 Lira değerinde, pahalı bir model olan makinayı alabilmek için uzun zamandır para biriktirimiş ve en sonunda satın alabilmişti. Özellikle, bina cephelerini ve sıradışı detayları fotoğraflamaya bayılıyordu. Bu hobi onu çok rahatlatıyor ve keyfini artırıyordu. Yolda ilerlerken, fotoğraf kursundan bir tanıdığı olan Mustafa'yı uzaktan gelirken gördü. Mustafa da onu tanıdı ve Dilek'in yanına gelmesini bekledi. Birlikte henüz bir kaç adım yürümüşlerdi ki, Mustafa onu bileklerinden tutup çallılıkların arasına çekti. Ardından, kamerayı Dilek'in boynundan çekip aldı ve yüzüne bir yumruk indirip, oradan kaçtı. Dilek kendine gelince derhal evin yolunu tuttu ve hemen polisi aradı. Dilek'in ifadesinden sonra, Mustafa olaydan sorumlu tutuldu.

Robbery – Force – Stranger

Friderike war auf dem Weg in die Uni, als ihr einfiel, dass sie vergessen hatte einkaufen zu gehen. Sie hatte ein paar Freunde abends zum Essen eingeladen, anlässlich ihres gerade vergangenen Geburtstags. Also lief sie noch schnell zur Bank, um am Automaten Geld für die Zutaten zu besorgen. Gedankenversunken und in Vorfreude auf den Abend holte sie ihr Geld, steckte es ein und verließ die Bank. Plötzlich stand ein Mann mit einem großen Hund vor ihr, drohte mit einem etwas verdeckten Messer, packte sie grob am Arm und verlangte ihr Geld. Friderike, die nicht wusste, wie ihr geschah, gab ihm sofort das Geld, woraufhin der Mann sich umdrehte und in die nächste Straße einbog. Nachdem Friderike noch einen Moment wie versteinert dagestanden hatte, ging sie sofort zur Polizei und erstattete Anzeige. Nach einigen Tagen konnte die Polizei den Täter identifizieren, der durch eine außen angebrachte Überwachungskamera bei der Tat videografiert worden war und verhaftete ihn.

Burcu, üniversiteye giderken yolda aklına alışveriş yapmak geldi. Üzerinden az bir zaman geçmiş olan doğum gününü kutlamak için bir kaç arkadaşını yemeğe davet etmişti. Malzemeleri almak için para çekmek üzere, çok hızlı bir şekilde bankamatiğe gitti. Düşünceli ve akşam yapılacak kutlamanın sevinciyle parasını çekti, çantasına koydu ve oradan uzaklaştı. Aniden karşısında kocaman köpeğiyle bir adam durdu ve elindeki hafiften gizlediği bıçağıyla Burcu'nun ellerinden tuttu ve parayı ona vermesi için Burcu'yu tehdit etti. Ne olup bittiğini anlayamayan Burcu, adama parayı hemen verdi ve adam da alır almaz arkasını dönüp ilk sokağa saptı. Bir süre daha yerinde taş gibi kalan Burcu, hemen polise gidip suç duyurusunda bulundu. Bir kaç gün sonra polis, dışarıda kayıt yapan bir kamera yardımıyla teşhis edilen Ömer'i tutukladı.

Robbery – Alcohol – Ex-partner

Svenja und Thomas saßen gemeinsam beim Abendbrot, als es klingelte und Thorben, Svenjas Exfreund und ein guter Freund des Pärchens überraschenderweise mit einer DVD vorbei kam. Nach einer kurzen Unterhaltung musste Thomas gehen, da er für zwei Tage zu seinen Eltern fahren wollte. Svenja und Thorben schauten die DVD. Svenja holte noch eine Flasche Wodka. Thorben wollte jedoch nichts trinken, da er mit dem Auto da war. Nach diesem Film sahen sie sich noch einen zweiten an, Svenja war schon ganz schön betrunken und am Ende des Films eingeschlafen. Sie erschrak durch ein lautes Geräusch, Thorben hatte die Gelegenheit ausgenutzt und war dabei den Fernseher zur Wohnungstür zu tragen und damit zu verschwinden. Svenja war unfähig sich richtig zu bewegen und Thorben abzuhalten, so konnte er entkommen. Am nächsten Tag erstattete Svenja Anzeige gegen Thorben. Dieser konnte kurz darauf festgenommen

Sevgi ve Ahmet akşam yemeğini yerlerken, çiftin iyi bir arkadaşı ve Sevgi'nin de eski erkek arkadaşı olan Tolga, elinde bir DVD ile sürpriz bir şekilde kapıyı çaldı. Ahmet, ailesini iki günlük ziyaret etmek istemesinden dolayı, fazla vakti olmaması yüzünden kısa bir sohbetten sonra artık gitmeliydi. Bu yüzden Sevgi ve Tolga DVD'yi birlikte izlediler. Sevgi bir şişe daha votka getirdi. Tolga, araba süreceğinden alkol almak istemedi. İlk film bittikten sonra ikincisini izlemeye başladıklarında, Sevgi çoktan sarhoş olmuş ve filmin sonunda da uyuya kalmıştı. Tolga'nın televizyonu taşımak için çıkardığı gürültüyle Sevgi yerinden sıçradı. Sevgi'nin uyumasını fırsat bilen Tolga, Sevgi onu durduracak durumda olmadığından Tolga televizyonu alarak kaçmayı başardı. Ertesi gün Sevgi, Tolga hakkında ihbarda bulundu. Kısa bir süre sonra da Tolga tutuklandı.

Robbery – Alcohol – Acquaintance

Janine und ihre 3 Mitbewohner hatten eine große WG Party organisiert. Im Laufe des Abends füllte sich die Wohnung mit Freunden und Bekannten, es kamen auch viele, die Janine nicht kannte. Es lief gute Musik und gab leckere Cocktails. Angeheitert begann Janine dann zu tanzen. Schließlich wurde ihr aber so schlecht, dass sie sich auf der Toilette übergeben musste. Ganz benommen und elend setzte sie sich in die Küche. Kurz darauf sah sie Florian, einen Freund ihrer Freundin Nina, den sie ein wenig kannte, er winkte ihr aus dem Flur zu. Später am Abend, als fast alle Gäste gegangen waren, half Florian noch beim Aufräumen. Er bemerkte, dass es Janine immer noch schlecht ging und riet ihr, sich einfach hinzulegen, er würde den Rest schnell aufräumen. Als Janine sich aufs Bett gelegt hatte, bemerkte sie, wie Florian sich an ihrem Schreibtisch zu schaffen machte und plötzlich mit ihrem Notebook unter dem Arm verschwand. Janine war jedoch so benommen, dass sie überhaupt nicht reagieren konnte. Erst am nächsten Tag berichtete sie Nina von dem Vorfall, die ihr riet Anzeige zu erstatten und ihr

Informationen über Florian gab. So konnte er überführt werden.

Jale, üç ev arkadaşı ile evde büyük bir parti düzenlemişti. Akşamın ilerleyen saatlerinde evleri, tanıdıkları ve arkadaşlarıyla, aynı zamanda Jale'nin tanımadığı bir sürü kişi ile dolmuştu. Hoş bir müzik çalıyordu ve lezzetli kokteyller vardı. Jale, çakırkeyf halde dans etmeye başladı. Sonunda lavaboda istifra etmek zorunda kaldı. Sarhoş ve çok berbat bir durumda kendini mutfağa atmayı başardı. Kısa bir süre sonra, Jale, arkadaşı Esra'nın tanıdığı olan Ferid'i gördü, kendisine koridordan el salladı. İlerleyen saatlerde ise neredeyse tüm misafirler gitmişti. Ferid ise ortalığın toplanmasına yardım etmek için biraz daha kaldı. Jale'nin hala kötü olduğunu fark eden Ferid ona uzanırken, Ferid'in çalışma masasının üzerindeki Notebook'u hızlıca koltuğunun altına sakladığını farketti. O kadar sarhoştu ki, herhangi bir tepki veremedi. Ertesi gün, olanları Esra'ya anlattı ve Esra ona Ferid hakkında şikayette bulunması gerektiğini söyledi. Böylece suçu ortaya çıkmış oldu.

Robbery – Alcohol – Stranger

Mann, der auf sie zu kam, fragte sie nach dem Weg. Franzi, die sich eigentlich verabschiedete sich dann gegen 20 Uhr, weil sie am nächsten Morgen zeitig Franzi machte sich an einem sonnigen Winternachmittag auf den Weg, eine Freundin, Gundula, zu besuchen. Sie überraschte Gundula mit einer Flasche Zeugen halfen später bei der Polizei, den Täter zu ermitteln, so wurde er zur Franzi dann weiter laufen wollte, zog er ihr die Handtasche weg, in der sich offensichtliche Orientierungsschwierigkeiten, die der Mann bemerkte. Als hr Portemonnaie, Geldkarten und Handy befanden. Franzi war entrüstet, aufstehen musste. Auf ihrem Rückweg wankte sie durch die Straßen. Ein anzustoßen. Gundula hatte dieselbe Überraschung geplant. Am frühen Abend hatten sie bereits beide Sektflaschen getrunken und saßen nun aber zu langsam und zu beeinträchtigt, um zu reagieren. Umstehende Sekt, um gemeinsam auf ihre bestandenen Führerscheinprüfungen in der Gegend sehr gut auskannte, hatte aufgrund ihres Zustandes ziemlich betrunken und kichernd bei Gundula in der Küche. Franzi Verantwortung gezogen.

öfkelenmiş olmasına rağmen, duruma müdahale etmek için oldukça yavaş ve arkadaşı Duygu'yu ziyaret etmek üzere yola çıkmıştı. Duygu'nun da başarıyla Daha sonra Filiz yoluna devam etmek istedi, fakat adam içinde cüzdanı, kredi sarhoş olması nedeniyle yön bulma sorunu yaşadı ve adam da bunu fark etti. kartları ve cep telefonunun bulunduğu çantasını çekip aldı. Filiz, olanlara çok Duygu'nun mutfağında kıkırdayarak oturuyorlardı. Ertesi gün erken kalkmak güçsüzdü. Olaya tanıklık edenlerle birlikte, zanlıyı tespit etmek üzere polise ayrıldı. Salına salına yollarda yürüyerek evinin yolunu tuttu. Yolda bir adam sürpriz yaptı. Duygu da ona aynı sürprizi yapmayı planlamıştı. Daha akşam şişe şampanya ile zorunda olduğu için Filiz, saat sekize doğru eve gitmek üzere Duygu'dan Ehliyet sınavını başariyla geçen Filiz, güneşli bir kış günü öğleden sonra Filiz'den yol tarifi istedi. Filiz aslında o yolları iyi bilmesine rağmen hafif olmadan her iki şişeyi de çoktan içmiş olduklarından, çakırkeyf şekilde ifade verdi ve ismi Ali olan adam olaydan sorumlu tutuldu. geçmiş olduğu ehliyet sınavını kutlamak adına ona bir

Appendix E: Relevant sections from the Turkish Criminal Code (Türk Ceza Kanunu)

The translation provided here was formerly available from the Turkish Ministry of Justice at http://www.justice.gov.tr/basiclaws/Criminal_Code.pdf

A copy of the document is provided by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime at

www.unodc.org/res/cld/document/tur/2004/criminal_code_law_no__5237_html/Turkey_Criminal_Code_Law_No._5237_2004.pdf

30th documents are identical with regard to the articles cited here. Unfortunately, the translation is of poor quality at times, but it is generally

understandable.

Sexual abuse

ARTICLE 102- (1) Any person who attempts to violate sexual immunity of a person, is sentenced to imprisonment from two years to seven years upon complaint of the victim.

- (2) In case of commission of offense by inserting an organ or instrument into a body, the offender is punished with imprisonment from seven years to twelve years. In case of commission of this offense against a spouse, commencement of investigation or prosecution is bound to complaint of the virtim.
- (3) If the offense is committed;
- a) Against a person who cannot protect himself because of corporal or spiritual disability,
- b) By undue influence based on public office,
- c) Against a person with whom he has third degree blood relation or kinship,
- d) By using arms or participation of more than one person in the offense, the punishments imposed according to above subsections are increased by one
- (4) In case of use of force during the commission of offense in such a way to break down victim's resistance, the offender is additionally punished for felonious injury.
- (5) In case of deterioration of corporal and spiritual health of the victim as a result of the offense, the offender is sentenced to imprisonment not less than ten years.

Cinsel saldırı

MADDE 102. - (1) Cinsel davranışlarla bir kimsenin vücut dokunulmazlığını ihlâl eden kişi, mağdurun şikâyeti üzerine, iki yıldan yedi yıla kadar hapis cezası ile cezalandırılır.

- (2) Fiilin vücuda organ veya sair bir cisim sokulması suretiyle işlenmesi durumunda, yedi yıldan oniki yıla kadar hapis cezasına hükmolunur. Bu fiilin eşe karşı işlenmesi hâlinde, soruşturma ve kovuşturmanın yapılması mağdurun şikâyetine bağlıdır.
- (3) Suçun;
- a) Beden veya ruh bakımından kendisini savunamayacak durumda bulunan kişiye karşı,
- b) Kamu görevinin veya hizmet ilişkisinin sağladığı nüfuz kötüye kullanılmak suretiyle,
- c) Üçüncü derece dahil kan veya kayın hısımlığı ilişkisi içinde bulunan bir kişiye karşı,
- d) Silâhla veya birden fazla kişi tarafından birlikte, İşlenmesi hâlinde, yukarıdaki fıkralara göre verilen cezalar yarı oranında artırılır.
- (4) Suçun işlenmesi sırasında mağdurun direncinin kırılmasını sağlayacak Ölçünün ötesinde cebir kullanılması durumunda kişi ayrıca kasten yaralama suçundan dolayı cezalandırılır.
- (5) Suçun sonucunda mağdurun beden veya ruh sağlığının bozulması hâlinde, on yıldan az olmamak üzere hapis cezasına hükmolunur.

(6) In case of death of vegetal existence of a person as result of the offense, the offender is sentenced to heavy life imprisonment.	(6) Suç sonucu mağdurun bitkisel hayata girmesi veya ölümü hâlinde, ağırlaştırılmış müebbet hapis cezasına hükmolunur.
Unjust Provocation ARTICLE 29- (1) A person committing an offense with affect of anger or asperity caused by the unjust act is sentenced to imprisonment from eighteen years to twenty-four years instead of heavy life imprisonment, and to imprisonment from twelve years to eighteen years instead of life imprisonment. In other cases, the punishment is abated from one-fourth up to three thirds.	Haksız tahrik MADDE 29 (1) Haksız bir fiilin meydana getirdiği hiddet veya şiddetli elemin etkisi altında suç işleyen kimseye, ağırlaştırılmış müebbet hapis cezası yerine onsekiz yıldan yirmidört yıla ve müebbet hapis cezası yerine oniki yıldan onsekiz yıla kadar hapis cezası verilir. Diğer hâllerde verilecek cezanın dörtte birinden dörtte üçüne kadarı indirilir.
Plunder [Robbery, annotation by the author] ARTICLE 148 – (1) Any person who avoids delivery of a property or forces a person to resist taking over the delivery by use of threat or violence and mentioning that he intents to hurt himself or one of his acquaintances, or to execute an act aimed to violation of one's corporal and sexual immunity, or to give severe damage to his property, is punished with imprisonment from six years to ten years. (2) The same punishment is imposed if a person is forced to sign a bill which will put him under burden, or to issue a document declaring the bill in hand as void, or to reist delivery of such bill, or to sign a document which may be transformed to a bill in future, or to destroy a bill or to resist destruction of the same. (3) Injury of the victim by any means in such a way to cause loss of conscious and strength to defend oneself is also considered violence in offense of plunder.	Yağma MADDE 148 (1) Bir başkasını, kendisinin veya yakınının hayatına, vücut veya cinsel dokunulmazlığına yönelik bir saldırı gerçekleştireceğinden ya da malvarlığı itibarıyla büyük bir zarara uğratacağından bahisle tehdit ederek veya cebir kullanarak, bir malı teslime veya malın alınmasına karşı koymamaya mecbur kılan kişi, altı yıldan on yıla kadar hapis cezası ile cezalandırılır. (2) Cebir veya tehdit kullanılarak mağdurun, kendisini veya başkasını borç altına sokabilecek bir senedi veya var olan bir senedin alınmasına karşı koymamaya, ilerde böyle bir senet hâline getirilebilecek bir kağıdı imzalamaya veya var olan bir senedi imha etmeye veya imhasına karşı koymamaya mecbur edilmesi hâlinde de aynı ceza verilir. (3) Mağdurun, herhangi bir vasıta ile kendisini bilmeyecek ve savunamayacak hâle getirilmesi de, yağma suçunda cebir sayılır.
Qualified Plunder [Robbery, annotation by the author] ARTICLE 149. – (1) In case of commission of offense of plunder; a) By using a weapon b) By concealing one's identity c) Jointly by more than one person, d) By intercepting a person in a residence or business place	Nitelikli yağma MADDE 149 (1) Yağma suçunun; a) Silâhla, b) Kişinin kendisini tanınmayacak bir hâle koyması suretiyle, c) Birden fazla kişi tarafından birlikte, d) Yol kesmek suretiyle ya da konut veya işyerinde,

- kişiye karşı, e) Against a person who cannot protect himself due to corporal and spiritual
- f) By taking advantage of terror action carried out by the existing and potential organized criminal groups,
- g) By securing benefit for criminal groups,
 - h) During the night,

the offender is sentenced to imprisonment from ten years to fifteen years.

(2) The provisions relating to felonious injury are additionally applied in case of realization of aggravated form on felonious injury during commission of offense of plunder.

arceny

ARTICLE 141. – (1) Any person who takes other's movable property from its place without the consent of the owner to derive benefit for himself or third parties is punished with imprisonment from one year to three years.

(2) All kinds of energy with economic value is also considered movable

. oper cy.

Qualified Larceny

ARTICLE 142-(1) In case of commission of offense of larceny;

- a) In public institutions and corporations no matter who is the owner, or in places reserved for worship or by stealing the property used for in public interest or services,
- a) [sic] By stealing the property under custody in public places or buildings or their attachments,
- b) By stealing the property in the transportation vehicles provided for public use, or in arrival/departure terminals,

c) By stealing the property reserved for prevention of damages likely to be

- caused by a disaster or mitigation of its affects, d) By stealing the property left in a certain place for use upon requirement,
- e) By unlawful use of energy,

the offender is sentenced to imprisonment from two years to five years.

(2) In case of commission of this offense;

- e) Beden veya ruh bakımından kendisini savunamayacak durumda bulunan kişiye karşı, f) Var olan veya var sayılan suç örgütlerinin oluşturdukları korkutucu güçten
- g) Suç örgütüne yarar sağlamak maksadıyla,
 - h) Gece vaktinde,

yararlanılarak,

- İşlenmesi hâlinde, fail hakkında on yıldan onbeş yıla kadar hapis cezasına hükmolunur.
- (2) Yağma suçunun işlenmesi sırasında kasten yaralama suçunun neticesi sebebiyle ağırlaşmış hâllerinin gerçekleşmesi durumunda, ayrıca kasten yaralama suçuna ilişkin hükümler uygulanır.

Hırsızlık

MADDE 141. - (1) Zilyedinin rızası olmadan başkasına ait taşınır bir malı, kendisine veya başkasına bir yarar sağlamak maksadıyla bulunduğu yerden alan kimseye bir yıldan üç yıla kadar hapis cezası verilir.

.2) Ekonomik bir değer taşıyan her türlü enerji de, taşınır mal sayılır.

Nitelikli hırsızlık

MADDE 142. - (1) Hirsizlik suçunun;

- a) Kime ait olursa olsun kamu kurum ve kuruluşlarında veya ibadete ayrılmış yerlerde bulunan ya da kamu yararına veya hizmetine tahsis edilen eşya hakkında,
- b) Herkesin girebileceği bir yerde bırakılmakla birlikte kilitlenmek suretiyle ya da bina veya eklentileri içinde muhafaza altına alınmış olan eşya hakkında,
- varış veya kalkış yerlerinde bulunan eşya hakkında,

c) Halkın yararlanmasına sunulmuş ulaşım aracı içinde veya bunların belli

- d) Bir afet veya genel bir felâketin meydana getirebileceği zararları önlemek veya hafifletmek maksadıyla hazırlanan eşya hakkında,
- e) Adet veya tahsis veya kullanımları gereği açıkta bırakılmış eşya hakkında,
 - f) Elektrik enerjisi hakkında,
- İşlenmesi hâlinde, iki yıldan beş yıla kadar hapis cezasına hükmolunur.
- (2) Suçun;a) Kişinin malını koruyamayacak durumda olmasından veya ölmesinden yararlanarak,

- a) Against a person who is incapable to protect his belongings, or by taking advantage of a death,
- b) By taking away the property carried on with a special skill
- c) By taking advantage of the fear or panic resulting from a natural disaster or social events,
- d) By unlocking a door or safe with a counterfeited key kept unlawfully,
- e) By use of data processing systems without consent,
- f) By trying to conceal his identity or showing himself as a public officer although he is not authorized to do so,
- g) By lifting cattle kept in shelters, herds or open places,

In case of commission of offense against a person who cannot defend himself paragraph (b) of this subsection, the punishment to be imposed is increased the offender is sentenced to imprisonment from three years to seven years. due to corporal or spiritual disability by executing the acts mentioned in up to one thirds.

group, the offenders are sentenced to imprisonment up to fifteen years and liquefied energy or any kind of energy in the form of gas, the punishment is determined in consideration of provisions of the second subsection. In case of commission of this offense within the frame of activities of an organized (3) In case of commission of this offense by breach of rules relating to also imposed punitive fine up to ten thousand days.

b) Elde veya üstte taşınan eşyayı çekip almak suretiyle ya da özel beceriyle, c) Doğal bir afetin veya sosyal olayların meydana getirdiği korku veya

kargaşadan yararlanarak,

d) Haksız yere elde bulundurulan veya taklit anahtarla ya da diğer bir aletle kilit açmak suretiyle,

e) Bilişim sistemlerinin kullanılması suretiyle,

f) Tanınmamak için tedbir alarak veya yetkisi olmadığı hâlde resmî sıfat takınarak,

g) Barınak yerlerinde, sürüde veya açık yerlerde bulunan büyük veya küçük baş hayvan hakkında,

bakımından kendisini savunamayacak durumda olan kimseye karşı işlenmesi İşlenmesi hâlinde, üç yıldan yedi yıla kadar hapis cezasına hükmolunur. Suçun, bu fikranın (b) bendinde belirtilen surette, beden veya ruh

fıkraya göre cezaya hükmolunur. Bu fiilin bir örgütün faaliyeti çerçevesinde şlenmesi hâlinde, onbeş yıla kadar hapis ve onbin güne kadar adlî para işlenmesine veya depolanmasına ait tesislerde işlenmesi hâlinde, ikinci (3) Suçun, sıvı veya gaz hâlindeki enerji hakkında ve bunların nakline, halinde, verilecek ceza üçte biri oranına kadar artırılır. sezasına hükmolunur.

Appendix F:Relevant sections from the German Criminal Code (Strafgesetzbuch)

The German Criminal Code is available online at http://www.gesetze-im-internet.de/stgb/

The English version is provided by http://www.gesetze-im-internet.de/englisch_stgb/index.html

(1) Wer eine andere Person 1. mit Gewalt, Section 177 Sexual assault by use of force or threats; rape 2. by threat of imminent danger to life or limb; or Whosoever coerces another person 1. by force;

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2. durch Drohung mit gegenwärtiger Gefahr für Leib oder Leben oder

- 3. by exploiting a situation in which the victim is unprotected and at the mercy of the offender,
- to suffer sexual acts by the offender or a third person on their own person or to engage actively in sexual activity with the offender or a third person, shall be liable to imprisonment of not less than one year.
- (2) In especially serious cases the penalty shall be imprisonment of not less
 - than two years. An especially serious case typically occurs if

 1. the offender performs sexual intercourse with the victim or performs similar sexual acts with the victim, or allows them to be performed on himself by the victim, especially if they degrade the victim or if they entail penetration of the body (rape); or
- 2. the offence is committed jointly by more than one person.
- (3) The penalty shall be imprisonment of not less than three years if the offender
- 1. carries a weapon or another dangerous instrument;
- 2. otherwise carries an instrument or other means for the purpose of preventing or overcoming the resistance of another person through force or threat of force; or
- 3. by the offence places the victim in danger of serious injury.
- (4) The penalty shall be imprisonment of not less than five years if
- 1. the offender uses a weapon or another dangerous instrument during the commission of the offence; or if
 - 2. the offender
- (a) seriously physically abuses the victim during the offence; or
 - (b) by the offence places the victim in danger of death.
- (5) In less serious cases under subsection (1) above the penalty shall be imprisonment from six months to five years, in less serious cases under subsections (3) and (4) above imprisonment from one to ten years.

Section 249 Robbery

(1) Whosoever, by force against a person or threats of imminent danger to life or limb, takes chattels belonging to another from another with the intent

- 3. unter Ausnutzung einer Lage, in der das Opfer der Einwirkung des Täters schutzlos ausgeliefert ist,
- nötigt, sexuelle Handlungen des Täters oder eines Dritten an sich zu dulden oder an dem Täter oder einem Dritten vorzunehmen, wird mit Freiheitsstrafe nicht unter einem Jahr bestraft.
- (2) In besonders schweren Fällen ist die Strafe Freiheitsstrafe nicht unter zwei Jahren. Ein besonders schwerer Fall liegt in der Regel vor, wenn
- 1. der Täter mit dem Opfer den Beischlaf vollzieht oder ähnliche sexuelle Handlungen an dem Opfer vornimmt oder an sich von ihm vornehmen läßt, die dieses besonders erniedrigen, insbesondere, wenn sie mit einem Eindringen in den Körper verbunden sind (Vergewaltigung), oder
 - 2. die Tat von mehreren gemeinschaftlich begangen wird.
- (3) Auf Freiheitsstrafe nicht unter drei Jahren ist zu erkennen, wenn der ...
- 1. eine Waffe oder ein anderes gefährliches Werkzeug bei sich führt,
- 2. sonst ein Werkzeug oder Mittel bei sich führt, um den Widerstand einer anderen Person durch Gewalt oder Drohung mit Gewalt zu verhindern oder zu überwinden, oder 3.das Opfer durch die Tat in die Gefahr einer schweren Gesundheitsschädigung bringt.
- (4) Auf Freiheitsstrafe nicht unter fünf Jahren ist zu erkennen, wenn der Täter
- bei der Tat eine Waffe oder ein anderes gefährliches Werkzeug verwendet oder
- 2. das Opfer
- a)bei der Tat körperlich schwer mißhandelt oder
 - b)durch die Tat in die Gefahr des Todes bringt.
- (5) In minder schweren Fällen des Absatzes <u>1</u> ist auf Freiheitsstrafe von sechs Monaten bis zu fünf Jahren, in minder schweren Fällen der Absätze 3 und 4 auf Freiheitsstrafe von einem Jahr bis zu zehn Jahren zu erkennen.

249 Raub

(1) Wer mit Gewalt gegen eine Person oder unter Anwendung von Drohungen mit gegenwärtiger Gefahr für Leib oder Leben eine fremde bewegliche Sache einem anderen in der Absicht wegnimmt, die Sache sich of appropriating the property for himself or a third person, shall be liable to oder ein imprisonment of not less than one year.

(2) In less serious cases the penalty shall be imprisonment from six months

Section 242 Theft

- (1) Whosoever takes chattels belonging to another away from another with the intention of unlawfully appropriating them for himself or a third person shall be liable to imprisonment not exceeding five years or a fine.
 - (2) The attempt shall be punishable.

Section 243 Aggravated theft

- (1) In especially serious cases of theft the penalty shall be imprisonment from three months to ten years. An especially serious case typically occurs if the offender
- 1. for the purpose of the commission of the offence breaks into or enters a building, official or business premises or another enclosed space or intrudes by using a false key or other tool not typically used for gaining access or hides in the room;
- steals property which is especially protected by a sealed container or other protective equipment;
- 3. steals on a commercial basis;
- 4. steals property which is dedicated to religious worship or used for religious veneration from a church or other building or space used for the practice of religion;
- 5. steals property of significance for science, art or history or for technical development which is located in a generally accessible collection or is publicly exhibited;
- 6. <u>steals by exploiting the helplessness of another person</u> [emphasis added], an accident or a common danger; or
- 7. steals a firearm for the acquisition of which a licence is required under the Weapons Act, a machine gun, a submachine gun, a fully or semiautomatic rifle or a military weapon containing an explosive within the meaning of the Weapons of War (Control) Act or an explosive.

oder einem Dritten rechtswidrig zuzueignen, wird mit Freiheitsstrafe nicht unter einem Jahr bestraft.(2) In minder schweren Fällen ist die Strafe Freiheitsstrafe von sechs Monaten bis zu fünf Jahren.

§ 242 Diebstahl

- (1) Wer eine fremde bewegliche Sache einem anderen in der Absicht wegnimmt, die Sache sich oder einem Dritten rechtswidrig zuzueignen, wird mit Freiheitsstrafe bis zu fünf Jahren oder mit Geldstrafe bestraft.
 - Der Versuch ist strafbar.

§ 243 Besonders schwerer Fall des Diebstahls

- (1) In besonders schweren Fällen wird der Diebstahl mit Freiheitsstrafe von drei Monaten bis zu zehn Jahren bestraft. Ein besonders schwerer Fall liegt in der Regel vor, wenn der Täter
- 1. zur Ausführung der Tat in ein Gebäude, einen Dienst- oder Geschäftsraum oder in einen anderen umschlossenen Raum einbricht, einsteigt, mit einem falschen Schlüssel oder einem anderen nicht zur ordnungsmäßigen Öffnung bestimmten Werkzeug eindringt oder sich in dem Raum verborgen hält,
- 2. eine Sache stiehlt, die durch ein verschlossenes Behältnis oder eine andere Schutzvorrichtung gegen Wegnahme besonders gesichert ist,
 - 3. gewerbsmäßig stiehlt,
- 4. aus einer Kirche oder einem anderen der Religionsausübung dienenden Gebäude oder Raum eine Sache stiehlt, die dem Gottesdienst gewidmet ist oder der religiösen Verehrung dient,
- 5. eine Sache von Bedeutung für Wissenschaft, Kunst oder Geschichte oder für die technische Entwicklung stiehlt, die sich in einer allgemein zugänglichen Sammlung befindet oder öffentlich ausgestellt ist,
- 6. <u>stiehlt, indem er die Hilflosigkeit einer anderen Person,</u> einen Unglücksfall oder eine gemeine Gefahr <u>ausnutzt</u> [emphasis added] oder
 - 7. eine Handfeuerwaffe, zu deren Erwerb es nach dem Waffengesetz der Erlaubnis bedarf, ein Maschinengewehr, eine Maschinenpistole, ein volloder halbautomatisches Gewehr oder eine Sprengstoff enthaltende

(2) In cases under subsection (1) 2nd sentence Nos 1 to 6 above an	Kriegswaffe im Sinne des Kriegswaffenkontrollgesetzes oder Sp
especially serious case shall be excluded if the property is of minor value.	stiehlt.
	(2) In don Eallon dor Abrataor 1 Cata 2 Nr. 1 bir 6 irt ain boron

Sprengstoff

(2) In den Fällen des Absatzes 1 Satz 2 Nr. 1 bis 6 ist ein besonders schwerer Fall ausgeschlossen, wenn sich die Tat auf eine geringwertige Sache bezieht.

Appendix G: Example Questionnaire with Consent Form



Lütfen bu sayfayı ayırınız. Üst yarısı sizde kalsın, alt yarısını araştırmacıya veriniz.

Onay formu – sizin saklayacağınız kısım

Almanya'daki Potsdam Üniversitesi'nden Lea Spille tarafından yapılan araştırmaya katılmaya gönüllüyüm. Bu çalışmanın tecavüz ve soygun gibi suçların algılanması hakkında bilgi toplamak üzere yapıldığını biliyorum.

- Bu çalışmaya katılımım tamamen gönüllüdür. Katılımım için herhangi bir ücret ödemeyeceğimi biliyorum. Herhangi bir neden açıklamadan, çalışmadan istediğim anda geri çekilebilir ya da devam etmeyebilirim.
- 2. Katılım yaklaşık 20 dakika süren bu anketi cevaplamayı içermektedir.
- Bilgilerin kullanımı bireylerin bilgilerinin gizliliğinin korunması ilkeleri çerçevesinde yapılacaktır. Bu onay formu anketten ayrı tutulacaktır. Bu yüzden bireyler hiç bir cevapla eşleştirilemeyecektir.
- Yukarıdaki açıklamayı okudum ve anladım. Tüm soruları eksiksiz yanıtladım ve bu çalışmaya gönüllü olarak katıldığımı onaylıyorum.
- 5. Bu onayı formunun bir kopyasını aldım.

Calısmaya yaptığınız katkı için tesekkürler!

Araştırmacı imzası:	Tarih:	
Daha fazla bilgi için: Lea Spille v	ia spille@uni-potsdam.de	
×		

Onay formu – lütfen araştırmacıya veriniz

Almanya'daki Potsdam Üniversitesi'nden Lea Spille tarafından yapılan araştırmaya katılmaya gönüllüyüm. Bu çalışmanın tecavüz ve soygun gibi suçların algılanması hakkında bilgi toplamak üzere yapıldığını biliyorum.

- Bu çalışmaya katılımım tamamen gönüllüdür. Katılımım için herhangi bir ücret ödemeyeceğimi biliyorum. Herhangi bir neden açıklamadan, çalışmadan istediğim anda geri çekilebilir ya da devam etmeyebilirim.
- 7. Katılım yaklaşık 20 dakika süren bu anketi cevaplamayı içermektedir.
- 8. Bilgilerin kullanımı bireylerin bilgilerinin gizliliğinin korunması ilkeleri çerçevesinde yapılacaktır. Bu onay formu anketten ayrı tutulacaktır. Bu yüzden bireyler hiç bir cevapla eşleştirilemeyecektir.
- Yukarıdaki açıklamayı okudum ve anladım. Tüm soruları eksiksiz yanıtladım ve bu çalışmaya gönüllü olarak katıldığımı onaylıyorum.
- Bu onayı formunun bir kopyasını aldım.

Calısmaya yantığınız katkı için teşekkürleri

gangmaja japagma kana igm tegermane	<u> </u>	
Ad- Soyad: (büyük harflerle):	lmza:	
Tarih:		
Daha fazla bilgi için: Lea Spille via spille@	ouni-potsdam.de	

Sayın Katılımcı,

Bu araştırmaya destek verdiğiniz için teşekkür ederiz!

Size verilen ilk ölçekte toplumdaki kadın-erkek ilişkileri ve tecavüz hakkındaki daha genel görüşleri yansıtan bir dizi ifade bulunmaktadır. Sorulan sorular kişisel deneyimleriniz ya da özel hayatınız hakkında değildir; farklı durumların insanlar tarafından nasıl yorumlandığı ile ilgilidir. Bu soruları takiben verilen ölçekler üç ayrı tecavüz ve soygun olayını içermektedir ve sizden bu olaylar hakkında sorulan birkaç soruyu cevaplamanız istenmektedir. Ölçeğe verdiğiniz yanıtlar sadece bu araştırma için kullanılacak ve anonim kalacaktır.

Ölçek sizin tecavüz ve soygun hakkındaki görüşleriniz ile ilgilidir. Lütfen yedi seçeneği olan cevap formunu kullanarak her ifadeye ne derecede katıldığınızı işaretleyiniz. Doğru ya da yanlış cevap yoktur. İfadeler Hiç Katılmıyorum(1) 'dan Tamamen Katılıyorum(7) 'a doğru gitmektedir. Katılım durumunuza göre seçtiğiniz numaraların üzerine çarpı işareti koyunuz. Lütfen her ifade için numaralardan sadece birini seçiniz. Eğer karar vermekte zorlanırsanız, düşüncenize en yakın olanını seçebilirsiniz.

		Hiç Katıln yorun	300000					iamen Katılı- yorum
	Tecavüze sebep olan şeylerden biri kadınların güvenli							
1	olmayan şeyler yapmasıdır (Dışarıya yalnız çıkmak, otostop	①	2	3	4	(5)	6	7
	çekmek gibi).							
2	Günümüzde tecavüzden sonra kadınlar yeterli desteği	(1)	②	<u></u>	(4)	(5)	6	Ø)
2	alabilmektedir.	U	(2)	3	4)	0	0	0
3	Kadınların çocuklarının velayetini almak için eski eşlerine	(1)	(2)	<u> </u>	(4)	(5)	6	Ø)
3	cinsel saldırı iftirası atması sık görülür.	Ф	(2)	(3)	4	9	0	0
4	Pek çok kadın erkeklerin şiddet problemini abartma	0	2		•	•		Ø
4	eğilimindedir.	Ф	(2)	3	4	(5)	6	0
	Günümüzde medyanın cinselliği betimleme şekli potansiyel							24
5	suçluların cinsel dürtülerini artırmaktadır. Bu da	①	2	3	4	(5)	6	0
	teca∨üzlerin büyük bir kısmının sebebidir.							
_	Bir kadın bir erkekle ilişkiye başladığında, erkeğin cinsel							
6	ilişki beklentisi içinde olduğunun farkında olmalıdır.	0	2	3	4	(S)	6	0
7	Tecavüzün sebeplerinden biri kadınların erkekleri						*	
1	kışkırtmasıdır.	1	2	3	4	(5)	6	7
8	Pek çok kadın zekalarından ziyade görünüşlerinin							
8	övülmesini tercih eder.	0	(2)	3	4)	(5)	6	0
_	Toplumumuzun cinselliğe yönelik orantısız bir ilgisi olduğu							
9	için bu alandaki suçlara duyarlılığı da orantısızdır.	0	2	3	4	(5)	6	7

		Hiç Katıln yorun						namen Katılı- yorum
10	Tecavüzün sebeplerinden biri kadınların uyuşturucu ya da alkol kullanmasıdır.	0	2	3	4	(5)	6	7
11	Kadınlar naz yapmayı severler; bu seks istemedikleri anlamına gelmez.	0	2	3	4	(3)	6	7
12	Bir erkek kadın partnerine seks yapma konusunda ısrarcı davrandığında buna tecavüz denemez.	0	2	3	4	(5)	6	7
13	Tecavüzün sebeplerinden biri kadınların "seksi" giyinmesidir.	0	2	3	4	(5)	6	0
14	Kadınların kocalarını evlilik içi cinsel tacizle suçlamalarının nedeni çoğunlukla kötü gitmiş bir ilişkinin intikamını almaktır.	Φ	2	3	4	S	6	0
15	İş yerinde cinsel taciz tartışmaları, çoğunlukla taciz olarak yorumlanmış zararsız davranışın sonunda oluşmuştur.	0	2	3	4	(3)	6	Ø
16	Flörtlerde genel beklenti erkeğin "itmesi", kadınınsa "frenlemesidir".	0	2	3	4	(3)	6	Ø
17	Tecavüzün nedenlerinden birisi, kadının durumun kontrolden çıkmasına izin vermesidir.	0	2	3	4	(3)	6	7
18	Silahlı soygun kurbanları hayatları için daha çok korkuyor olmalarına rağmen tecavüz kurbanlarından çok daha az psikolojik destek almaktadır.	0	2	3	4	(\$)	6	Ø
19	Bir erkeğin kadına tecavüz etmesinde suç etkeni çoğunlukla alkoldür.	0	2	3	4	(5)	6	0
20	Pek çok kadın iyi niyetli bir hareketi cinsel saldırı olarak yanlış yorumlama eğilimindedir.	0	2	3	4	(5)	6	7
21	Tecavüzün nedenlerinden birisi kadının erkeğin yakın dokunuşlarına izin vermesidir.	0	2	3	4	(5)	6	0
22	Günümüzde cinsel şiddet kurbanları kadın sığınakları, terapi seçenekleri, destek grupları şeklinde yeterli yardımı almaktadır.	0	2	3	4	⑤	6	0

Ehliyet sınavını başariyla geçen Filiz, güneşli bir kış günü öğleden sonra arkadaşı Duygu'yu ziyaret etmek üzere yola çıkmıştı. Duygu'nun da başarıyla geçmiş olduğu ehliyet sınavını kutlamak adına ona bir şişe şampanya ile sürpriz yaptı. Duygu da ona aynı sürprizi yapmayı planlamıştı. Daha akşam olmadan her iki şişeyi de çoktan içmiş olduklarından, çakırkeyf şekilde Duygu'nun mutfağında kıkırdayarak oturuyorlardı. Ertesi gün erken kalkmak zorunda olduğu için Filiz, saat sekize doğru eve gitmek üzere Duygu'dan ayrıldı. Salına salına yollarda yürüyerek evinin yolunu tuttu. Yolda bir adam Filiz'den yol tarifi istedi. Filiz aslında o yolları iyi bilmesine rağmen hafif sarhoş olması nedeniyle yön bulma sorunu yaşadı ve adam da bunu fark etti. Daha sonra Filiz yoluna devam etmek istedi, fakat adam içinde cüzdanı, kredi kartları ve cep telefonunun bulunduğu çantasını çekip aldı. Filiz, olanlara çok öfkelenmiş olmasına rağmen, duruma müdahale etmek için oldukça yavaş ve güçsüzdü. Olaya tanıklık edenlerle birlikte, zanlıyı tespit etmek üzere polise ifade verdi ve ismi Ali olan adam olaydan sorumlu tutuldu.

4	Sizce Ali bu olaydan ne derecede sorumlu tutulabilir?	1	2	3	4	(5)	6	Ø
1	olzec An bu olaydan ne derecede Solumia tadabili .	Hiç						Çok fazla
	Sizce Ali'nin durum üzerinde ne derece kontrolü vardı?	0	2	3	4	(3)	6	Ø
2	Sizee All fill durum dzerinde ne derece kontrold vardi:	Hiç						Çok fazla
20	Ali'nin soygun için yasal olarak cezalandırılması gerektiği	0	2	3	4	(3)	6	0
3	konusunda ne kadar eminsiniz?							Çok fazla
	Sizes Filiz by slovden no deresede por unity tytulobilir?	0	2	3	4	(5)	6	0
4	4 Sizce Filiz bu olaydan ne derecede sorumlu tutulabilir?							Çok fazla
	Sizce Filiz'in durum üzerinde ne derece kontrolü vardı?	0	2	3	4	(5)	6	0
5	5 Sizce Filiz in durum uzerinde ne derece kontrolu vardi?							Çok fazla
	Sizce Filiz'in olaydan kaçınabilmesi ne kadar muhtemeldir?	0	2	3	4	(5)	6	0
6	Sizce Filiz III Glaydan kaçınabilinesi ile kadal ilidilerileldir.	Hiç						Çok fazla
	Eilin jain na kadav (inti) dijintin2	0	2	3	4	(5)	6	0
7	7 Filiz için ne kadar üzüldünüz?							Çok fazla
	Ali'nin soygunun cezai sorumluluğunu alması	0	2	3	4	(5)	6	0
8	8 gerektiğini ne ölçüde düşünüyorsunuz?							Çok fazla
	Hakim siz olsaydınız, Ali'nin soygundan suçlu	0	2	3	4	(5)	6	Ø
9	Hakim siz olsaydınız, Ali'nin soygundan suçlu bulacağınıza ne kadar eminsiniz?							Çok fazla

Şenay ve Mehmet, üç yıllık bir ilişkinin ardından, kısa bir süre önce ayrılmışlardı, ancak hala iletişim halindeydiler ve ara sıra görüşüyorlardı. Arkadaşları, Şenay'ın doğum günü için evinde sürpriz bir parti hazırlamışlardı. Mehmet dahil, partiye birçok kişiyi davet etmişlerdi. Parti gerçekten çok güzel geçmişti. Şenay ve Mehmet birlikte zaman geçirmekten keyif almışlardı. Birlikte oldukları zamanları hatırlayıp gülmüş, sonra tekrar tekrar dans edip biraz flörtleşmişlerdi. Şenay'ın arkadaşları, bir masayı kokteyl barı olarak kullanmış, bir tanesi de o masada kokteyl hazırlamıştı. Normalde alkol almaya alışkın olmayan Şenay, bir anda çakırkeyf hissetmeye başladı. Son misafirler de partiden ayrıldıklarında neredeyse sabah olmuştu ve evde tek kalan misafir Mehmet'ti. Mehmet, Şenay'a evi birlikte temizlemeyi önerdi, ancak Şenay çok sarhoş olduğu için temizlik yapabilecek halde değildi; bu nedenle de tüm temizliği Mehmet kendi başına yaptı. Temizliği bitirdikten sonra, Şenay'yı yatağına taşıdı ve kıyafetlerini çıkardı. Şenay'yı çıplak olarak yatakta uyurken gören Mehmet, kendi kıyafetlerini de çıkardı, Şenay'ın yanına uzandı ve onunla cinsel ilişkiye girdi. Şenay Mehmet'in bedeninin kendi bedeninin üzerinde olduğunu hissedince uyandı ve Mehmet'ten durmasını istedi, ancak Mehmet onu dinlemedi. Şenay onu durduramayacak kadar sarhoştu. Şenay haftalarca bu konu üzerine kafa yorduktan sonra durumu polise bildirmeye karar verdi.

	Sizce Mehmet bu olaydan ne derecede sorumlu tutulabilir?	0	2	3	4	(5)	6	7
1	Sizce Merinier ou diayuan ne delecede soruniu tutulabini :	Hiç						Çok fazla
8.7	Sizce Mehmet'in durum üzerinde ne derece kontrolü	0	2	3	4	(5)	6	0
2	vardı?	Hiç						Çok fazla
	Mehmet'in tecavüz için yasal olarak cezalandırılması	0	2	3	4	(5)	6	0
3	gerektiği konusunda ne kadar eminsiniz?	Hiç						Çok fazla
	Sizes Sanay by elaydan no deresed a carumly tutulabilir?	0	2	3	4	(5)	6	7
4	Sizce Şenay bu olaydan ne derecede sorumlu tutulabilir?							Çok fazla
		0	2	3	4	(5)	6	0
5	Sizce Şenay 'in durum üzerinde ne derece kontrolü vardı?							Çok fazla
	Sizce Şenay'nın olaydan kaçınabilmesi ne kadar	0	2	3	4	(5)	6	0
6	muhtemeldir?							Çok fazla
	Company in in the dest (in it) difficulty 2	0	2	3	4	(5)	6	7
7	Şenay için ne kadar üzüldünüz?	Hiç						Çok fazla
	Mehmet'in tecavüzün cezai sorumluluğunu alması	①	2	3	4	(5)	6	0
8	gerektiğini ne ölçüde düşünüyorsunuz?	Hiç						Çok fazla
	Hakim siz olsaydınız, Mehmet'in tecavüzden suçlu	0	2	3	4	(5)	6	7
9	bulacağınıza ne kadar eminsiniz?	Hiç						Çok fazla

Dilek, sınavlara hazırlanırken öğlen molalarını değerlendirmek üzere yakınlardaki bir parka giderdi. O gün ayrıca güzel bir gün olması sebebiyle, fotoğraf makinasını yanına almıştı. 2.700 Lira değerinde, pahalı bir model olan makinayı alabilmek için uzun zamandır para biriktirimiş ve en sonunda satın alabilmişti. Özellikle, bina cephelerini ve sıradışı detayları fotoğraflamaya bayılıyordu. Bu hobi onu çok rahatlatıyor ve keyfini artırıyordu. Yolda ilerlerken, fotoğraf kursundan bir tanıdığı olan Mustafa'yı uzaktan gelirken gördü. Mustafa da onu tanıdı ve Dilek'in yanına gelmesini bekledi. Birlikte henüz bir kaç adım yürümüşlerdi ki, Mustafa onu bileklerinden tutup çalılıkların arasına çekti. Ardından, kamerayı Dilek'in boynundan çekip aldı ve yüzüne bir yumruk indirip, oradan kaçtı. Dilek kendine gelince derhal evin yolunu tuttu ve hemen polisi aradı. Dilek'in ifadesinden sonra, Mustafa olaydan sorumlu tutuldu.

7734	Sizce Mustafa bu olaydan ne derecede sorumlu tutulabilir?	0	2	3	4	(5)	6	7
1	Page Mustala bu olaydan ne delecede sorumiu tutulabilii !							Çok fazla
822001	Sizce Mustafa'nın durum üzerinde ne derece kontrolü	0	2	3	4	(5)	6	0
2	vardı?							Çok fazla
0.00	Mustafa'nın soygun için yasal olarak cezalandırılması	0	2	3	4	(5)	6	0
3	gerektiği konusunda ne kadar eminsiniz?	Hiç						Çok fazla
-	Size Bilak bu alaydan na dayaaada aan malu tutulakilii 2	0	2	3	4	(5)	6	0
4	Sizce Dilek bu olaydan ne derecede sorumlu tutulabilir?							Çok fazla
201200	Since Dilektin dumum (incomedo no deceso beneficio ande)	0	2	3	4	(5)	6	0
5	Sizce Dilek'in durum üzerinde ne derece kontrolü ∨ardı?							Çok fazla
120	Sizce Dilek'in olaydan kaçınabilmesi ne kadar	0	2	3	4	(5)	6	0
6	muhtemeldir?	Hiç						Çok fazla
	Bilak iain na kadar iiziildiiniiz2	0	2	3	4	(5)	6	0
7	Dilek için ne kadar üzüldünüz?	Hiç						Çok fazla
2000	Mustafa'nın soygunun cezai sorumluluğunu alması	0	2	3	4	(5)	6	0
8	gerektiğini ne ölçüde düşünüyorsunuz?							Çok fazla
220	Hakim siz olsaydınız, Mustafa'nın soygundan suçlu	0	2	3	4	(5)	6	0
9	bulacağınıza ne kadar eminsiniz?	Hiç						Çok fazla

Şu anda ölçeğin son kıs	smına ulaştınız. Son ol	arak aşağıdaki bilgileri doldurmanızı ı	rica ediyoruz.					
Cinsiyetiniz: Erke	ek □ Kadın							
Yaşınız:		- 2						
Bölümünüz:		_						
Sınıfınız:								
	Hangi bölgede doğdunuz?	Hangi bölgede büyüdünüz? (Birden fazla cevap verebilirsiniz)	Şu anda hangi bölgede yaşıyorsunuz?					
Akdeniz Bölgesi								
Doğu Anadolu Bölgesi								
Ege Bölgesi	0	0						
Güneydoğu Anadolu Bölgesi								
lç Anadolu Bölgesi								
Karadeniz Bölgesi	0	0						
Marmara Bölgesi								
Farklı bir ülkede büyüdi	Farklı bir ülkede doğdum: Farklı bir ülkede büyüdüm: (Birden fazla cevap verebilirsiniz)							
Farklı bir ülkede yaşıyo	orum:							
Doğduğunuz yerde ka seçeneği, destek grupla		dıktan sonra yardım alabileceği; kadı şeyler var mı?	n sığınma evleri, terapi					
□ Evet	□ Hayır □ Bilm	niyorum						
Büyüdüğünüz yerde ya da yerlerden en azından birisinde kadınların teca∨üze uğradıktan sonra yardım alabileceği; kadın sığınma evleri, terapi seçeneği, destek grupları ya da buna benzer şeyler ∨ar mı?								
□ Evet	□ Evet □ Hayır □ Bilmiyorum							
	Şu an yaşadığınız yerde kadınların teca√üze uğradıktan sonra yardım alabileceği; kadın sığınma evleri, terapi seçeneği, destek grupları ya da buna benzer şeyler ∨ar mı?							
□ Evet	□ Hayır □ Bilm	niyorum						

Bu çalışmaya katıldığınız için teşekkür ederiz!

Appendix H: Statement of Authorship/Erklärung

Statement of Authorship

I declare that this thesis has been composed by myself, and describes my own work, unless otherwise acknowledged in the text. This work has not been and will not be submitted for any other degree in any other tertiary institution. All sentences or passages quoted in this thesis from other people's work have been specifically acknowledged by clear cross-referencing to author, and work. With my signature I declare the accuracy of these specifications.

Erklärung

Ich versichere, die vorliegende Diplomarbeit selbstständig und ohne unzulässige Hilfe Dritter verfasst zu haben. Bei der Abfassung der Diplomarbeit habe ich nur die angegebenen Hilfsmittel benutzt. Alle inhaltlich oder wörtlich übernommenen Aussagen aus anderen Schriften habe ich als solche gekennzeichnet.

Ich versichere weiterhin, dass ich diese Diplomarbeit weder in der gegenwärtigen noch in einer anderen Fassung einer anderen Fakultät zur Begutachtung im Rahmen einer Prüfungsleistung vorgelegt habe.

Saarbrücken,	den 13 Dezember 2015	