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ABSTRACT

A CLINICAL STUDY OF RAPE VICTIMS:
AN ANALYSIS OF THE EFFECTS OF RAPE EXPERIENCES
ON PERSONALITY DYNAMICS AND LIFE STYLES

By

Carol Hope Saturansky

Until recently there were few studies pertaining to rape victims, and virtually nothing was known about the psychological consequences of rape, though a popular belief was that women who get raped somehow are different from women who have never been raped. This research was of an exploratory nature, designed to gather clinical knowledge of individual women rape victims, as well as data from projective test material. No hypotheses as such were proposed; rather, several more general questions were asked in preparing the research, with emphasis on the central question, "Are there personality differences between women who have been raped and those who have not, or is any woman by and large as likely to be raped as the next woman?"

Rape victims were recruited for the study over a period of five months. They responded to notices posted at the U.C.L.A. Women's Resource Center, and on a bulletin board at a feminist bookstore; through an ad in the Los Angeles County Psychological Association Newsletter, and

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one in the Los Angeles Commission on Assaults Against Women newsletter. A control group consisting of five women who had never been raped, but had experienced a traumatic accident at some time in their lives, was also used, but only for comparison of the projective test material.

Nine women who had been raped were interviewed for six hours, over a period of at least six weeks, plus an additional meeting was held for the purpose of administering the complete Thematic Apperception Test and the Machover Figure Drawings. The interviews were largely unstructured, allowing each subject to initiate topics of discussion on her own at first, but if the subject did not, the interviewer raised questions about the subject's family history, early childhood memories, sexual history, current relationships, plans for the future, psychiatric history and dream life. The subjects were also encouraged to describe the rape(s) in as much detail as possible, with their own memories of feelings at the time of the rape, the intermediate interval, and the present included.

A clinical assessment of each woman was made by the interviewer in terms of relative ego strength and present adjustment. Within the experimental group, similarities and differences were examined in the areas of background, rape crisis period, attitudes of family and friends and dreams. No pattern of personality dynamics or life experience in general could be found to be consistent for the rape victims

as a whole.

The Machover Figure Drawings yielded no interesting or significant areas of information or speculation about the rape victims. The TAT data, however, did reveal some important differences between rape victims and non-rape victims. Rape victims told significantly more stories with themes of suicide, men being negatively experienced and/or aggressing against women, and romance or love stories.

While no special hypotheses are needed to explain the frequency of the first two TAT themes, the third, that of romance or love stories, does require some further explanation. It is hypothesized here that the anger and fearfulness experienced by the rape victim toward men is successfully coped with by over-romanticizing men. In other words, a step backwards in the perception of male-female relationships is required if the victim is to move forward again in relating to men after experiencing rape.

Litigation was also seen to be connected with some victims' successful post-rape adjustment. Though further research is necessary, it is hypothesized that the successful court suit, for a victim of rape, can serve to focus some of the rage and restore a sense of control over her life. An unsuccessful litigation experience may, on the other hand, serve to undo some of the previously made adjustments.

A CLINICAL STUDY OF RAPE VICTIMS:
AN ANALYSIS OF THE EFFECTS OF RAPE EXPERIENCES
ON PERSONALITY DYNAMICS AND LIFE STYLES

By

Carol Hope Saturansky

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Psychology

1976

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CAROL HOPE SATURANSKY
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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

At this time when I may formally express my gratitude to the people who have been of help to me as I worked on this research, I find that there are many names that belong here. Having chosen to do this work at a distance of more than 2,000 miles from the Michigan State Campus, I was forced to find or create a network of local people who could help me with subject-finding, literature-reviewing, data gathering, research methodology, and who would join in with the free-associative discussions which occur so frequently on a university campus, but are more like artifacts in the West Hollywood community in which I lived. Two recent graduates from M.S.U. who now live in California were especially helpful in this regard: Toni Krupski and Rita Larson. Other M.S.U. graduates vacationing in the West were also important for me to have contact with as I yearned for connection with my graduate school roots: Larry and Ginette Langer. My self-imposed isolation from the East Lansing wellspring at times would get the best of me, and these people were important to me in reminding me of my task and my graduate student identity.

When I did get back to East Lansing for the essential committee meetings, I was fortunate to be able to meet

with probably as fine a dissertation committee as a student could hope to have. My chairperson, Bert Karon, was sincerely supportive and extended himself to help me with my special long-distance problems. His insight and wisdom contributed greatly to my own development as a clinician as well as to the dissertation. I am forever grateful to him for his fine sense of scientific curiosity and purpose.

Bob Zuckor was also a committee member, but I wish to express special thanks to him as a friend-supervisor-instructor, someone who has been helpful to me throughout my graduate career, from year one to now. Jeanne Gullahorn and Elaine Donelson completed my committee and added much to the planning and discussion of the research. I thank the committee as a whole for working so well with me and with each other.

There are groups of people in Los Angeles to whom I feel indebted for their help and support. These include the Los Angeles Commission on Assaults Against Women, The Sisterhood Bookstore, the U.C.L.A. Women's Resource Center, the office of State Senator Alan Robbins, Queen's Bench Foundation in San Francisco. I thank the faculty of Los Angeles Mission College for their personal support, especially at times of typist-finding.

There are two individuals who stuck with me while I went through this crazy time of life-dissertation writing. Bert Forer helped me to keep my head together while he encouraged me to lose a little of it at the same time. His

support was invaluable.

My special thanks go to Howard Toff, who at the same time made my work both more difficult to do, and a pleasure of life. He contributed greatly to my decision to stay in Los Angeles, which made the dissertation work many times more complicated. But because I stayed in Los Angeles, because of Howard, I have grown in many ways, I have done what I think is a meaningful piece of work, and I am very, very happy. Thanks, How.

To the women who volunteered to tell of their rape experiences and of their personal histories, I am most grateful. Each woman had a sincere wish to somehow help others by sharing their own feelings in this research, and they deserve a special thanks indeed, not only from myself, but from women in general. Thank you, from all of us.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

There is not much written about rape victims. Under the heading of "rape" in the library card catalogue one finds mostly one or two references to rapists from criminology books, and dozens of books whose titles begin, "The Rape of...", the object being either a city, a country, or anything else which may be described metaphorically as raped. As for its literal reference, little is to be found in published writings. In 1932 an Italian anthropologist, Paolo Mantegozzo noted the following conquest of a young woman, as described by Dieffenbach, in his book Anthropological Studies of Sexual Relations: "Two young men (in Polynesia) wanted to have the same girl; they each pulled one of the arms of the girl until the weaker sank to the ground in exhaustion. He does not tell what happened to the girl." This literature review finds that not many modern writers tell what happened to the girl either.

Rape shall be defined for the purposes of this paper as forced sexual relations with a woman by a man, accomplished under actual or implied threat of severe bodily harm. It may be difficult to explain why there exists such a lacunae in the literature on the topic of the rape victim, and

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an explanation will not be attempted here, but perhaps it would be helpful to recognize the cultural attitude that has existed in the past toward this act. It seems to have been understood by many as a form of "love". Mantegozzo pointed out how frequently in primitive societies rape, or at least a simulated rape, was required in order for a marriage to take place. In our own society, as well as in primitive ones, women have been considered property. In fact, rape laws in our country were formulated based on this assumption. For that reason, a woman cannot legally be raped by her husband, for one cannot steal what he already owns.

It has been asserted that rapists depersonalize their victims. Some treatment programs for these sex offenders even include a process of learning to personalize women. It seems significant to this writer that more attention is now being given to victims of rape, as well as the psychology of women in general, now that there is an active women's liberation movement which strives to end society's depersonalization and objectification of women.

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CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Deutsch (1944), in considering what she assumed to be natural passivity and masochism in women, speculated about the possible evolutionary genesis of this and described what we would call rape to be the origin of sexual relations between men and women. "Everytime I see one of the numerous pictures in popular movies or magazines showing an anthropomorphous ape or a powerful beastlike masculine creature with a completely helpless female in his arms, I am reminded of my old favorite speculation: thus it was that primitive man took possession of woman and subjected her to sexual desire" (p. 222). Deutsch implied that sexual desire in women was not an intrinsic self-generated function, but a learned one, and therefore rape was the necessary means by which a woman found sex pleasurable. She conjectured that the sexual act was originally "an act of violence," which the woman could not resist, "and was gradually transformed for her into an act of pleasure. The violent penetration and mighty embrace, perhaps accompanied by wooing and caresses, thus became the woman's sexual enjoyment." Deutsch, along with many other writers up until Masters and Johnson (1966), mistakenly believed that a woman's sexual response was basically tied to

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the reproductive function, and was minimal, or certainly inferior to that of a man. This belief, which was so prevalent, would necessarily generate other possibly mistaken notions of what meaning rape has had to individual women.

Margaret Mead (1949) spoke of rape in terms of what she calculated was an impossibility without willingness on the part of the woman. "By and large, within the same homogenous social setting an ordinarily strong man cannot rape an ordinarily strong healthy woman. There are many primitive societies in which rape is a daydream of one sex or the other, or both, but there are adequate measures to prevent its happening in reality" (p. 203). Mead also added that modern day rape is a very different act from any behavior that can be postulated for the "small groups of creatures at the dawn of history."

Psychoanalytic Sources

Though Deutsch was a psychoanalytic writer, her thoughts on the subject which are reported above seemed less directly derived from analytic theory than her own ideas of evolution. In her discussion of rape fantasies she was more directly influenced by analytic theory. She described rape fantasies as frequent in adolescent girls, but for the most part entirely unconscious, latently expressing themselves in dreams with manifest content of criminals breaking into the house or thieves stealing objects of value. These dreams are connected with affects of fear rather than pleasure. Those adolescent girls who experience a more conscious

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expression of rape fantasies seem to fantasize two-act situations in which there is first some sort of non-sexual humiliation followed by the rape itself. Deutsch stated that these fantasies vanish "with the giving up of masturbation." Deutsch also referred to hysterical women who consciously and deliberately lied about having been raped by Negroes, and she suggested that these were "produced by the masochistic yearnings of these women." Deutsch does not consider any other motive, possibly sadistic ones, for these particular accusations. Again, her assertions are tied to the notion of masochism, which she says is necessary if the woman is to be adjusted to reality. She points both to reproduction, which she says is painful "from beginning to end," and "defloration," of which she says "the rape fantasy reveals itself as only an exaggeration of reality" (p. 277).

Abraham (1907) addressed himself to the experiencing of childhood sexual traumas, noting that there exists a tendency to repeat the experience in adult hysterics. The weight of this article concerned childhood sexual traumas, for which he differentiates two types of situations. In the first, the child tells the parent what happened, and hence does not experience guilt. In the second case it is supposed that the child who doesn't tell the parents shares the blame for what happened by possibly being seductive, and therefore feels guilty.

Anny Katan, sixty-six years later, indicates some of the same things. After analysis of several adult patients who had been raped as young children, she too found

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that there was a tendency to repeat the traumatic incidents in various ways throughout life. In addition, Katan found severe disturbance in the normal development of aggression and suggested it to be due to the experience of the childhood rapes. The mechanism of the disturbance was postulated as resulting in the ego's inability to integrate. Her patients "were fragmented, they could never feel that they were whole persons. They regarded their own aggression as dangerous and raw, whether it was turned against the self or against the outside world" (p. 222).

Fodor (1948) spoke more directly to the issue of rape fantasies. He described it as natural for women to be afraid of rape in the same way as it is natural for men to fear castration. He described the excessive fear of rape as having been "conditioned by traumatic events." The article continued with a case history of a woman who had once been raped as a teenager, and several dreams of hers are analyzed. He concluded that her rape fears were cover symptoms for the greater fear of birth: they related to prenatal experiences and memories from the womb and birth, with displacement from the pressure and pain of extrusion (being borne) to that of, in rape, penile intrusion.

Dreams are, or more properly put, "a dream" is described by Factor (1954), who was the analyst of a 28 year old woman who had been the victim of an attempted rape. This woman pressed charges and thus appeared in court. The night after her court appearance she dreamt that she felt guilty and was in the courtroom, where the alleged rapist

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turned to her as if to say "Don't think you're getting away with it." She awoke feeling sick to her stomach and she stated, "I had that sick feeling because I felt he'd be freed and might attempt to do something, or kill me." Factor asserted that the dream was a "thin disguise" expressing guilt because of her unconscious complicity and her wish that her potential rapist be freed to attempt it again. Factor overlooks the possibility of realistic fear of death or re-attack, and he gives no further evidence for his position.

Finally, the last of what this writer could glean from the analytic literature on the topic of rape is an article by George Devereux (1957) entitled "The Awarding of a Penis as Compensation for Rape." Devereux analyzed a Greek myth in which a young woman was raped by Poseidon and then was asked by him what she would like as restitution. She asks to be turned into a man and made invulnerable so no one ever could rape her again. This newly invulnerable man, chief of his tribe, now becomes impious, won't worship any of the gods, and only worships his spear. Zeus gets angry and has the Centaurs attack him, but since he is invulnerable they must use quite a lot of force, bashing him on the head with fir logs, driving him into the ground like a stake and suffocating him with logs piled on top. When the body was dug up it was found to be that of a woman.

Devereux's analysis of this includes the hypothesis that the spear worshipping was actually a defence against residual passive-submissive feminine urges; also he/she now

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identified with the aggressor (Poseidon) and so would not worship another god; and also he/she was impious because she had consorted with one of the gods and therefore had indulged in incest. Devereux went on to discuss Greenacre's (1952) suggestion that at times the penis is experienced as a foreign body. This, backed by the identification with the aggressor hypothesis, suggested to him that the spear symbolized not only the victim's new penis, but also Poseidon's. Devereux concluded that this supports the notion that in attempted rape, part of the woman's self is on the side of the rapist.

The above analysis seems a bit far fetched to this writer. The notion of penis envy as an all-encompassing explanation for a woman's psyche is being seriously examined and questioned today.

Returning to Factor's article, his analysis is one which is frequently made concerning a rape victim's guilt feelings or fantasy life. This is an example of the problem of sorting out the responsibility for the event's occurrence. As Deutsch had noted, women are capable of making false accusations, and certainly there are cases of seduction where the women may be attempting to get raped. However, it is questionable to use as evidence for the women's actual guilt in the matter the fact that a woman may feel guilty after being raped.

Though not directly dealing with rape, another analyst, Rado (1960), discussed emergency behavior, and he described the riddance response which hypothetically occurs

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when a person is faced with insupportable pain in the form of fear. This might well explain some of the behaviors and thoughts of rape victims, and is included here for the purpose.

Rado stated, "We are all familiar with the impulse to tear away a severely aching part of the body. Similarly, the suspense of a (presumably) impending disaster will blindly drive the individual to the very misfortune he dreads. He may then act automatically or yield to the irrational impulse to 'get it over with'." Rado quoted from Mark Twain's autobiography, where Twain tells of being 12 1/2 years old during a severe measles epidemic in which a child was dying almost every day. Parents were keeping their still healthy children locked up indoors at home, and Twain was so kept. In Twain's words, "At some time or other every day and every night a sudden shiver shook me to the marrow, and I said to myself, 'there, I've got it, and I shall die.' Life on these miserable terms was not worth living, and at last I made up my mind to get the disease and have it over, one way or the other." He subsequently escaped from his house, went to a neighbor's house where a child there had the measles, jumped into bed with the child and successfully contracted the disease. Rado also referred to combat fatigued pilots in recent wars, who struggled with temptation to crash their planes while overwhelmed with dread that their "number" would turn up.

Symonds (1975) describes victim behavior a bit differently. He asserts that for most victims of violent crimes,

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rape victims included, the first response is one of shock and disbelief; next comes fright bordering on panic (especially when one's life is perceived as in danger); then all behavior is directed for self-preservation, which sometimes yields distortions of perception, thinking and judgment; finally a victim will respond with adaptive and innate patterns of behavior from early childhood. He calls this "traumatic psychological infantilism," and it is characterized by the frozen fright response of many rape victims. He says it looks like cooperative behavior, but it is felt more like profound terror. He asserts it is behavior akin to submissive behaviors of other animal species, which expose their most vulnerable parts, offering themselves, so to speak, to the aggressor. Sometimes the terror experienced by the victim induces a "brain washing effect" that causes clinging behavior of the victim to the criminal. Symonds suggests that early life experiences with exposures to violence allow for an adult to be more physically and actively defensive with an attacker. It is clear to him that one's behavior during an attack is not necessarily related to one's behavior prior to the attack. "None of the antecedant behavior (of the victim) has any material effect on the impact psychological response of the victim when she is suddenly subjected to the unexpected violent assault on her person. What antecedant behavior does do is to lay the groundwork for persistent guilt and shame." Dr. Symonds is a modern psychoanalyst.

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Experimental Studies

There was only one experimental study dealing with rape victims that the writer could find to review here. It was based on another study published seven years earlier. Although this material does not directly deal with the rape victim, but rather with the observers' responses to rape (and other) victims, it will be included here.

In 1966 Lerner and Simmons explored observers' responses to "innocent victims." Essentially, their point was that people in general tend to believe in a "just" world, where people deserve whatever happens to them. In their words:

It seems obvious that most people cannot afford, for the sake of their own sanity, to believe in a world governed by a schedule of random reinforcements. To maintain the belief that there is an appropriate fit between effort and outcome, the person must construe this as a relatively "objective belief" -- one that applies to everyone. If this is true, then the person who sees suffering or misfortune will be motivated to believe that the unfortunate victim in some sense merited his fate.

Lerner and Simmons tested their hypothesis by means of inducing subjects who were earning experiment credits to believe either that they had control over how much electric shock a "confederate" subject was receiving, or they believed they had no control over the quantity of shock. They all observed what really was simulated suffering from the shock through the two-way mirror. The subjects later were interviewed about their personal feelings toward the "victims" of the "shocks". It was found that observers rejected least a victim whose fate they were able to alter.

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If they were unable to alter fate and stop or reduce the suffering, they chose to devalue the victim personally. If the victim was portrayed to the subjects as a martyr, someone who submitted to the shocking because she knew the observers needed experiment credits, then that victim was rejected the most. This is in keeping with the hypothesis: one's belief in a just world is threatened if a "good" person is seen as undergoing suffering. The "good" person must really then not be quite so good.

Jones and Aronson (1973) also expected to find that the more respected the victim, the less likely he or she would be deserving of a bad fate, and therefore they would be seen as having done something extra bad in order to account for what bad things happened to them. This was confirmed in their study in which fictitious women who had been raped were described to a group of undergraduates. The only variable manipulated in the descriptions was the social status of the women victims: they were described as either virgins, married, or divorced. The virgins and the marrieds were attributed with the most fault in having the rape occur, and the divorced women were seen as least to blame.

Victimology and Rape

Weis and Borges (1973) published a comprehensive paper dealing with victimology and rape, interweaving the study of victims with the specific crime of rape, and embellishing their material with sociological, historical, legal and psychological viewpoints. They examined what they

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called the "need" by society to have deserving victims (this echoes Jones and Aronson). They also suggested that the "dating game" or the culturally expected patterns within which men and women socialize increases the likelihood for rapes to occur, as sex role stereotypes are misleading and in some ways incompatible with underlying human needs. They described rape as a symbolic act in which women in our society are socially controlled by men in that in order to avoid rape they must cease from moving about as freely as men.

Weis and Borges critically examined Menachem Amir's 1971 book, Patterns of Forcible Rape. The latter was a fairly complete survey of the Philadelphia, Pennsylvania police records which yielded such statistics as: (a) 48% of the rapists were known victims; (b) 93.2% of rape cases are between individuals of the same race; (c) 90% of group rapes were planned in advance; (d) 58% of rapes by single men were planned in advance; (e) 60% of the men in the study were married. Amir did not, however, attend much to statistics concerning the victim, and Borges and Weis noted that in his section on "traumatic factors," Amir refers only to whether or not the offenders have had an early traumatic experience with a seductive woman. The authors implied that Amir is biased since he virtually ignored the trauma of rape victims themselves. However, some women in rape crisis centers have appreciated and relied on Amir's statistics in order to bolster their knowledge.

Finally, Weis and Borges addressed themselves to

the emotional responses of the victims. They noted that there frequently is a loss in self esteem, an inability to have normal heterosexual relations, followed sometimes by suicide, according to an earlier study by Borges. They suggested that trauma is lessened by increasing depersonalization by the rapist, or it can be lessened by the victim somehow being able to depersonalize herself in the rape. It is assumed that this will then minimize the subjective loss of personal integrity and lessen guilt feelings; they suggest that the most effective ego defense against traumatic experiences is denial of personal involvement. They added that more women prosecute in cases where the rapist is personally unknown to them.

Other authors in discussing emotional responses of victims dealt with victims of sex offenders in general. Halleck (1965) suggested that many children and adult victims of sexual assault experience chronic personality disabilities as a result. In another article (1962) Halleck, a psychiatrist, specified that in a sexual assault, a woman undergoes an experience in which she is aware of overwhelming angry feelings toward her attacker, but she is helpless to do anything about it. This leaves her to repeatedly search her own motivations to discover if there was anything she could have done to prevent the attack. He described women as frequently blaming themselves for neglecting minor defensive efforts. She is left feeling uncertain as to her feminine role, and she feels degraded and helpless. Halleck found that neurotic symptoms are often developed, and he

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Another psychiatrist, Werner (1972), described how the rape of one of his clients during the period of his treatment interrupted the ongoing therapeutic process. The client was hospitalized for two days, and following discharge was beset by insomnia, appetite loss, frequent crying, and fears of being alone. Her diagnosis had been one of a passive-aggressive personality with schizoid tendencies and sex identity problems and difficulties in expressing aggressive feelings.

Werner himself was called to testify for the defense to show that his client was "preoccupied with sex" and "a solicitor of the attack." (The circumstances of the rape had been that the client and her boyfriend were parked in their car when two other men, strangers, drove up, abducted her into their car and left the boyfriend, who called the police. Two hours later they were found in their car with the client tied up on the floor.)

Since the rape, Werner's client continued to have some difficulties with school, but she seemed more able to stand up for herself when threatened with being dropped from her program. Werner suggested that perhaps the rape experience had served to strengthen her ability to stand up for herself. He summarized that resolution of feelings about the experience goes on for months or years; guilt occurs based on rape fantasies which existed prior to the actual rape; and it is helpful to reassure the victim that it is normal to feel guilty.

Rape Crisis Studies

Ann Wolbert Burgess, an associate professor of nursing, and Lynda Lytle Holmstrom, an assistant professor of sociology, worked together counseling victims at Boston City Hospital during a one year period. They reported on their sample of 92 women out of a larger pool of 146 patients: 109 women, 34 female children and 3 male children who were victims of forceable rape. The authors served as the crisis-emergency team for all such patients, and reported their findings in several papers (1973, 1974) and finally a book (1974). Their work is extensive, but will be summarized in the following paragraphs.

The procedure for victims reporting to the emergency room consisted of medical attention first, followed by psychological, followed by whatever referral would be then deemed necessary. The victim was seen within one hour; procedures included a brief history, diagnosis of trauma, gynecological examination and laboratory tests, possible administration of DES to prevent pregnancy, prophylactic administration of penicillin or oral antibiotics for venereal disease.

The psychological counselors were regarded as part of the emergency ward treatment team (victims overall responded favorably to this treatment). The counselors noticed differences in verbal style of the victims, finding about 50% to be quiet and guarded, 50% talkative and expressive. Their initial responses to the rape ranged from fear, restlessness, tears and anger to smiling, calmness and

composure.

The overall primary reaction reported was the fear of death. Two brief examples: one 20 year old married student was waiting for a bus when a car stopped and three men pulled her into the car. She said to the counselors, "I spent the whole time while I was riding in the car (blind-folded) thinking of the girl (in a recent newspaper story) locked in the closet who was murdered." Another 23 year old hospital employee was walking home after her 3:00 to 11:00 shift when she was pulled into the bushes. "...I was frightened of dying - the thought of being killed when the rape was over."

Anger was frequently noted to be directed at the police, the assailant, the act itself, the hospital, the counseling service, or the pelvic examination. A common response seemed to be "it's not fair." Shock and numbness were also present, along with verbalized wishes to forget. Frequently discussed was the topic of past, present and future relationships with men. Either previous losses came to the surface, or anxieties about the reactions of husbands or boyfriends were verbalized.

Burgess and Holmstrom separated the responses of the victims into two distinct phases: phase one being the Acute Phase, marked by disorganization; phase two, the Reorganization of Life Style Phase. During that first phase, either verbal style, expressive or controlled, as described above, was used. Somatic reactions, including physical trauma, skeletal muscle tension, gastrointestinal

irritability and genitourinary disturbances were observed. Emotional reactions included the wide range of feelings described above, with fear of physical violence and death, and self-blame being most frequent. The origins of the self-blame were attributed partly to the victim's socialization and partly to the attitude of "blame the victim." They use a striking example of a woman who was assaulted in her apartment hallway one afternoon by a man who then forced his way into her apartment. She fought against him to the point of taking his knife and using it against him, but in the process she was severely beaten and raped. Later she said, "I keep wondering maybe if I had done something different when I first saw him that it wouldn't have happened -- neither he nor I would be in trouble. Maybe it was my fault. See, that's where I get when I think about it. My father always said whatever a man did to a woman, she provoked it."

During the reorganization phase, the changes and responses seemed to depend on the ego strength, social network of support, and the way people treated them as victims. There was often an increase in motor activity, i.e., they would change residences, travel, visit the family, change their telephone numbers. Nightmares and dreams were spontaneously described by 29 out of 92 victims. Two types of these dreams could be defined: where the victim wishes to do something to an assailant, but wakes before acting; and later in time after the rape, where the victim reports mastery in the dream, and she successfully fights off or kills an assailant. Finally, during this "reorganization phase,

numerous phobias may develop, such as fear of the indoors, outdoors, crowds, being alone, people behind, sex."

The authors stated that only a minority of victims had reactions such as depression, psychosis, psychosomatic disorders, suicidal feelings or acting out. These few victims had reported a previous history of psychiatric treatment. Burgess and Holmstrom also referred to what they called "Silent Rape Reaction Syndrome," which exists when there had been in the victim's life an earlier experience of rape or assault which the victim had told no one about. Signs of this include (a) increasing anxiety with blocking, silence, and stuttering; (b) sudden marked irritability or avoidance of relationships with men or changes in sexual behavior; (c) history of sudden onset of phobias; (d) persistent loss of self esteem; guilt; paranoia; nightmares.

A study done by Sutherland and Scherl (1970), included 13 rape victims, and they described three phases of reactions, rather than two as described by Burgess and Holmstrom. The three phases are the acute, the outward adjustment, and the integration and resolution phase. Their acute stage was comparable to that of the other authors; it included reactions of shock, disbelief, dismay amongst agitated or incoherent victims versus some who were unable to talk about the experience at all. Guilt feelings were common, and the authors pointed out that clues to the victim's unconscious or conscious perception of her role in the rape are provided by examining when and to whom the rape is reported. Anxiety in general was noted to decrease as the

victim became more able to discuss the rape, particularly with close family members. Much of the focus during the acute phase is on practical questions, such as: Should she press charges? Will she see the rapist again? What about the reactions of friends, neighbors, boyfriends? This first phase is estimated as resolved within a few days to a week.

Phase two consists of an outward appearance of adjustment. During this time, which may last months, the victim attempts to deny the personal impact of what has happened. Anger and resentment appear to subside.

Phase three, the integration and resolution phase, is marked initially by depression and by the need to talk. The earlier, more recently denied concerns surface. Gradually the victim comes to accept the event and realistically appraise her degree of complicity in the rape. Feelings toward the rapist get reworked and resolved, with the expression of anger toward him for having used her and toward herself for having tolerated it. This phase usually begins with either a specific incident, such as the diagnosis of pregnancy or perhaps a proposal of marriage, or else just a general deterioration of the denial defense. The authors found that in one case in particular, this stage of depression was resolved as the victim began to recognize her lifelong pattern of punitive self-sacrifice. In this case she was able to advance forward past immediate crisis resolution into a strengthening of her ego, over and above where she was prior to the rape.

Both Sutherland and Scherl, and Burgess and

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Holmstrom provided a look at how the crisis of rape is experienced, from the point of view of the victim, and what the more immediate effects of rape might be. These studies were the first to attend to this in any systematic way.

Two large scale studies of rape victims were completed in 1975. The first to be discussed here is a questionnaire study conducted by Pauline Bart and published in Viva Magazine in June, 1975. Through Viva's readership, 1070 questionnaires were completed, surveying rapes which took place mostly three years prior to the questionnaire, or less than one year prior. In 40% of the cases, the rapist was a total stranger to the victim. Victims in general reported loss of trust in male/female relationships, nightmares, suicidal feelings, loss of self-respect, hostility toward men, sexual problems since the rape, a loss in sense of independence, and subsequent psychiatric care. There were also reported some "good" effects of having been raped: some felt stronger about standing up for themselves, some learned self-defense techniques, a few joined women's groups. Some statistically significant correlations indicated that the more intimately the victim had known the attacker prior to the rape, the more likely she was to suffer sexual problems and loss of trust in men in general; this supports Weis and Borges. Loss of self-respect was correlated with those victims who were younger, had prior knowledge of the attacker, were physically overpowered by the attacker, and who felt the attacker as acting self righteously or with contempt toward them. Twenty-two per

cent of the respondents sought psychiatric care, and of them only 35% said it was helpful; half of the remainder reported getting help subsequently from women's groups. Only 9% of the victims who had been raped less than a year before responding to the questionnaire had sought psychiatric help.

The other study was conducted by the Queen's Bench Foundation, an association of women judges and attorneys from the San Francisco Bay area. Their focus was on victims of rape and the public systems which respond to them. Included in their survey is an assessment of the psychological impact of rape. They were able to interview a total of 80 victims, recruiting them through advertisements in newspapers and flyers, on radio stations and television spots, and through referrals by professionals, other victims and the police. Each victim was interviewed for one or two hours during which time they told about their experience of being raped and were asked up to 222 structured questions. Like Bart, they concluded that :

Stranger rapes generally have more impact on the victims' sense of personal safety, while familiar rapes effect their self-concept and social relationships. Helplessness and feelings of dependency are present under most circumstances of violent assault. Shame, guilt and anxiety predominantly occur when the woman's self-concept is weakened or threatened, and this is influenced by the responses of people the victim turns to for help and support. Ventilation of feelings, particularly the victim's shame and anger, is helpful to resuming normal life patterns while denial and repression can prolong the effects of victimization and result in compounded problems.

The fact that women tend to respond to a rape experience with fear, anger, or detachment while the rape is occurring, and with shame and guilt afterward, is indicative of how social pressures

distort the reality of the rape situation. Rape approaches a death experience. The victim fears for her life, probably as does the victim of mugging. None of the rape victims reported concern regarding the sex act itself, while it occurred; but afterward, the sexual aspect of the aggressive act became a critical issue for many women. They not only felt shame in terms of what others might think, but they internalized this societal judgment and blamed themselves. Shame and guilt were not felt by the victims of attempted rape (p. 29).

Review of Statistical Information

It is interesting that the incidence of reported rape is quickly rising while more of these studies appear to publicly treat the experience of the victim with concern. According to the Uniform Crime Reports from the Federal Bureau of Investigation, there was a 121% increase in reported cases of rape between 1960 and 1970. Another striking statistic is that of a 44% increase in reported rapes in the San Diego Police Department since the local rape crisis counseling team began in that area.

Some more recent statistics will put these figures in perspective. In the state of California, from 1972-1973, there were 8,349 rapes reported to the police, and they estimate that 80,000 rapes actually took place. For the 8,349 rapes reported, 3,350 arrests were made of suspected rapists. Of these arrests, 600 men were actually convicted of forceable rape, 300 of whom received some prison sentence. Of those sentenced to prison, 145 were sent to a state facility, and 155 to a county facility, which means a stay of less than one year. The Los Angeles County Commission on Human Relations estimates that one third of the women living in

Los Angeles County will be raped in the course of their lifetimes.

The following is a portion of the testimony of Lieutenant Winona Franz of the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department at the hearings of the California Senate's Subcommittee on Violent Crime, March 27, 1975:

I have often thought about the woman who will walk through the park and somebody will jump out of the bushes and grab her purse and flee with it and she will go home and tell her family about it. She will tell her friends about it. She will pick up the phone and call the police immediately. Demand prosecution and will be a very angry lady.

Let the same lady walk through the same park and the same man jump out of the bushes and knock her down and rape her and it's a whole new ball game and why is that? It shouldn't be, because of attitudes. So, education is so important to change attitudes. The woman that was raped in the park by the same man will not want to tell us about it, will not want to go to court because all of a sudden because of the attitudes she is presumed to have done something wrong and I think that it's a long overdue that we do something about these archaic laws. It upsets me to sit at defense council with a rap sheet showing the fellow has three prior rape convictions and the victim is sitting up there on the stand and the judge is telling the jury to view her statements with caution and I can't tell the jury that this beast has been convicted three prior times for rape (p. 77).

Four Recent Books

Against Our Will - Men, Women, and Rape by Susan Brownmiller has been hailed as "the" book on the subject of rape. Brownmiller's thesis is that rape is not a random act by deviant or troubled men, but a world-wide social mechanism by which men in general control women. She argues her thesis brilliantly connecting and weaving together information from legal history, anthropological works, art history, mythology,

science, psychoanalysis and psychology, religion, politics -- as broad a spectrum of evidence from this earth's culture as she seemingly could assemble in four years' writing and researching. She describes how rape entered the law as a crime of property, which is where rape stayed to this day in the form of treating rape as a violation of male rights of possession, since in many states there is legally no such thing as rape of a wife by her husband as he already "owns" her. Brownmiller describes the sociological and political function of rape in wars and in racial and religious antagonisms as well as ordinary conflicts of power and authority, such as the everyday violence in prisons and jails where homosexual rape occurs as a means of establishing the power structure among the inmates.

In her discussion of the rape victim, Brownmiller states that "Women are trained to be rape victims...girls get raped. Not boys...rape seeps into our childhood consciousness by imperceptible degrees..." (p. 309). She takes on Helene Deutsch, labeling Psychology of Women a "towering work. It is a brave, pioneer study, a merciless exploration of the shameful underpinnings of female psychosexuality as it has been conditioned by men. Superstrict Freudian to the end, Deutsch mistook what sometimes is for what must be, and that is her tragedy -- and ours" (p. 316). Brownmiller believes that "the rape fantasy exists in women as a man-made iceberg. It can be destroyed -- by feminism" (p. 322). Her point is political: with men in the position of power, their fantasies of dominance yielded a mirror image fantasy

of submission on the part of women throughout time. For women who would not be conditioned into accepting themselves as passive and submissive and who would refuse to act out masochistic behaviors, were simply not chosen by men. Since the cultural structure makes women economically dependent on men, emotional dependence followed.

Her understanding of women's need to play the part of the beautiful victim is demonstrated by her references to mythology, Hollywood movies, and journalistic accounts of crimes which always include, when a female is involved as a victim, a physical attractiveness rating. She says that "through legend and lore, history has mythified not the strong woman who defends herself successfully against bodily assault, but the beautiful woman who dies a violent death while trying. A good heroine is a dead heroine, we are taught, for a victory through physical triumph is a male prerogative that is incompatible with feminine behavior" (p. 327).

She blasts the common belief that somehow rape victims are responsible for the rape, using statistics which show that compared to victims of other crimes, rape victims are assessed as having performed the least amount of "precipitant behavior," this as described by the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence report (1969). Brownmiller includes in her book excerpts of testimonies by rape victims in order to illustrate this point and that rape is an act of violence, not one of sex. She states that there is no uniform response to a rape and no uniform time

for recovery. She concludes her discussion of the rape victim by examining the legal system of response to rape, particularly the existence of the cautionary instruction (the judge is ordered by law in many states to instruct the jury before they retire for deliberation: "A charge against the defendant in this case is one which is easily made and once made, difficult to defend against even if the person accused is innocent. Therefore, the law requires that you examine the testimony of the female person named in the information with caution.")

Brownmiller began her book after attending a symposium held in New York City in 1971, organized by the New York Radical Feminist Group. A book entitled Rape: The First Sourcebook for Women was published in 1974 and contains the material presented at that meeting as well as articles and papers written afterward. An article entitled "The Psychology of the Rapist and His Victim" by Lilia Melani and Linda Fodaski, suggests some of the very ideas which Brownmiller later includes in her own book: "We have all been raised on sexual images of male conquest and female acquiescence. From the earliest ages we are exposed to male fantasies about females; thus women, struggling with and guilty for their own active urges, came, tragically, to identify with the male sensibility, so pervasive it is...." They continue, "...Female sexuality remains painfully undefined and unfulfilled. When a woman attempts to become a sexual being instead of an object, she is regarded with suspicion or condemned outright" (pp. 91-92). Another paper by Lynn Farrow analyzes popular

rape fiction written by women, particularly Peyton Place's rapes of Selena Cross. Peyton Place is an unusual literary event because the rape victim is not punished in the story but a positive future is provided for her. "Grace Metalious' purpose is to focus on the sexual politics of the rapist and the rape culture, not to hammer the nails into the coffin of the victim" (pp. 104-105).

Against Rape by Andra Medea and Kathleen Thompson focuses on the crime, sociology, prevention and self-defense procedures, and also includes a chapter on "Psychological Reactions." This chapter describes a three-stage adjustment period similar to that described by Sutherland and Scherl. This period is marked initially by hysteria, shock or crying, then by an outward satisfactory adjustment, and if the third stage is ever reached it is one which begins with depression.

Phase three is when the victim may feel guilty because she has had fantasies about rape; she may feel that somehow she must have wanted it to happen. Fantasy, of course, is far, far removed from reality. In a rape fantasy you pick the man (usually attractive) who rapes you, you direct his actions, and you pick the circumstances. In your fantasy world you are in complete control of everything, but because it is rape you're also relieved of any responsibility. It is sex without sin. Any woman who is deep into this fantasy would be snapped out of it faced with the brutal reality (p. 104).

The authors also list other reasons for which women have guilt feelings: they feel they should have known better; they became sexually aroused; they may feel guilty simply because the rape was an illicit sexual experience.

"There is a great myth about the overwhelming affect of rape on a virgin. While no studies have been

conducted, it seems likely that the effects depend much more on the woman's personality than on the existence or non-existence of the hymen" (p. 105). The authors also recognize the possibility of guilt as a response to feeling helpless. "If the woman can believe that somehow she got herself into the situation, if she can believe that in some way she caused it, then she's established a sort of control over the rape" (p. 105). This is an hypothesis suggested by Fairbairn quite briefly in 1952.

The Politics of Rape by Diane Russell is a collection of interviews with rape victims in which they describe their experience and their feelings. Russell is a professor of sociology who uses 22 of the interviews to illustrate various points of view in our society which seem to yield various responses and adjustments on the part of different rape victims. After presenting each interview, the myth about rape which the victim seemed to subscribe to is clearly pointed out. For instance, the 55 year old mother of four who was raped seven years prior to the interview seemed to suffer a trauma that was deep and long lasting. She had been terrorized by her assailant, but could not bear to tell anyone about it because she felt that they would believe, as she had, that it couldn't happen to a woman if she didn't want it. Russell ties together the responses of the victims with the societal forces around them, rather than delving into a psychological or psychodynamic exploration of their feelings, though the material is plainly there.

There has been no study reported which explores the

psychological aspects of rape using any sort of projective tests, intensive interviewing, nor any which attempts to organize the understanding of the victims through examining early family history, sexual identification or individual psychodynamic processes.

CHAPTER III

QUESTIONS ASKED BY THIS STUDY

1. What are the long term (at least from one to five years post rape) effects of rape on a woman? In what way, if any, does the experience of having been raped change either the life style, social adjustment, or the deeper structures of a woman's personality (sex role identification, ego organization)?

2. What are the attitudes of families and friends that the rape victim encounters? From her point of view, how has the event influenced her relationships with people?

3. Are there real personality differences between women who have been raped and those who have not, or is any woman by and large likely to be raped as the next woman?

4. What are the characteristics of the guilt feelings or feelings of responsibility that rape victims seem to experience? Are victims who feel guilty different in a major way from those who feel no guilt? Or do all women feel guilty on some level?

5. Are women who have been attacked by strangers different from those who personally knew their assailant?

6. What are the dreams and/or nightmares of rape victims? Does dreaming style, frequency, content change

over time?

7. Are there psychological differences between rape victims and non-rape victims to which projective tests are sensitive?

CHAPTER IV

METHOD

Subjects

An attempt was made to recruit twelve rape victims, each at least 20 years of age, and to assemble them into two groups with six in each group, depending on the length of time since the rape occurred. One group was to consist of women raped between nine and eighteen months prior to the study, and the other group was to consist of women raped between two and five years prior to the study.

A total of 12 women who had been raped volunteered to be part of the study, but only nine of them were ultimately interviewed for the complete series of interviews. Of the three that did not complete the interviews, two dropped out after the first session, and one was deemed inappropriate for the study (she had been raped just that week). Both women who dropped out after the initial interview gave as their reason that talking about the rape had made them very anxious or upset and they hadn't realized how much it had upset them, therefore they preferred to not talk about it.

It had been planned to sample the subjects from either hospital emergency room records or rape crisis counseling groups' records, but neither of these sources proved

directly workable. Instead, all of the subjects were self-referred, responding to the following notice:

Research on the long term effects of rape on individual women is being conducted by a woman Ph.D. candidate, trained as a counselor and psychotherapist. Women who have been raped from 9 to 18 months ago, and from 2 to 5 years ago, are needed for this study. These women will be interviewed for about 6 hours, over a period of 6 or 7 weeks. They will also be given some psychological tests. A small amount of money will be given to these women in return, and the experience itself is potentially valuable to a woman. If you are at least 20 years old and are interested in participating in this research, call Carol at (phone number).

This notice was hand written and placed on bulletin boards at the following locations:

1. The U.C.L.A. Women's Resource Center. This is a campus organization which coordinates various activities, curricular and extra-curricular, for U.C.L.A. women.

2. The Sisterhood Bookstore. This is a feminist owned-and-operated bookstore located in the Westwood-U.C.L.A. community of Los Angeles. The interior of this bookstore is decorated somewhat like a living room, thus it serves as something of a meeting place.

3. The Women's Building. A women's center located in downtown Los Angeles, where a variety of cultural, political and social events are planned and take place.

The notice was also published in the following newsletters:

4. The Los Angeles Commission on Assaults Against Women newsletter. This organization is also a rape hotline service, and their newsletter coordinates information and is sent to many rape hotline groups throughout the county and

the state, plus other related organizations and some governmental offices, as well as interested individuals who are on their mailing list.

5. The Los Angeles County Psychological Association newsletter.

An effort was made to encourage word-of-mouth referral. Also, various agencies and organizations that would seem remotely related to this topic were contacted, and there were accumulated long chains of phone numbers of different people and places. Recruitment of subjects was extremely difficult, and there will be further discussion of this important problem in a later section.

Interview Structure

The subjects were told that the purpose of the study was to increase understanding of how a rape experience fits into the life of the victim and what changes, if any, occur in the victim's life. They were told in the initial phone contact that six hours of interviews were planned, with approximately one session held per week, and that after the initial interview hour, the next appointment will be scheduled for the administering of the psychological tests. Following these projective tests, the remaining five clinical interviews were to be scheduled.

During the initial phone contact any questions that the women asked were answered directly.

Content of Interviews

1. The interviews were initially conducted in a manner not unlike that of initial psychotherapy sessions. At the first meeting there was a warming up period in which the subject spoke about her current life or whatever else entered her mind. It was hoped that an atmosphere of acceptance and understanding was communicated and experienced by the subject.

2. A tightly controlled structure was sacrificed as it is recognized that the expression of personal human experiences will necessarily vary a great deal according to the individuality of the speaker. Therefore, the interviewer allowed the subjects to initiate each topic area, but if she did not, the interviewer introduced the following areas: (a) early childhood memories; (b) family relations -- between self and parents; self and siblings; parental relationship; (c) adolescence -- success in school; peer relationships; dating experiences; (d) sexual history -- masturbation; first intercourse; sexual fantasies in the past and present; also reactions to menstruation and secondary sexual characteristic development; (e) physical health history; (f) dream life -- recurring dreams, if any; nightmares; whatever dreams are currently occurring; differences in pre- and post-rape dreams; (g) relationships with current objects -- current social status; (h) goals for the future -- career; marriage; wishes; (i) psychiatric history.

3. Information directly concerning the rape experience was collected in the same way, allowing the subject to

volunteer information initially; then, if any of the following subjects were left out, they were introduced by the interviewer:

What were the actual circumstances of the rape in detail? Was there prior knowledge of the rapist? What feelings did the victim have during the rape itself? What, if anything, was done in self defense or in resisting the attack?

What happened immediately afterward? Where did the victim go? Who was contacted and told, and how soon?

If a hospital was visited, what was done there? Was there a pelvic examination? Were there female personnel to talk with? Was DES or penicillin administered?

Was the rape reported to the police? What response was there to the report?

Was there continuance of legal prosecution? What influenced the victim's decision to prosecute? What feelings were experienced in relation to prosecuting? Was there a trial and what was the outcome? How did the victim feel about the verdict at the time? How does she feel now?

What was the response to the news of the rape from her immediate family? Her parents and siblings? Her friends? Employer? Boyfriend?

What psychological disturbances arose after (due to) the rape, if any? Were there phobias or sexual fears? If they remitted, how and when did they disappear?

What physical disturbances arose after (due to) the rape? If there were any, and there was remission, how and when did they disappear?

Was there a period of depression? Was there a need to talk it over? By whom did the victim feel understood? Was there any professional consulted for psychological problems?

What dreams or nightmares were remembered from the time period after the rape, or currently? Was there a difference in the style, content, or emotional feeling about the dreams as time passed since the rape itself? As many examples as possible were requested. (Request for dreams may be made at the end of the first session; thereby increasing the likelihood of collecting current dreams stimulated by the current renewed talk about the rape.)

What has been the victim's sexual adjustment since the rape? What were her initial feelings about sexual intimacy immediately following the rape? What about currently? What is the frequency of sexual intercourse now and before?

What changes, if any, have there been in heterosexual relationships? What were the victim's feelings toward men immediately afterward and currently?

If there was a racial difference between herself and her attacker, what feelings, if any, are experienced toward that race as a whole? Are these different from before the rape? Is there a difference in the

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victim's response toward men and women of that race?

What is the victim's attitude toward the women's liberation movement? What is her attitude toward sex roles? Was there a change in attitudes since the rape?

What is the woman's overall impression of how the rape experience changed her life, her life style, her self? What meaning does having been raped have for her?

Projective Tests

The complete set of TAT cards for women, plus Card 3BM and 12M, was administered to each subject. Following the TAT cards, the subject was asked to draw Machover Figure Drawings (draw a person, a person of the opposite sex, and an animal).

Control Group

A control group for comparison of the projective test material was employed. Five women who were approximately matched with the rape victim sample for age, race and education, and who had also experienced a moderately serious accident at some point in their life, but had not ever been raped, were recruited for the projective tests alone. No other data were to be collected from this control group.

CHAPTER V

RESULTS

Description of Subjects

The following is a brief description of the nine women who participated in the study, and the rape circumstances of each, with pseudonyms in place of their real names. They shall be listed in order of current clinical adjustment as evaluated by the interviewer. Although these are subjective evaluations of adjustment, they were made by an interviewer trained to make such clinical evaluations. The criteria used in doing so include: (a) ego strength; (b) quality of relationships with people; (c) use of intellectual potential; (d) absence or presence of overt psychopathology. The woman whose adjustment is rated the best is described first. The women who are ranked further down the list, generally speaking, were assessed as having less ego strength and more overt psychopathology.

1. Jean, a 37 year old white woman, is a Ph.D. candidate in anthropology. She has been divorced for many years, is the mother of a teenaged son. She was referred to the study by a psychologist-co worker who read the L.A. C.P.A. newsletter ad. The rape had taken place four months

Table 1. Profile of subjects: rape data and background information.

Name	Age	Time since rape(s)	Mar. status	Police report	Rapist appre.	Relig. bkgrd.	Educ. level	Pre-rape psych. exper.	Parents told of rape at time
Jean	37	4 mo.	div.	yes	no	Prot.	MA plus	no	no
Sally	30	2 yr.	div.	yes	yes	Prot.	coll.	no	no
June	23	4 1/2 yr.	sep.	yes	no	Ca./Jw.	MA plus	yes	no
Sarah	27	7 mo. (4 yr.)	sing.	yes (no)	yes	Jw.	coll.	yes	yes (no)
Francine	29	1 yr. (1 yr.)	sing.	yes (yes)	no (yes*)	Chr. Sci.	MA plus	no**	no***
Judy	20	2 yr.	marr.	no	no	Prot.	coll.	no**	no
Cindy	27	4 yr.	sing.	no	no	Cath.	BA plus	yes	no
Joanne	23	6 yr. (3 yr.)	sing.	no (no)	no	Jw.	BA plus	no	no (no)
Jackie	24	5 yr.	sing.	no	no	Jw.	BA	yes	no

* but not convicted

** psychiatric consultation after the rape

*** parents informed by aunt, however

prior. The rapist was a complete stranger who, wearing a mask and carrying what to Jean appeared to be a knife held under a kitchen towel, broke into the house through an unlocked window at about 1:00 a.m. one Friday night. He stated that he was mainly interested in burglarizing the house, but when it was clear that there was little to steal, he took what cash she found to give him, and then what appeared to be more of an afterthought, he raped Jean. She was not physically harmed, and after he left she called the police. Her son slept through the incident, but was awakened when the police came. The rapist-thief was never found.

2. Sally, a 30 year old white woman, is an undergraduate student close to her bachelor's degree, with plans to go to law school. She has been divorced for several years; she works part-time as a legal secretary. She was referred to the study by a friend who saw the notice in the Sisterhood Bookstore. The rape had taken place two years prior to our contact. The rapist was a stranger to her, a new tenant of the bungalow behind her house, one inhabited by three other men whom she was acquainted with by sight; all were "illegal aliens." He came in through an open window in the early morning hours, woke Sally up as he assaulted her; she was beaten and she finally submitted. The police were subsequently called, the man was caught, tried and convicted, and the case became a test case for the California Supreme Court, deciding the legality of the "cautionary instruction." (The judge refused in this case to instruct the jury to examine the victim's testimony with caution, and

after the defendant was convicted, the verdict was appealed on the basis of the judge's omission of this instruction. The court decided that the "cautionary instruction" was in itself unconstitutional, and the verdict was upheld.) The convicted rapist is now serving a prison sentence.

3. June, a 23 year old white woman, is a Ph.D. candidate in psychology. She is legally separated from her husband of three years; she is employed full time in a professional capacity. She was referred to the study by the ad in the L.A.C.P.A. newsletter. The rape had taken place four and a half years prior. She was attacked by a man who was a complete stranger, at about 2:00 a.m. in the entryway to her apartment building, as she was returning from her evening out. She did not see a gun, but felt a metal object pressed against her. He told her he would kill her if she screamed. She submitted, he left, and she went to her apartment and called the police. He could not be identified; no arrest was ever made. About eight months later June initiated a lawsuit against the landlord of her apartment building for not having repaired the broken security lock door, and she lost the case just two months prior to participating in this research. The verdict in that lawsuit is being appealed.

4. Sarah, a 27 year old white woman, is an undergraduate student majoring in botany and working part-time as a research assistant in an unrelated area. She volunteered for the study after hearing the announcement at the Los Angeles Commission on Assaults Against Women meeting, which

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she attended as she is one of the hotline rape counselors. The rape had taken place seven months prior to her participation in the study, though in the third interview hour it was discovered that she had been raped once before, four years prior. The most recent incident involved a complete stranger breaking into her apartment in the middle of the night, through a window which had been locked. He raped her in her bed, and after several hours of him sexually assaulting her, she was finally able to chase him out by using a letter opener she found when he wasn't looking. The police were called, she was able to give them a detailed description, and the rapist was caught. He was brought to trial for at least four other counts of rape, and he pleaded guilty in the face of several different women being able to positively identify him. He is serving a jail sentence at this time.

The rape which occurred four years before had involved a man with whom Sarah had gone out a couple of times a few months prior to the incident. They had had sexual relations twice, after which Sarah decided not to see him again since he was "strange. Like there was nothing loving about it at all. He was 6'4" and very strong and no feelings -- like it was slam, bam thing." She stated that after sleeping with him twice she decided that was enough, and told him why she didn't want to see him again. Several months later he appeared at her apartment door and asked her to move in with him. She laughed, thinking he was kidding since they didn't even have a dating relationship at that point, and he threw her down on the floor and raped her.

She described herself as too frightened to go to the police, and she did not call anyone or tell anyone about it.

5. Francine, a 29 year old white woman, is an engineer with a large aircraft company. She has two masters' degrees, is a Ph.D. candidate and has completed two years of law school. She has never been married, though at the time of the study became "pre-engaged." She was referred to the study by the Los Angeles Commission on Assaults Against Women newsletter. She had been raped twice, about two months apart, approximately a year prior to participating in the study. The first rape took place in the rapist's car, after she was picked up while hitchhiking to church. She was dropped off in an unfamiliar neighborhood, contacted the police after knocking on a couple of doors and finding a telephone she could use. The man was never found.

While the first rapist had been a stranger, the second one was a neighbor whom Francine had known only slightly better, as she said little more than "hello" to him. He had, however, tried to be on better terms with her, giving her his phone number, acknowledging he knew she lived alone and that she should call him if she ever needed any help. He was in his 40's and wore a wedding ring. One night she did accept his offer of help, as she had just received word from her landlord that her rent was being raised, and he offered to try and intercede for her. He came over one night to look at the landlord's note and she began to tell him her money troubles and she started crying and he

put his arm around her and then continued to rape her. After he left she called the police and two days later he was arrested. They went to trial, but he was acquitted, although she said the jury had as evidence a note to her in his handwriting, as verified by an expert, asking for her to forgive him; but it wasn't a solid enough case for them to find him guilty.

6. Cindy, a 27 year old white woman, works as a waitress wherever she can find a good job. She completed all but her thesis for a master's degree. She is single, but recently has been thinking of marriage with her boyfriend of one year. She was referred to the study by the Los Angeles Commission on Assaults Against Women, where she is a counselor. She had been raped four years ago, but she remembers little of the incident. She had been hitchhiking with friends, a woman and a man, and they all "crashed" after getting drunk at the home of a man they met in a bar. They slept on the living room floor in their sleeping bags, but in the morning when Cindy got up and went to the bathroom, she realized she had been raped in the night by the man whose house they were in. She knows this only by the discovery of semen in the morning. She did not report the incident to the police.

7. Judy, a 20 year old white woman, is an undergraduate student majoring in pre-med, and she has been married for about one year. She was referred to the study by the notice in the Sisterhood Bookstore. She had been raped two years prior to participating in the study, by a group of

men whom she had never seen before, one night while she was with a girlfriend and her girlfriend's 14 year old sister on the beach. One of the men carried a knife, and another one had a gun. There were eight or nine men all together; she's not sure how many of them assaulted her and her friend. The 14 year old girl was spared because Judy told the men that she had just had her appendix removed and if they touched her the stitches would open and she would bleed to death. They apparently were convinced, so they just held a knife to her throat and made her watch. They left when they saw some people coming toward them on the beach. The girls ran to their car crying and didn't report the incident to the police, although Judy's friend told her mother.

8. Joanne, a 23 year old white woman, is an unemployed college graduate who for a time was in graduate school and also law school. She is single, has been engaged once, was referred to the study by her friend, Jackie (next described). She had been raped three years prior and also six years prior to participation in the study. Both incidents involved strangers. The first time she had been studying in a vacant dorm during a vacation period and two men approached her, followed her up to another room, and raped her. She did not report the incident to the police or tell anyone until six months later when she filed an affidavit with the City Attorney.

Three years later a strange man came to her door, saying he was a friend of a friend, using her friend's name. She let him in because apparently her friend had given him

her name, and he asked to use her phone. At that point he raped her. She did not report this to the police because he threatened to kill her if she did.

9. Jackie, a 24 year old white woman, is an unemployed college graduate with a recent degree. She is single and was referred to the study by the notice in the U.C.L.A. Women's Resource Center. She had been raped five years prior to participation in the study. At that time she had just been released from a six month stay in a psychiatric hospital for severe depression and upon release found herself sexually promiscuous. She was willingly having intercourse with one man when he demanded to have anal intercourse. She refused and he raped her anally. She did not report the incident to the police. She also was raped about a week later, when she returned to this same person's house. He was with a group of male friends showing stag movies. She went into the bedroom and soon the men came in and asked her to have intercourse with them. She agreed, but when a particular man approached her and she refused him as he was not attractive to her, he raped her. She did not report this to the police either, as she was aware neither incident would be considered rape.

One obvious characteristic of this sample is that it is composed of women who all wished to talk about their experience of being raped publicly, if anonymously. This group of women may not be considered representative of rape victims in general, and this problem, which is related to the difficult nature of finding a sample of rape victims in

the first place, will be discussed later. It is important to keep this bias in mind while examining the results.

Similarities: The Rape Crisis Period

Some of the women had similar reactions during the period immediately following the rape. Both Jackie and Cindy minimized the effect of the rape altogether, and there were no apparent behavioral changes or emotional changes reported. Francine and Judy, however, both seem to have been in low level chronic depressed states, and it appears that the rapes greatly intensified their depressions. Strictly speaking, one would not judge their individual depressed states as that similar. Judy's condition might be described as much more of an agitated depression, with paranoid ideation much closer to the surface. Francine, on the other hand, has at times expressed suicidal thoughts. She has also been severely troubled by nightmares continuously since the time of the rapes, for a period of over a year.

Nightmares and phobias which lasted for a shorter period of time were more common for Sarah, Sally, June and Joan. For these women there was a period of from six weeks to about six months following the incident when there was a good deal of fear at night, fear of going to sleep, or frightening nightmares. While each of these four women experienced these fears and nightmares, the number and frequency varied so greatly (lasting from six weeks to six months) that one probably could infer different levels of severity of response. Sally, for instance, who was raped in

her room, had night fears stimulated by the shadows in her room, reflections of cars going by and lights flashing on her window, and she would be on the brink of sleep but suddenly come awake with fear. Her experience of nightmares per se had ceased shortly after the rape. Sarah, also raped in her room, also responded to a sudden shadow in her room at night with terror, but her fears such as these terminated after only a month or two.

Sarah and June both spoke of arranging to be with people as much as possible, for to be left alone made them feel frightened. June also described her insomnia following the rape: she couldn't fall asleep because she was sure someone was breaking into her apartment. She would hear someone picking the lock. Unless she checked it, she would be convinced that someone was there. She would lie in bed trying to decide what to do, whether or not to run to the phone. These fears finally ceased, but when she moved to Los Angeles from New York about one year later, they re-emerged in the new, unfamiliar environment.

Joanne and Cindy were the only two who did not consciously experience (or admit to) a period of fear or nightmares following the rape. Cindy stated she didn't think about it, and Joanne spoke only in terms of the effect on her sexuality. She described herself as having been in a "catatonic state" for the next three days. She felt dazed, unreal. She tried to forget about it (almost all of the women stated that they wished they would forget), but she was unsuccessful. Finally, she returned to reality after

three days but then "could have no sex life." For the next twenty months she did not want to have any sexual contact, including kissing, with anyone. She felt "deadened" sexually, she "did not want to be sexual, just suddenly ceased to be a sexual being, like pre-menstrual."

June and Sarah too spoke of a change in their sexual responsiveness, though neither seemed to experience as severe a change as Joanne. For both of these women the sexual difficulties subsided within approximately two months. June had been going with one man at the time of the rape, and she went through the motions of sexual intercourse with him one week later because she was "afraid that I wouldn't be able to do it...Just to prove to myself I could do it." She didn't enjoy it, however. Sarah stated that it took her about two months to enjoy sex again. She described herself as having gone through a period of about a month and a half in which she was "angry and really hated men. I was saying I really wish I could be gay, it would be easier than to cope with men." She reported being very aware during that time of men making advances at her, men who knew about the rape and who, it seemed to her, should have been more sensitive. She was particularly angry with her father, whose only comment to her concerning the rape was "pretty girls have to expect this kind of thing."

Both Sarah and June, but also Sally and Judy are, since the rapes, more sensitive to men's verbal or physical advances. Sally, speaking of men such as "construction workers" who "try to pick you up": "Before, I would probably

have been mildly flattered and not much bothered by it. Now I get threatened because I feel very insulted, it's an invasion of privacy, whether it's complimentary or not...that you can't walk down the street without being molested in some way. I certainly didn't feel that way before." Sarah described herself as less frightened of men now than before she was raped, though she's not sure she attributes that to the rape experience itself or the rape counseling group she was in:

It's a good feeling. It's just that I'm angrier now. For example, there's a man at work who's continually looking down a woman's dress, or he's always trying to cop a feel. And my normal reaction before I was raped was to nervously laugh or as quietly as possible to avoid the situation. Now I feel like I won't take crap from men. So when he started with me, and he's done this with lots of women at work, I said, "Get your fucking hands off me or I'm going to beat the crap out of you." And he just backed off. And I wouldn't have done that before. The only problem is I get angrier easier. I don't know if it's a problem.

June, too, continues to be sensitive to this type of interaction. She felt that even with her husband, she was afraid of anything that felt like being coerced. If she said "no" and her husband coaxed her, she became uptight. She says she can't be "played with" after she says "no." She also has a problem with a man who smells of alcohol, as did the rapist. She also spoke of a "phobia" of being physically restrained. She described having ugly fights with her husband and if he blocked her passageway as she tried to walk out, she would "freak out...panic, fear, being restrained mostly, and having no control, that's it, that I can't do anything and am absolutely helpless." Before the

rape she remembers feeling somewhat like that in similar situations, but with nothing of the magnitude that she experiences it now. She has memory flashes of the rape at those times.

Attitudes of Family and Friends

Not all of the women actually told their family members about the rape at the time of the rape. Only Sarah and Jean did so around the time of the rape itself. Jean, whose closest family member outside of her young son, lives on the East Coast, did call her sister there after the incident, and she felt good about having done so. Sarah had originally intended not to tell her parents about her being raped. However, after the first night in her apartment after the rape, she was much more upset than she had been for the eighteen hours or so before that, and she broke down on the telephone when her mother called her. She then moved into her parents' home for the next couple of months. Her mother was understanding, but as mentioned before, Sarah felt her father was "an insensitive slob."

Joanne told her friends about the rape immediately afterward, but she kept it from her parents for six months. She did not answer the question as to why she finally did tell them after the six months, but as she described her parents' response, they seemed enraged and embarrassed, but of little help or support to Joanne. They swore her to secrecy about the rape, and that is why she was afraid of telling the interviewer about it, of talking into the tape

recorder, and of using her own name. (She was the only woman in the study who wished to use a pseudonym from the beginning and in fact strove to keep me from knowing her real name for several weeks.) She said that her mother asked her if she were a virgin when she was raped and when she said "no", her mother seemed much more upset about that, "she reacted mortally wounded about the fact that I wasn't a virgin before the rape." When her mother told her father about the rape, "his reaction was he wanted to kill the rapist...I knew it was within my power to find out their identity (the rapists'), but I didn't want my father to run around with a shotgun...I was afraid he'd get hurt, I didn't want a scandal...I didn't want the police involved or to make a racial incident out of it." She also spoke to a friend of the family who was an attorney, and he advised her to forget about prosecuting because the odds weren't in her favor. He told her it would be her word against their word, two against one, and they would tell the court that she had volunteered to have sex with them.

Francine had not intended for her parents, living in the Midwest, to know about the fact that she was raped, but she told an aunt whom she was close with, and the aunt let it slip to her parents, thinking that they knew. She said that when her father found out, he called her and "he wanted to know what I'd done, asking me in a very accusing tone...he didn't even sound sympathetic, he just wanted to know the facts." After she was raped the second time, her aunt asked for her permission to tell them, and she gave it,

on the condition that she must also tell them never to bring up the subject in front of her. At the time of the rapes, Francine called the boyfriend she was involved with, who was out of town on a business trip the first time, and the second time he was at a party and refused to come to help her out, contacting her again three days later. She subsequently broke up with him. She was able to rely on one very good girlfriend, however.

June's feeling about telling her parents was that they would be of no help and would only get upset themselves, especially her mother, and that she would have to comfort them rather than they provide comfort for her. So she did not tell them until four years later, when she was going to be in court for the suit against her landlord. At that time her therapist recommended that she tell them, and she did, but she felt that her original fears about telling them were only proved to be justified. In particular, her mother, who came to the trial to be of support to June, began crying on several different occasions in the courtroom, and June did end up comforting her. June was able to tell many friends, both male and female, and receive support from them, although she felt that some people clearly did not want to hear about it, seeming uncomfortable when with her. She had the feeling that if a person had never been raped themselves, he or she basically could not really empathize that well. Thus she felt rather isolated with her feelings.

Judy, Cindy and Jackie never did tell their parents about the incidents, although Judy and Cindy did confide in

some friends. Judy feels that to tell her parents would be hurting them unnecessarily. "Any comfort I'd get would be small compared to the grief I'd cause them." She has told two friends and her older sister, but she says, "I can't conceive of telling anybody about it, it's so awful." She has been tormented with conflict over understanding why she was raped, and assumes that people would probably condemn her for being raped, as she sometimes does to herself. Cindy told her hitchhiking partners about being assaulted, and they were of some help to her, taking her to the hospital. She felt angry with the male companion, as "he should have been the soberest one and said, 'No, we don't want to go to that place'." She herself had not felt there was any danger in their going there. Finally, Jackie did not tell anyone about her being assaulted, as she did not necessarily think badly of it: it fit in with a deep involvement in being hurtful to herself.

Dreams

Each woman described as best she could the dreams she had around the time of the rape, any that she remembered from her past in general plus whatever dreams were currently being dreamed. There was an average of seven dreams reported by each woman.

Of sixty four dreams reported in total, twenty eight may be seen as having a theme shared by one or more of the other women in the sample. The remaining thirty six dreams seem to have themes more similar to those of the same

dreamer, and not sharing much thematic material with the other dreamers. The following is a table which shows the shared themes, the dreamers of each, and the frequency with which it was reported.

Table 2. Dream themes shared by rape victims: theme, frequency, dreamers.

f	Theme Description	Dreamers
(a) 5	Rapist threatens death, victim cannot move; passive; helpless.	Francine, June, Jean, Sally (2x)
(b) 4	Being chased by someone; unable to move.	June, Sarah, Judy (2x)
(c) 4	Men are not what they seem.	Francine, Sarah, Jackie (2x)
(d) 3	Rapist attacks; observers present but do nothing.	Francine, Joanne, Jean
(e) 3	Girlfriends act rejecting of dreamer.	Joanne, Cindy Jackie
(f) 3	"Oedipal" triangle scene.	Joanne, Jackie, Judy
(g) 2	Attack by unknown assailant; struggle; defeat.	Francine, June
(h) 2	Flying.	Judy, Jean
(i) 2	Mutilating a body.	Joanne, June

The type of dream that appeared with the greatest frequency in this sample was that of "rapist threatens death, victim cannot move, passive, helpless," and there was a total of five of these dreams described by four different women. The next most common dream was that of "men are not what they seem," reported four times by three of the women. Also

occurring four times was the dream with the theme of "being chased by someone and being unable to move" which again was reported by three different women (Judy reporting two).

Examples

For Theme (a): "I was in an apartment alone, asleep and I suddenly woke up and there was a man who had a knife at my throat and he pushed the blankets aside and pulled up the kind of nightshirt I was wearing and he was raping me and I was not so much aware of the fact that he was raping me but whether or not he was going to kill me." Most of these Theme (a) dreams occurred shortly after the rape, although Francine's, whose dream is described here, occurred almost a year later. June and Sally dreamed re-runs of the actual incidents, while Francine's and Jean's Theme (a) dream had slightly changed circumstances.

Theme (b) is self explanatory. Theme (c):

...the driver of the taxi offered to wait for me while I changed my clothes, which meant I wouldn't then have to call another taxi, so I was glad. I changed my clothes and came back to him and perhaps he was in my apartment and I discovered him going through my wallet...I was surprised but not angry. Now we're back in the cab and ready to leave and he tells me that the workman I can see in a ditch over there is not really a workman, he's an F.B.I. agent observing things. (Francine)

Theme (d) is illustrated by Jean's dream:

There was a mirky muddy stream with a bridge over the stream and this guy was attempting to rape me and I was screaming and struggling and there were people going over the bridge and they didn't hear me and finally I wrenched myself from him and doing it I literally threw myself off the bed and whacked myself on the files.

She added, "My psyche was really struggling with the situation."

Theme (e), that of girlfriends rejecting the dreamer, seems not to reflect any overt connection with rape, as in the following dream of Joanne's: "I dreamed I was in a supermarket with a couple of friends and they were treating me like they thought I should go away." Theme (h), that of flying dreams, also seemed not to be rape related in any way. Also, Theme (f), labeled "oedipal triangle scene" as a shortcut label for a dream scene with two parent figures and the dreamer, also seems not to be rape related: "My father was not well and my mother was doing nothing to help him but ridiculing and belittling him."

Theme (g), that of "attack by unknown assailant," is illustrated by this dream of June's:

I dreamed there was a horrible sadistic murderer on the loose, and I was with a group of people, and the murderer came into the area we were in, and the people dispersed very quickly. I was with two men who were protecting me. One man was leaning over me shielding my body, the other man was trying to push the murderer away. In the next part I was dressed like a revolutionary with army boots and ammunition belts across my chest and everything with a super-doooper machine gun, and the murderer walks toward me, and for a moment I freak out, like I'm not sure I can use the gun, so I point it away and fire a few rounds and realize that it's very easy, all you have to do is pull the trigger. So I point it back at the man, and he takes off. And the last part of the dream is really weird, these cheerleaders come out and start practicing their cheers, and I get very annoyed with them because there's this murderer around, and these girls are frolicking around doing their cheers and that's how it ends, with the murderer in the crowd and these girls doing their cheers.

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confrontation of a rapist in which he is killed by the dreamer. Sarah's dream: "I was frightened and there was a black, faceless man coming at me, and I was running. And I remember the fear I had, and I found a gun somewhere and there was fear in killing somebody, and I blew his head off, and there was relief afterward." This dream occurred about a month after she was raped, and was preceded by a few dreams re-enacting the rape. Sarah is also the only woman in the group who finally scared her assailant off through the use of a letter opener weapon.

The other thirty six dreams with themes not shared across dreamers mainly seemed to express the conflicts of the individual dreamers. Eight of the twenty eight shared-theme dreams also seemed not to be rape related, and of the twenty that remained, (and including the four from Theme (c), "men are not what they seem," which is ambiguous), all were dreamed either within a month or two after the rape, or during the several weeks in which the interviewing for this study was going on. Inferences from the dream data will be discussed later.

Projective Tests

The projective test data, having been administered to all of the rape victims plus five "control" subjects, affords a chance to analyze statistically any differences or trends that appear in the data. The figure drawings yielded nothing of significance, however. All but one subject drew a female figure first. Five of the nine rape victim subjects

identified the figure as younger in age than their true chronological age, and four of the five control subjects did so too. The remaining control subject identified the figure as older than her own age, and two of the rape victims did the same. The remaining two rape victim subjects identified the figure's age as equal to her own age.

The drawings of the rape victims did not show any special concern for sexuality, boundaries or attractiveness, shame or guilt, or anything else in contrast to those of the controls. Associations to the drawings also remain unremarkable. When the total of fourteen sets of drawings were examined blindly by two other psychologists (in an informal setting), they could not pick out the rape victims or the controls with accuracy better than chance. The figure drawings, in conclusion, did not yield any interesting or significant areas of information or speculation about the rape victim subjects.

TAT Data

The Thematic Apperception Tests were administered to both rape victims and controls and examined for common themes. The following are the themes which were found to be most prevalent: death, suicide or life threatening situations; men aggressing in a negative way against women; aggressive acts, threats or weapons; women's life styles in conflict; sexual activity or fantasy; women acting assertively, non-passively, "strongly"; romance themes or love stories or fantasies. Of these themes, several were found to be

significantly more frequent among rape victims than controls: stories with death, suicide or life threatening scenes; those of men negatively aggressing against women; and those of romance fantasies. These differences were significant at $p < .05$ and $p < .005$ and $p < .05$ respectively.

Table 3. TAT story elements of rape victims and controls: means, standard deviations and t-values.

Story Elements	Rape Victims		Controls		t
	\bar{X}	s^2	\bar{X}	s^2	
Death, suicide, life-threatening scene	5.0	2.25	3.2	2.7	2.09*.05
Men aggressing against women	2.22	0.57	0.6	0.3	4.15*.005
Aggressive acts, threats, weapons	3.88	2.61	2.8	2.2	1.23
Women's life styles in conflict	1.55	0.53	1.0	0.0	1.67(*.10)
Overt sexual activity or fantasy	1.77	2.19	0.6	0.3	1.70(*.10)
Women acting assertively, "strongly"	1.44	2.02	0.6	0.3	1.25
Romance or love stories or fantasies	3.66	1.25	2.2	3.2	1.90*.05

The first category, that of death, suicide, or life threatening scenes, was re-analyzed into the separate categories (death, suicide and life threatening situation) and when examined in that manner yielded the following results:

Table 4. TAT themes of suicide, violent death/not suicide, and life threats: means, standard deviations and t-values.

Themes	Rape Victims		Controls		t
	\bar{X}	s^2	\bar{X}	s^2	
Suicide	1.0	0.5	0.4	0.08	1.81*.05
Violent death/ not suicide	1.33	1.5	0.8	0.7	0.85
Life threatening scenes including illness - deaths	2.66	1.5	2.0	1.0	1.04

Examples

From the group of TAT stories which emphasized death, etc.:

Card 15: This is a rather ghoulish looking picture. There are alot of tombstones around this figure, which is an old man. It looks like something out of a horror movie. The man is standing in front of the grave of one of his victims. He is a mass killer, a Boston Strangler, or what's the fellow in London in 1890, who slit the throat of so many prostitutes, I forget what he was called, perhaps it's that person. He will continue to kill people and he feels compelled to come visit the grave of the woman that he's murdered. He will continue to kill people, he will continue to follow his ritual of visiting the grave. (Francine)

In the group labeled "men negatively aggressing against women" it should be noted that there is overlap present. As in the above TAT story, which fits into the first category, a man described as a strangler of women also is a negative aggressor against women. Thus, the above story was counted in both categories. An additional example for this category, without the element of death:

Card 20: Looks like a man on the street corner under a street light. Uh, and from the way he's standing I'd say he is very unhappy, probably very lonely, or very drunk. Uh, it looks like somebody with very little purpose. Maybe somebody if I were walking down the street I would kind of keep an eye on but not be threatened by. Because of the way he's standing. (Sally)

This category then includes stories which portray men in a range of behaviors toward women, from a known killer to just a possible threat, with the total impact being a negatively experienced one for the women.

An example of a story which fits into the romance category: "I see a woman that's in love. She met someone very special and her whole life looks shiny and bright and she's dreaming about possibilities of what their life will be like together and what they're going to do the next day. Just what their life together will be like" (Sarah).

A story which illustrates the category of women's life styles in conflict is by Sally:

This, this is uh, um, a woman who appears to be pregnant and uh, it looks like, uh, it would be a representation of a woman choosing a um, an alternative to the usual role that a woman is supposed to assume, that of a wife and a mother, and uh, choosing to become educated, and probably be a career woman as opposed to a family woman, and, uh, that's it.

As is the case in this story, often the stories spelled out the two roles open to the woman and suggested the experience of varying degrees of conflict.

The category of overt sexual activity or fantasy is illustrated by the following example of a story by Joanne:

What it really looks like to me is a man who's trying to find out if his watch is ticking. Doesn't have much drama in it, so...this man and this woman have spent the night together, um, which was not really the

intention of either of them, earlier in the day they had left things...met in the bar section of a restaurant, and they hadn't really planned they would spend the night together. And he realizes that, that he's late for work, he never even bothered to set a clock and he's late for work, and she doesn't have anything to do so she'd just as soon go on sleeping all day. It's her place. So he's gonna go to work and make an excuse that his car ran out of gas. And he won't call her on the phone and he won't talk to her again.

It may be noted here that out of the three hundred twelve stories examined, only four mentioned rape (including one which referred to "sexual abuse") and three of the four mentioned it in the form of denial ("she was not raped," for instance). One of these stories was by a control subject. One should also keep in mind that the control subjects all knew that they were in the study because they were not raped (and had been involved in a traumatic accident at some point in their life).

CHAPTER VI

DISCUSSION

The Sample

One of the first conclusions that can be made from this exploratory research is that there are few common characteristics of the rape victims interviewed.

One must constantly be reminded of the bias inherent in the sample, however. Each subject was self-referred and willing to discuss the fact that she was raped. The implications of this problem need discussion first.

One of the difficulties in arranging for a sample of women who might be a bit more representative of rape victims in general was the protective cloak with which the various organizations and individual women in the Los Angeles area shielded the victims. This is very understandable; for too many years rape victims who publicly announced their circumstance, either in order to help prosecute a crime, or care for their psychological or physical wounds, were held in various degrees of disrespect from most segments of society. No wonder the number of rapes reported to police agencies is estimated at about one-tenth to one-twentieth the actual number of rapes which have occurred in fact. The very fact that this piece of research is being

done is a by-product of society's shifting winds, however. Unfortunately, while attitudes toward rape victims and women in general change in our society as a whole, individuals continue by and large to reflect a more traditional view of things. This applies even to the individual women who at least consciously and actively are trying to change their society.

Thus, while there exist women who are active in trying to make this society more sensitive to the situation facing a victim of rape, these same women protect and inadvertently screen the visibility of rape victims, suggesting implicitly that there is really something shameful about the fact that they were raped.

An example of how this works is the unsuccessful efforts made to recruit subjects from a source who worked with N.O.W. in Los Angeles and to whom I had been referred by three or four different people. I finally reached this woman on the telephone, and her attitude toward the idea that I was trying to find women who had been raped to interview for a research study was one of hostile defense. Before I could do more than state the above intention in bare form, she bitterly told me that "these women have been hurt" and I should not try and hurt them more by getting them to talk about their experience. She would not help me directly or even suggest other people that I might call.

There are three possible contributing factors to her response to me. One is simply naivete about research; perhaps she assumed that all researchers did was treat their

subjects coldly and like guinea pigs. (Of course, it is also possible that this woman has indeed had contact with researchers before me who were not helpful.) Another possibility is that she was psychologically naive in that she felt that to talk about the experience would be a harmful experience (while this may indicate psychological naivete, it probably shows social acumen: rape victims have not been rewarded for talking about it in the past). The third possibility is that while she happens to be an active member of N.O.W., trying to remove the burden of guilt and shame from the victim, she nonetheless unconsciously places it there anyhow, and responds accordingly with the need to hide it away.

Another example of the subtlety of this problem is the experience I had with the Rape Crisis Hot Line group. My thought had been that if they were interested in helping with this study, they would be able to take care of the problem of confidentiality by simply letting their past clients know about me and my study, and that way the subjects could call me if they wanted to, and I would not have to know in advance the names of any rape victims, thereby assuring confidentiality. This group of women, not all of whom were raped in the past themselves, but all seemed sincere and interested people, at first welcomed the research. Then, after some discussion, the following objections arose: what if they recontacted a woman who had successfully been repressing the whole event? Wouldn't the reawakened memory be unnecessarily disturbing and possibly harmful? Also, some

past clients had asked to remain anonymous forever, and re-contacting them would be betraying confidentiality. Finally it was decided that I could publish my need for subjects in their newsletter, which went out to several rape crisis groups in the county plus many other organizations and individuals who were interested or affiliated. (These are the reasons for the difficulty in finding subjects for research on rape victims. This is why the sample is inherently biased.)

The women who volunteered for the study may share personality characteristics that have more to do with the fact that they are somehow open enough, or sophisticated enough, to want to be part of this kind of research. They are women whom one may judge to be more exhibitionistic than most (though I would disagree), or they may, as a group, be motivated to participate by a more pressing need to find someone to confide in or explore one's feelings with. They may be more similar as a group to people who decide to undergo psychotherapy than to the group of women who have been raped. Indeed, seven out of the nine women in the sample were in psychotherapy at some point after the rapes occurred, two having begun therapy before being raped. None of the women reported that they sought out therapy as in any way a direct result of having been raped, however, though I would judge Francine and Judy to be responding to internal stress that was made more apparent and unbearable to them due to their having been raped.

To really get at an unbiased sample, it would seem

as though the only appropriate methodology would consist of a longitudinal study of a large sample of women, say a freshman class at some university, with data collected over a period of years, including their responding periodically to a questionnaire which includes the query, "Have you ever been the victim of a sexual assault?" That way the bias of the volunteering rape victims would be removed, and it would also be possible to get some pre-rape data on the subjects. This course of study is somewhat grisly; I would not like to be the researcher who waits for members of my sample to experience a life threatening situation just so that I may study their response. This is not quite as unethical as causing a painful situation to occur and then watching the subjects respond, but it still is unpleasant.

Therefore, in the following discussion of what the research has revealed, there will be only tentative generalizations. What conclusions may be drawn may be done so fairly for only the nine individual women interviewed, and that is how this material will be addressed.

A Note Concerning Cindy and Jackie

There may be a question in some readers' minds about the appropriateness of including these two women in the sample of rape victims, since what happened to them was not exactly what would be universally described as rape. Our definition of rape was "forced sexual relations with a woman by a man, accomplished under actual or implied threat of severe bodily harm." Cindy was asleep during her rape,

thus there could have been no conscious perception of threat to herself at the time of the rape. Jackie had been raped anally by the man she had consented to have vaginal intercourse with; then several days later, after agreeing to have sex with several men in a group, she was raped by one man in the group whom she had singularly disliked, and to whom she had tried to say "no." Both of these women, when making their initial phone contact with me, prefaced their wish to be part of the study with a comment such as, "I'm not sure I would qualify. It wasn't exactly rape in the commonly accepted definition of the word."

Both of these women did subjectively feel themselves to be victims of rape. They were included in the sample because of that fact, and also because of the difficulty in finding more subjects who would more cleanly fit the definition. This study, being one of an exploratory nature, it was deemed appropriate to use their experiences in the interests of learning about rape victims, though the generalizations made from the experiences of these two individual victims must be very limited.

Long Term Effects of Rape

For some of the women there were clearly unfortunate long term effects of having been raped, and for others, the long term effects were not as severe, or not as unfortunate. Though Burgess and Holmstrom find severe depression in only the few women in their sample who had previously undergone some psychiatric treatment, here are two women

who had never undergone such psychiatric treatment and are so depressed. The rape circumstances of Francine and Judy differ: one was raped by a gang of men while she was with two girlfriends; the other was raped first by a stranger who picked her up while she was hitchhiking, and then a few months later she was raped for the second time by a neighbor whom she had trusted. The women differed by ten years in age, Francine being 28 and Judy, 18 at the time of the respective rapes. Both were born in the Midwest, but so were several other women in the sample. Francine told several people about her being raped, including the police, while Judy talked to no one about it for a long time, and to this day few people are aware of this part of her past. The two women also differ in their dynamic constellations. The question is, "Are there similarities in quality or quantity (severity) of pre-rape disturbances?"

Both women may be seen as somewhat obsessional characters in the present, with Francine showing a history of the more successful use of obsessional defenses. Both women presently claim difficulties in their sexual lives, and remember earlier days (before the rape) of relative detachment from sexual feelings. Again, Francine had developed more successful coping mechanisms for these problem areas. Here it should be mentioned that the life circumstances of the two women certainly brought some of these differences to bear on subsequent adjustment of the two women. Judy had been sexually molested as a child, had appeared in court as a 12 year old and had been disbelieved. She had also had a

pregnancy (by her future husband) which miscarried after extensive hemorrhaging, and this experience seems to have been critical in deepening the scars in her already shaky sexual identification.

The rapes of both of these women appear to have stirred up conflicts of control and guilt over sexuality, hostility and passivity. However, raping any woman seems to stir up such conflicts. How and if such conflicts are resolved might just depend on the quality and quantity of earlier sexual encounters and the degree of freedom to express anger without guilt. Again, women in our culture frequently have problems in this area, but the more obsessional character may be worse off. When raped, depending on the circumstances, the obsessional type of woman may suffer much more guilt over her subsequent feelings than another type of character adjustment. And, depending on prior success of defenses, time in life, and other life circumstances, defenses may go awry years later.

Of the two women in question who are both overtly depressed to a considerable degree since the time of the rapes, Judy may be judged to be far more seriously disturbed on the whole. She is also the youngest member of the sample.

Let us now look at the long term effects of rape on another somewhat obsessional woman, Sally. She appears to be relatively free from depression related to the rape, and free from sexual difficulties since the rape. Sally is one of the older women in the group, who also spoke of

earlier sexual detachment. She also related how over the years she was able to work some of her sexual problems out, with the experience of several different sexual relationships which varied in satisfaction level. It seems likely that this was an important factor in her subsequent post rape sexual adjustment. She had been afforded more years and more experience with her sexuality before undergoing a rape than both Judy and Francine.

There is something to be said for a pre-existing state of social and sexual maturity, then, as a major factor in decreasing the long term effect of rape on some of these women. The question this research raises here is, "How does this maturity factor interact with degree of obsessional defensiveness and guilt over anger?"

Let us look at this problem from a different angle, from the more relatively non-rape-affected individual. Can we speculate on the qualities necessary in order to remain fairly untraumatized in the long run by a rape?

In my rough rank-ordering by adjustment of the subjects (Table I), I have placed Jean and Sally at the top, followed by June and Sarah. It may be inappropriate to discuss the long term affects of rape on the top-ranked individual, Jean, as she volunteered for the study after only four months since her rape, the shortest time-span-since-the-rape of any of the subjects. One of the women who did not complete the series of interviews, but dropped out after the first meeting, had also been raped about four months before. She said she was unexpectedly upset after the first

session and was therefore dropping out. Jean, too, spoke of being unexpectedly upset after the first meeting, but she continued as a subject. She was also seventeen years the senior of the woman who dropped out, and the mother of a fifteen year old son. We may not be able to discuss the long term affects of rape on Jean, but I think we may fairly hypothesize that whatever they are, they will probably be mitigated by her maturity and previous experience of her sexuality.

The next three on the list of "well adjusted," comparatively speaking, share a few characteristics. Each of these (as well as Jean) reported the incident to the police. Not all felt they were treated well by the police, but they all pretty much felt the treatment was better than they had expected. The rape circumstances of these three were all different: one of the rapists had a weapon, two did not; one beat the victim physically, two did not; two took place in the victims' bedrooms after breaking into the apartment in the middle of the night, one occurred in the victim's apartment house lobby in the middle of the night; all three went to court.

Going to Court

The role of litigation in psychological adjustment to trauma is probably very complex. Two of these three women were able to prosecute their cases to the point of conviction. I do not doubt that some of the reason for their success has to do with the rape circumstances

(especially the fact that the rapist was apprehended). But I am equally sure that if the victim had been either Jackie, Joanne, or Judy, or perhaps even Cindy or Francine, litigation might never have been conducted. Certainly the rapes probably would not have been reported to the police in the first place. The circumstances might have been exactly the same, yet I suggest that some women's immediate response would be ultimately non-helpful and self destructive. I am also suggesting that there seems to be a psychological benefit to being able to go to court for a crime against oneself.

It appears to be psychologically reparative to stand up and successfully defend oneself or take some action of revenge. To be able to express one's anger in the form of a culturally approved litigation seems to be beneficial. Without going into depth, which speculations are entitled to go without, it is possible that for those individuals who have already been cultured into our society successfully, to use the system of law and to win a court case may be just the therapy needed. Of the three women being discussed now, June is the only one whose court case is a little different. The other two have pressed charges and have helped to put their rapist in jail (where they are now). June's rapist was never caught. She decided, about eight months after the rape, to sue her landlord for not keeping the security lock on her building lobby in repair. Her case went to court only recently, and was decided in favor of the landlord. She is in the process of appealing the decision.

Her decision to go to court seems to be part of her

dealing with her anger and her sense of helplessness. It may seem to some that the extraction of a sum of money for damages from her landlord is not going to take away the fact of her having been raped. As a matter of fact, not even the law of talion does away with a pre-existing damage per se, though maybe in primitive magical thought it was believed to do so. However, in modern psyches, the primitive magical thought continues, even though our modern mind understands the irrationality of it all. Perhaps litigation, even when not directly connected with rape, represents retaliation and serves to heal some psychological wounds.

For instance, the interviewer felt relieved when she observed Judy's intense depression lift to a considerable degree, when by chance she found herself beginning a legal suit totally unrelated to her rape during the latter part of the interviewing for the study. She by chance had used a gas station rest room off the freeway, and while her husband went to return the key he discovered one of the young male employees peeking through a hole into the wall of the women's rest room. Judy was being violated again, without her knowledge this time, but again without her consent, and her anger was more accessible to her this time. Perhaps it was because of the shared feelings with her husband that she could feel the anger more directly; perhaps it was because to be peeked upon is a far cry from being raped by a group at the point of a knife. It was, however, Judy's idea entirely to file charges against the service station owner and the boy in question. In the midst of all

this activity, some of her depression seemed to have lifted.

It has been observed by many people that litigation is used and perhaps abused by some people in a similar effort to express their hostility, but often within a paranoid system of projection. It may even be considered a symptom by some, of a paranoid condition to sue people or companies regularly for abuses, sometimes for real ones, though often they are imaginary ones. Such is an example of a defense mechanism really not accomplishing its defensive task any longer; it is in these cases really a symptom, and it usually gets the individuals into more trouble. But there does seem to be something of value to a rape victim to be able to go to court.

This is not to mention the value to society that is afforded by putting a sex offender in jail. (Unfortunately, jails as now constituted do not rehabilitate effectively.) But there certainly seems to be value to the victim. It may be simply that she is able to deal with her helplessness by a court conviction. Or it may be that she can express her anger in a societally sanctioned way. These possibly may lessen psychological trauma, or it may be more a function of being able to share the experience openly and to receive sympathy. One question raised here is, "Does acquittal for the defendant, the rapist, serve to set the psychological adjustment of the victim back instead of forward?"

Often, in our court system, if the rapist is acquitted it is because the fact of the rape itself is disbelieved by the jury. Such a verdict, after what has often been, in

our imperfect legal world, a case of the victim being on trial rather than the rapist, must surely have deleterious effects on the psyche of the victim. One of the women in the sample, Francine, went through such an experience. Would she be as depressed today if the verdict had been one of guilty for the defendant? I think there is a good chance that she would never have become suicidal, as she had been in the months prior to and during the time of the study (and after the trial).

The subject of how litigation affects the rape victim is complex and not handled directly by this research, but it is certainly one which needs further investigation.

Dreamlife

The examination of these women's dreams does not suggest anything special to be generalized. Burgess and Holmstrom implied that of the twenty nine dreams and nightmares reported by victims in their study, two types were defined: where the victim wishes to do something to an assailant but wakes before acting; and later in time after the rape, where the victim reports mastery in the dream and she successfully fights off or kills an assailant. This later type of dream was reported only once in this sample of women. Unfortunately, Burgess and Holmstrom do not provide numerical figures with their dream data.

The women's dreams were not dominated by rape themes; the majority of dreams dealt with other material, more involving the individual dynamics of the women.

One young woman in the sample, Joanne, described a rape fantasy-dream that occurred when she was fifteen, a few years before she was actually raped:

...Some man was burglarizing the house and when he came to my bedroom window he saw I was so beautiful he had to make love with me, it wasn't really rape. That dream was a positive thing. It prevented me from disobeying my mother, because she wanted me to be a virgin. So because I was raped I didn't have any responsibility. I was grateful that he removed my responsibility. It was justifying sexual experience. I know that was what that dream was for. How to get into the sexual world without my mother getting mad at me for it...

This adolescent fantasy-dream of Joanne's was the only one of its kind reported in the sample. Her subsequent associations and analysis of the dream are interesting in that Joanne would seem to fit Helene Deutsch's conception of the masochistic woman. Deutsch had described this type of fantasy of rape in adolescent girls who later give up these fantasies as they give up masturbation. As a matter of fact, Joanne is the only woman in the sample who reported never having masturbated. (For one other woman, Cindy, there is no data on the subject, unfortunately.) Joanne also reported a play situation she would enjoy as a child of eleven: "...I played with a girlfriend make-believe and I pretended to be a man and she was the woman and it was like a kidnapping thing. Sort of a rape-kidnapping thing. We didn't take our clothes off, we just talked about it and she was tied up...." This acted-out fantasy was not paralleled by any fantasy in any other woman's interview data. The data summarized from Joanne's interviews including her dreams suggest the possibility that here is a case of an

individual who may have had such unconscious fantasies about rape that somehow these fantasies influenced her behavior in actually getting raped. This is not to say that she was actively trying to get herself raped, but that once in the situation of being raped, the possible unconscious complicity made it extra difficult to handle. In any case, this is the only subject in the sample who presents any concrete evidence to support the notion of unconscious complicity. The evidence presented is by no means conclusive to establish that complicity in this case.

To briefly summarize the discussion of dreams, it appears that these rape victims did have dreams or nightmares dealing with the rape situation usually in the period of time immediately following the rape, and that would agree with much of the previously reported data. There were few other common dream characteristics shared by the women in this sample. Both Francine and Judy continued to have occasional nightmares about being raped after a minimum of a year; this strongly suggests that the experience had not yet been successfully handled by these two depressed women. Their nightmares of course contained many elements of their individual dynamics that assuredly existed before being raped, however.

TAT Data

The TAT stories of these rape victims significantly differed from those of non-rape victims in a few areas, most of which are understandable in a common sense way. The

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first category was that of themes of death, suicide or life threatening scenes. The fact that this group would more frequently project such themes seems understandable from the facts of their realities including such events. While the control subjects also had experienced some kind of "traumatic accident" at some point in their lives, the type of experience varied from car accident to near-drowning, and the time spent in the "traumatic" situation in no case was more than a few minutes. In the case of the controls, most had not really thought much about the fact that they were close to death until after the fact. The rape victims by and large attested to feelings of imminent death during the rape situation itself which lasted from several minutes to several hours in length. In rape, the life threatening situation is an interpersonal one as well, where it is clear that control over one's life is with another individual's will. These are some of the reasons why the women who had been raped responded with significantly more of these themes in their TAT stories.

Through further analysis it appears that it is the theme of suicide in particular that accounts for much of the differences. One way of understanding this is in terms of the rape victims' heightened levels of hostility, which have turned inward in its self-perception as unacceptable. This may be a serious finding, that is, if it were generalizable to all rape victims. One cannot be sure even then if the increased number of suicide themes is a by-product of having been raped, or if it is somehow expressive of a

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self destructive character who might well get raped due to self destructive life patterns. This needs further exploration.

The fact that there were found to be significantly more TAT themes of men negatively experienced and/or aggressing against women in the rape victims' stories than that of the controls seems to need little explanation. There is one theme that does require some hypothesizing to explain its frequent appearance in the TAT stories of the rape victims. That is the theme of romance or the love story fantasy. Here again the inherent bias of the sample may be the variable that accounts for this difference, but it may not be at that. If a woman who has been raped goes through a psychological reevaluation of the opposite sex, might she not also be subject to a need to overcompensate at times, to try and gloss over, even romanticize men more than usual? The one woman in the sample who had the most romantic and most frequent count of romantic TAT stories was Sarah, the same woman who had the only dream in which she successfully kills the rapist. She is the same woman who fought off her rapist with a letter knife. Perhaps some preoccupation with men as love objects is crucial to reestablishing one's equilibrium, after one connects strongly and consciously with rage and aggression toward men. Sarah is also the woman who suggested that one possible positive by-product of her having been raped is that she is less passive with men and will not tolerate sexual ploys from men to whom she does not feel attracted.

While Sarah had the greatest number of romance themes in her protocol (six), both Judy and Francine had the fewest (two and three respectively). This would be in keeping with the hypothesis: Judy and Francine are the most depressed women in the sample, and their hostility is so conflicted it is rarely felt or expressed, thus yielding up less need to romanticize the love object.

Some Subjective Statements

At the end of the series of interviews, each woman was asked to describe how she felt having been raped had affected her life. The following are some of their statements about this.

(Jackie):

As far as what effects the rape has had, I'm clear on this one point in my own mind. The fact of these particular rapes happening to me has no effect on me. But the fact that any man in this society can rape any woman, that had an effect, and the effect would have been there even if I had never been raped. The fear, the constant fear not to go out after 9:00 p.m....The idea of rape dominates my life now, in terms of being in fear of men being able to rape women just off the streets, but it was not the rape that changed me ...I was down on myself and it made no difference how he treated me...

(Joanne):

I don't think the rapes have affected my life much. I wasn't very cautious then, but I'm not sure I'm any more cautious now. I knew there was evil in the world before that. I don't think those situations could occur now. I probably would have prevented them earlier on, not talking to them at all. Even though today there are new laws protecting the victim in court from being asked all those questions, the jury is still emotionally against the victim...Right now I wouldn't prosecute a rape. Maybe in a few years. The problem is if you have a non-conventional reaction to things they think you're guilty. If they say, "why

didn't you run away?", "because I was in shock," they'll say "that's not normal, normal people run away and scream." So you didn't follow a certain standard way of reacting, so you're suspect....Right now I'm feeling like I'll be very happy when this interview is over so I won't have to think about it anymore. I've tried to train my mind to have a mental block. I don't want to think about it. I assure you I won't be dwelling on this subject after you leave....I just don't want to think about it.

(Cindy):

I really wasn't too involved with the rape because I was moving into A _____ at the time. I wasn't involved with it, at least on a conscious level...I was alot madder at the system than at the man. It was my own fault, staying at this house and getting drunk....I probably felt some guilt about it...I was just angry at myself rather than being depressed...just angry because I had done a stupid thing....When I joined the hot line I expected I'd be fighting the hospitals, police and the laws but it turns out it's just helping the victim...it's hopeless anyway...I haven't changed much as far as drinking patterns go because of the rape....I still have gotten drunk with people I don't know.... I think I can tell who a potential rapist would be....

(Judy):

It's just so terrible, thinking about getting raped. I can honestly say it's just about ruined my life....Sometimes I feel I'm stronger about it than others might be. If I think about it happening to anyone else in my family, I would go crazy, I would have so much sorrow for them, it's so hard to live with....I dwell on it alot because this kind of violence happened to me.... I'm just going to have to rearrange my thinking, become involved in other things....I guess it's possible subconsciously that the guilt is still there...because alot of people do feel that way, that if you got raped you deserved it, so I would never come out and tell people I got raped. So that's a burden too, and there must be something wrong with me if I can't tell people....

(Sarah):

I think about the rape nowadays, but not in the same way. Where I work there are alot of strange men (V.A. Hospital). It's kind of creepy. If I went out alone at night more I would probably think about it more, but I don't....The first

month or so I was very uptight about these guys at the hospital, but I don't feel that way now ...I lock my car religiously now...and that's different.

(June):

My fears have not yet totally dropped. I still have them and I never had them before the rape. I'm afraid of house noises....Now if I'm really anxious about something else it will bother me...if my roommate's away it gets me a little anxious....The thing that got to me most was not the rape, not the sexual part but that I thought I was going to die. When that anxiety starts coming up I can't cope with it too well.

(Sally):

Some other feelings I've been aware of. I'm uptight about any kind of aggressiveness from men, like construction workers who try to pick you upBefore the rape I had some contact with women's rights, I thought it was fine, but I didn't know a whole lot about it. Then I was politically liberal, now I'm radical....I think it's awful that women have to get raped, but it's also awful that men are driven to it. If they can be helped they should be helped, it's in the interests of everybody.

(Jean):

I see the whole situation now as a matter of control, who was controlling whom....It's my feeling that although he was in physical control and he could threaten my life, I felt my passivity controlled the situation -- my life was intact, my child's life was intact. I think that's what he was responding to at the end. That I wasn't a hysterical woman who he would beat up. I don't know, maybe that's just how I'm rationalizing it for myself so I can live with the situation.... My feelings about men are not any different now. This was a one in a million incident. The guy had a problem and I always knew people in the world had problems and also there are very decent people....I was very angry with (the hot line's) attitude. They brought it up to a level of what happens to all women in general, and for me it was a very personal incident. I didn't want to talk about statistics, this happened to me. I was somewhat hurt by that kind of insensitivity, telling me to insist on my rights. It was a cause, rather than a dreadful thing that happened to an individual and it turns me off....I am incensed at the treatment of this subject on T.V. You are bombarded with this as entertainment and it's understood it's

fantasy and not happening really and I'm not appalled or shocked. It's a horrible way to know about something that does happen. It's hard to verbalize my feelings. It makes it almost commonplace and I think it's horrible.

These women have been affected in a variety of ways, from being in prolonged states of fear with multiple phobic problems, to raised consciousness about the social phenomenon of rapists and victims, to intense depression and guilt, to increased assertiveness and awareness of control. The variation in response to rape is in keeping with the variation in the individual differences of the victims. There is no evidence here for a typical rape victim.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY

The main conclusion drawn by examining the data of this research is that the women who were raped differ from one another in personality dynamics, rape circumstances, and the effects on them of having been raped. They also appear to differ from women who have not been raped in that they carry around within them varying degrees of feelings and impressions about themselves and about men that have been influenced by their experience of being raped.

Some of the women seem to be more severely affected by the rape experience than others. One worthwhile avenue of further exploration into this area might deal with the identification of women who are high risk in developing a severely depressed adaptation following a rape. This study suggests severe depression might be linked to a difficulty in expressing anger or rage about being raped in a personality for whom such emotions are deemed highly unacceptable. Also, it appears likely that the younger the woman, the more immature or inexperienced sexually, the more difficult the subsequent adjustment. If so called high risk rape victims can be clinically differentiated, then the information would be quite helpful to the members of crisis units and hot line

centers for rape victims which seem to be springing up around the country at this time.

There also appears to be some benefit to a victim to be able to report a rape to the police and get through the police-legal system without undue stress. Letting people know about the fact of one's having been raped enabled several of the women to get support, and facilitated focusing some of the feelings of rage. I believe that for the women who were able to prosecute the rape case successfully, another benefit to them was the restoration of a sense of control over their life.

From the TAT data we may conclude that rape victims perceive aggressively behaving men as more dangerous than do control subjects. Also, they respond with significantly more suicide themes than controls. Rape victims also described more romances or love stories in their responses to the TAT cards. It is hypothesized that the anger and fearfulness experienced by the rape victim toward men is coped with by over-romanticizing men. It is as if the rape victim, if she is going to successfully re-adjust to society and to heterosexual relationships, needs to take a step backwards in her perception of men in order to move forward again. That is, men may be romanticized and love relationships idealized for a time in order to cope with the anxiety of feeling so enraged at and so afraid of the opposite sex. Furthermore, this over-romanticism is seen as a positive step toward re-integration; those subjects who did not respond with such stories were the most depressed in the group.

Thus, the rape victim successfully copes with her fear of males and her anger toward them through the use of both litigation and romanticism.

Some of the questions initially asked by this study remain unanswered. The difficulty in finding subjects and the inherent bias in the sample as it was drawn made it impossible to draw firm conclusions about rape victims per se. In light of this study being exploratory, its proper usefulness is as a generator of hypotheses based on somewhat more concrete data than the interpretation of a single dream dreamed by an analytic patient forty years ago. It is now seen as useful to study how the stress of a life threatening situation is most successfully handled by the personality dynamics of an individual. If women have been brought up to be victims, as Susan Brownmiller suggests, then it is important to identify those characteristics of a person that might be encouraged in the development of young women so that this victim orientation is discouraged. Research into the area of the psychological effects of litigation on the victim of rape, or of other crimes, needs to be undertaken.

Areas of research that do not seem to be encouraged by this study involve hypotheses relating rape fantasies to actual occurrences of rape. One woman in this study did appear to have had an almost conscious wish to be raped. This woman admitted to extreme self destructive wishes in general and had been hospitalized for several months before she was in fact raped. The circumstances of her rape were

very different from those of the other women in the group studied, however. This woman in no way could be judged typical of rape victims or anyone else for that matter, being a severely disturbed woman with quite a disintegrated ego. There was one other woman in the sample who spoke of a rape fantasy-dream from her adolescence, yet the circumstances of her rape plus the reality of the other rape cases studied here and elsewhere are so different from the rapes of probably any woman's fantasies, that there is virtually no reason to draw a connection for scientific purposes. The study of women's rape fantasies unto itself is most certainly a valid area for scientific inquiry, especially as to how such fantasies relate to sexual development, sexual preference, social behavior and personality dynamics in general. It just doesn't seem to have much to do with the reality of the woman's getting raped, and it is still to be seen if it has any affect on the woman's adjustment after having been raped. On the other hand, the scientific inquiry into men's fantasies of raping women seems to have more to do with the occurrence of actual rapes.

APPENDICES

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APPENDIX A

JEAN



APPENDIX A

JEAN

Jean is a 37 year old divorced mother of a 15 year old son. She is a Ph.D. candidate and is presently doing her dissertation field work. She is youthful in appearance but presents herself as a competent, intelligent woman, which she is. She is also very verbal, articulate and somewhat introspective.

Jean was born and raised in rural New England, an oldest daughter with a sister four years younger. Her mother was an Italian woman who resented her ethnic roots and so married a Yankee with generations of Yankee blood in him. The couple's relationship was marked by frequent arguments. In Jean's perception, her father never lived up to her mother's expectations for him. He remained a family supporting, blue collar worker.

Jean saw herself as a tomboy in her early years, though she stated that she was forced into it since there were only boys to play with in her area. She grew up feeling herself to be special to her father, while it seemed that her younger sister, who was the prettier one and the baby, received special attention from her mother. Jean was the good student and also the musician, like her dad who

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played country fiddle for fun. Jean began studying violin at nine, was found to be talented and began private lessons at eleven.

Her musical career assumed a central part of her life after that. When she was fourteen she began having an affair with her married music teacher, who was in his fifties. She appreciated the attention, welcomed the excitement and affection, but resented his demandingness. She was with him everyday; she was his protegee, but she relished the hours during which she went to public school, as she considered that period of the day her own, whereas the rest of the day was his. No one knew of their sexual entanglement, though Jean feels that both her mother and the head of the music school suspected.

When she was seventeen she won a summer scholarship to study violin several hundred miles away and this was the first time she lived away from home. This also enabled her to break off the relationship with her teacher. She enjoyed the independence of that summer, and decided to accept a scholarship for the fall at a music school in New York. It was there that she met her husband, the father of her son. Though she had lived with this man for two and a half years, they had gotten married mainly due to her pregnancy, during which time her husband left the country to study music in Europe. She was supposed to follow after the birth of the baby, but she thinks he left never intending for that to happen, as he filed for divorce shortly afterwards.

Thus it was that Jean gave up her career in music and moved back home again, so that her mother could look after her child as she went out to work. She held a variety of jobs, including working on a newspaper, but after a few years she decided to go back to college part time. She at first took a few evening courses, but gradually she went back full time, living on savings in order to support her son and herself. By the time she finished her bachelor's degree she realized she wanted to follow a career in academia. She was admitted to graduate school in Los Angeles, and in 1972 she and her son moved out here.

She has had one more significant relationship with a man, someone she met after moving to Los Angeles. This relationship did not work out for a variety of reasons, including the facts that she has difficulty being dependent on someone; he has had a career shake-up and has no reliable job future while her career is just taking off; he is not legally divorced and she thinks probably never will be. That relationship had been terminated at the time of the rape, but he was someone Jean called for support nonetheless. She was disappointed in what he had to offer her at that time, however, and she now sees their relationship as finally concluded.

Jean's plans for the future do not include another marriage or any more children, although she does fantasize from time to time about marrying a colleague and having a close, intellectual bond with him and being able to carry on with research and a career together.

APPENDIX B

SALLY

APPENDIX B

SALLY

Sally is 30 years old, has been divorced for about ten years, and is in her last year of college. She works part time as a legal secretary when she runs out of money, and she now goes to school full time, intending to go on to law school when she finishes. She is an attractive woman with a serious demeanor and an air of self sufficiency about her.

Sally was born in a rural section of Maine, the youngest child with two older sisters and an older brother. Her father had worked as a woodsman but died when Sally was four, and she does not remember him. Her mother, who had been orphaned as a child, relied on welfare in order to financially support her four children. She worked hard as the only adult member of a rural household with no electricity, running water or indoor bathroom. Thus it was that Sally grew up under conditions of extreme poverty.

Sally's oldest sister had some emotional problems which were not diagnosed at the time, but looking back Sally knows there was something wrong with her. The sister was overweight, slow, and subject to much teasing by the younger siblings. She is closest with her other sister,

and knows her brother least well. She is the only family member living on the west coast; the rest of the family lives in New England.

When Sally was 15 she went to live in a big city, where her sister had gone in order to get a well paying job. She lied about her age and was able to get a job, and she and her sister continued to live in the home of a family friend, working while continuing in high school. The girls had intended to have their mother come to live there too, but the older woman found it too difficult living in the city after a life in a very rural community. After a time, the two sisters moved into an apartment together, and Sally quit school, learned commercial secretarial skills and began to support herself.

In her dating pattern she would go steady with one boy at a time, and when she was 18 almost became engaged to a very hot tempered, jealous and authoritarian young man. At the last minute she broke off the relationship and found herself attracted to the opposite type of man, a very passive and devoted man. She never questioned the fact that she would get married, so the two of them did so. However, after about six months Sally found herself to be extremely depressed and unhappy. They separated after another six months and were divorced the following year.

At this point Sally began working two jobs, bought a house, began dating older men and began to experience sexual intercourse with some pleasure for the first time. She also traveled in Europe for a while, and then moved to

California around 1968 after vacationing there and finding that she liked it. She was able to get a good job as a legal secretary and since her salary was so high, she did not need a second job for the first time in years. Not being used to having so much free time, Sally decided to go to college at night. Soon she was going to school full time and working only part time.

Sally has had several significant relationships with men in the past six years, including one five year affair with a married professional man. This was the man whom she called after being raped, and at that point he decided to separate from his wife to try living with Sally. As she sees it, that was when the relationship really broke down: when they began seeing each other each day and realistically learning about each other.

She is currently involved with one of her professors at school. She does not see the need to get married; she is pessimistic about the value of marriage, although she thinks she might have a child someday. Since the rape she has become less oriented to male/female relationships and has gotten to know women better, and has acquainted herself with women's rights issues. She is very self sufficient, owning a goat, chickens and rabbits and making her own cheese, milk and using the eggs and rabbit meat to create meals.

APPENDIX C

JUNE

APPENDIX C

JUNE

June was born and raised in New York City. She is 23 years old, very attractive, and very serious in her attitude toward the interview. Her father is Jewish, works as a union organizer; her mother is Catholic. When her parents married, her mother's family disowned her mother. June is the youngest of three children; she has two older brothers, and each child was spaced four years apart from the next. Her childhood years were confined to life in and around the same apartment and neighborhood until she was 16 years old. At that time June entered college and moved into a dormitory.

As a child June remembers being a tomboy. She had one close girlfriend, but mostly felt "on the outs" with other girls. When she began menstruating at 13 she felt she was a late beginner, and she was self conscious of not developing breasts until around that same time. She "felt out of it."

She was in an accelerated junior high school program, skipping the eighth grade. When she was a junior or senior in high school, she "went from never going out at all to dating men seven years older" than she, and her

mother "automatically assumed" she was having intercourse with them. A strict curfew was imposed by her parents and this initiated a period of intense family turmoil, during which June was, as she described herself, a "crazy teenager." She began breaking her parents' rules and stayed out late. She withdrew from her family and experimented heavily with drugs, and she also tried shoplifting on a few occasions. She did not actually experience intercourse, as her mother had feared, but she had indulged in petting with boyfriends. During one period she slept with a packed suitcase under her bed, and threatened her mother with talk of leaving home. By the time she was a senior in high school she acted on a suggestion of a friend to seek counseling. The family began treatment together, and also June was able to arrange for individual therapy for herself. She saw a therapist once a week from that time forward for three years, and then when she was in college she changed therapists, seeing someone at the college three times a week.

At the time that June started college and moved into a dorm, her mother had a "severe psychotic depression" which June attributes partly to the fact that her children had all moved out, and partly to menopause. She was not hospitalized, though June, looking back, thinks she should have been. At the same time as her mother was depressed, her father suffered a heart attack. June moved back into her parents' apartment, and she sees this time as a beginning for her pattern of mothering her own mother.

Around this time she had her first experience with

sexual intercourse, in a relationship with her employer, a physician who was 38 and married. This relationship lasted for two years until June discovered that he had other young mistresses besides herself. After that she began dating other men. At this point she was an undergraduate living off campus in an apartment with two male roommates.

About a year later she was raped after walking home alone one night from a holiday party. Details of the rape are included in the text. About five months later she began dating the man who later became her husband. He was a post doctoral student, about ten years her senior. A year and a half later, after she had begun graduate work, they were married.

The next year they moved to Los Angeles, where her husband wished to pursue his career. Since June was still a student in her doctoral program, she lived in Los Angeles for only a few months at a time, spending several months in New York completing her course work and her master's degree. Their marriage was not able to withstand the long periods of separation. At the time of the interviews, the couple had been separated for six months.

At this juncture in her life, several stresses are exerting themselves very strongly: that of the marital separation and future divorce; the ill health of her mother, who is being treated for breast cancer; the ill health of her father, who has a heart condition; and her own ill health (she is under care for endometriosis, taking high doses of hormones, suffering intermittant severe pain and

occasional hospitalizations with surgery a future possibility). She has temporarily suspended work on her dissertation at this time.

APPENDIX D

SARAH

APPENDIX D

SARAH

Sarah is a 26 year old, plump, attractive woman who has striking red hair and a very bubbly, talkative, somewhat histrionic personality. She was born in the Midwest, the only child of older, Russian born, Jewish parents, both of whom are professional counselors. She remembers the move to California as positive, since school in the Midwest had seemed more "repressive" and regimented than it seemed in Los Angeles, where there was "more emphasis on recess since the weather was good."

Sarah described herself as introverted and shy for most of her public school years. She attributes this introversion to a "lifelong physical abnormality" in her legs which she says was overreacted to by her mother and that meant years of corrective shoes and physical therapy several times a week. With all this special attention she felt physically and socially awkward. Her parents sent her to a private high school where she felt more inferior to the rich children of Hollywood stars. At one point in high school, "P.E. was so emotionally painful that to get out of it I purposefully dislocated my knee" and she was in a wheel chair for the next few months.

Sarah's relationship with her mother was and still is unusually close and interdependent. As a teenager she fought a great deal with her mother, who was overprotective and domineering and weighed 250 pounds. One of her dreams from adolescence consisted of being submerged in water and not being able to pull herself away from her mother. Once, after her mother caught her with a cigarette, she "basically beat the crap out of me" but for the first time her daughter hit back and somehow knocked her mother unconscious, which frightened them both considerably. It was after this incident that Sarah was first sent for psychiatric treatment, which she has continued with over the years with two or three different therapists.

Sarah feels her mother to be practically omnipotent, capable of reading her mind and predicting the future. Her mother did inform her of the facts of life, with the help of various books, including medical texts. She was not particularly physically affectionate with Sarah, but her father was especially distant. Her parents were never affectionate with each other in front of her, either. She describes her father as "very controlled...he doesn't know how to have a good time. He reads. Literature is a way he expresses his feelings...politics and literature, ideas he can share. That's it."

When she went to college, she lived in a dorm and "acted out," going with many boys for the first time and not studying, such that she flunked out after one and a half years. She worked for the telephone company after

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that for a year, and then after missing work with a bout of mono, she was fired and decided to go back to college. At the community college she earned a 3.9 index, discovered her love of botany, and after a field trip to Hawaii she was offered a job collecting tropical plants. She regrets not having taken the position, stating that at the time she was "just too scared." Instead she went back to school, worked on a political campaign and got a part time job as a research assistant in order to support herself, and this marked the first time in her life that her parents were not financially supporting her.

From the ages of 19 to 23, Sarah had a series of relationships with men that were not socially or sexually successful. She had always thought of herself as a wall-flower, incapable of having an attractive man, and when she did date men whom she considered attractive, she was "paralyzed with fear of what are they doing with me when they can have someone else better looking?" It really wasn't until several more years of therapy that she felt she had anything to offer a man, and also realized that "good looking guys can also be jerks." But until then, she was extremely vulnerable to a man's attentions. At nineteen and a half she had her first experience with sexual intercourse. She actually enjoyed it until he told her "you're probably going to be a nymphomaniac" and she thought he must be right. She had experienced an orgasm at that time, but she thought it was somehow wrong since they hadn't climaxed at the same time. She had her next orgasm through

intercourse three years later. Her sexual and social relationships with men were marked by Sarah feeling abused and dominated, and her one long term relationship during that time included her boyfriend sleeping with several of her friends.

More recently her relationships with men have improved. She plans to go on to graduate school for a Ph.D. She also has recently joined Overeaters Anonymous which has helped her considerably with a chronic weight problem.

APPENDIX E
FRANCINE

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APPENDIX E

FRANCINE

Francine is 29 years old, single, and employed as an engineer. She also has two Masters' degrees, is a Ph.D. candidate, and has completed two years of law school. She appears self assured and speaks in a kind of monotonic, careful manner.

She was born in the Midwest, the oldest child of a fairly religious Christian Scientist couple. She has a brother two years younger and a sister ten years younger. She remembers her parents as quite strict with the children, with many rules for behavior that were to be followed. She and her brother fought quite a bit, though now they are close friends. She got along well with her sister, but didn't really spend much time with her.

When she was 6 or 7, Francine had rheumatic fever, and though her parents' religion forbade conventional medicine, after a while she required, and they permitted hospitalization. She subsequently missed much of the first grade, and was unable to participate in many athletic games.

What stands out most from Francine's memory of her parents' relationship was her mother's subservience to her father. Each morning of their marriage she would serve him

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breakfast in bed, complete with fresh flowers on the tray. Francine thought all women did this kind of thing as part of marriage and thus she saw herself early on as probably not the right material for marriage.

Francine went to a college in another state where she studied math and physics and german. As part of the language study program at this school, she lived abroad for one year. During her sophomore year she had sexual intercourse for the first time with her boyfriend who broke up with her the next day. Francine had been extremely naive about sex until she had begun college, and after this first experience, she did not enjoy a physical relationship with a man for several more years, although she "tolerated the boredom" when with someone she did care about.

Francine graduated from college in three years and applied for a job out of the country. She was accepted and shortly before she was to leave, she received a letter saying that they hadn't realized she was a woman until then, and she would not be able to go since there were no "facilities" for women. She quickly applied to other out-of-state jobs in engineering; she wanted to leave as soon as possible as she was feeling very uncomfortable staying with her parents for any length of time. She finally got a position and moved to northern California.

After about two years there, she decided to go to graduate school, so she moved to Oregon for that. During this time she lived with a man with whom she had a

satisfying sexual and, to her, emotional relationship. It seemed to her, however, that he was not as happy as she, and she left Oregon for southern California to do her dissertation research. While doing that, she decided to go to law school. She feels she would have remained in Oregon if her boyfriend had shown more of an interest in her doing so. As it was, he seemed not to care, so she began law school in Los Angeles. After two years she was disillusioned with law and went back to being an engineer.

Francine felt fairly lonely, especially at first, after her move to Los Angeles. She did begin dating and meeting people, but she thinks fondly of northern California and Oregon. She sees herself as afraid of being dependent on men. She is glad now to be working again and making a good salary, because that allows her to feel more independent. Recently she became pre-engaged to a man who went back to Oregon for a year of graduate work, leaving Francine in Los Angeles. She feels more ready to think of marriage now than she has in the past. There had been several men who had proposed in the past, but for various reasons, including the fact that Francine does not want children, the proposals were not accepted. She has also recently begun seeing a psychiatrist, and intends to continue with it for at least a year, as she is finding it helpful in dealing with her recent (six months) depression and suicidal feelings.

APPENDIX F
JUDY

APPENDIX F

JUDY

Judy is 20 years old, has been married for one year and is going to a community college, characteristically earning all A's. She is a very thin, young looking woman who seems overly polite and submissive. She speaks hesitantly and softly.

Judy is the third child of four, with a brother of 24, sister of 22 and a younger sister of 16. She was born in a farming community in the Midwest where she lived until she was about 8. At that time her family moved to the West Coast, settling in one of the suburbs of Los Angeles. Judy described the move as a mark for independence for her parents in separating from their parents.

Judy does not remember having many close friends in elementary school or junior high school. She describes herself as always getting along well with the members of her family. Her father is an employee of a large engineering company. Her mother is a homemaker, and her parents have been married for about twenty five years. Judy describes her father as more of a "partying person" than her mother, however, and that is the source of whatever arguments they usually have: whether or not to go out or stay

home. Her parents were openly affectionate with each other and the children, though "not passionate really." The younger sister still lives at home, while the older sister is in the Air Force, and her brother recently married and moved out though living in the same town as his parents.

When Judy was 12 she was molested by a man in the local park where she had been walking with a girlfriend and her younger sister and the friend's younger sister. She told her parents, and the man was later arrested and brought to trial, though acquitted. She remembers her parents became really violent upon her telling them what had happened to her, and she remembers her father "getting a crowbar out and he was saying he was going to beat the guy up. I was really bewildered at the time. I didn't know what the guy was trying to do, I just knew it wasn't right." The man was acquitted for "lack of evidence. They said they couldn't convict him just because some little girl says he touched her."

In high school Judy began using drugs heavily, using anything that came her way but particularly L.S.D. She describes herself as quite immature at the time, simply doing what the other kids did. This included experimenting with sex, in which she was basically uninterested but she thought she should like it since all the other kids did. She had intercourse for the first time when she was 16 with a sadistic, disturbed young man who was her steady boyfriend for the next eight months.

When he left town Judy and a friend went out a couple of nights for "sports screwing" which involved picking up boys and after having sex with them in the car, leaving them and verbally putting them down, reversing what they felt were the more usual sex roles.

Around this time Judy began to go to high school at night and she worked during the day. When she graduated, she planned to go into the Air Force. She had met and fallen in love with her husband, and after she became pregnant, she left the Air Force and got married.

After a few months of pregnancy, Judy began hemorrhaging and lost the baby. She was very upset by this experience, though her husband was able to provide some comfort. She is now somewhat frightened of pregnancy, but hopes to have one child in the future.

Judy plans to eventually go to medical school. She would like to be a doctor for a small town somewhere. Judy feels her marriage to be strong. There are some problems, however, due to her bouts of depression and disinterest in sex, which, she says, stem from memories of being raped.

APPENDIX G

CINDY

APPENDIX G

CINDY

Cindy is an attractive yet fragile appearing 27 year old woman who works as a waitress. She has completed all but a thesis for a Master's. She has no intention of returning to school, and she plans to become a kind of crafts person who makes jewelry or furniture or knick-knacks and sells them, traveling from craft fair to craft fair.

Cindy was born in the Midwest, the youngest daughter of six children. She has four brothers and one sister, who were from fourteen to twenty one years old at the time of her birth. Thus she was raised much like an only child. Her father, a laborer and truck driver, died when Cindy was five. She has no memories of him or of her parents' relationship together. She does remember, however, that as a child she missed having a daddy, and once when she asked her mother about it, her mother said that being married to one man for twenty to twenty five years was enough for any woman. Her brothers were active, however, in trying to fill in for her father.

Cindy remembers the years before college as difficult for her. She went to private, Catholic elementary, junior and senior high schools, and she felt isolated and

friendless. She was a good student, but she felt her education there was not very good. When she entered college she began to have more fun and develop more friendships. She attributes her social success in college to the fact that she had "learned to fight so hard in high school."

She had been fairly naive about sex, worrying well into her teen's about how babies were made, wondering if it had anything to do with sitting on boys' laps. She began menstruating at 14 or 15 and remembers she had been afraid she might never begin, since all of her friends had already started by then. She cannot remember her mother's attitude toward sex.

Her first experience with intercourse she described as "fantastic," although later she added that she couldn't really remember precisely when it was. She was 20, a senior in college and had been casually involved with a man for several months, sleeping with him regularly but not having intercourse with him for a very long time. They were not actually girlfriend and boyfriend. He was one of the people who lived in the house she lived in.

When she graduated from college, though she felt attached to this man, she moved to Boston to find a job. She did not meet many people or make any friends there, although she got involved with her second sex partner there, who "dropped" her after two months. She became extremely depressed at that time, and applied for therapy at a mental health center. After several months she was

assigned to a group, but by then she had already planned to leave Boston and go back to the university for graduate school. She did attend a few group sessions, finding it helpful only in that she was given Valium, which seemed to relieve some symptoms. (One problem which Cindy had not, until recently, discussed with anyone, is her muscle tics which she has had since childhood. She says that until she discovered Valium in Boston, they were very noticeable and would cause people to stare at her.)

One night while at graduate school, she impulsively hitchhiked with a couple of friends (male and female) to Aspen, Colorado, which is where she stayed for the next two or three years. She lived with a man there with whom she had a very stormy relationship, including physical fighting. When they broke up finally, she moved to Denver where she saw a psychological counselor for a few months who, Cindy says, was very helpful to her. After a few months she moved in with her current boyfriend. The two later moved to California. Since he prefers the northern and she the southern end of the state, they see each other as often as possible given the distance between them.

Cindy enjoys using drugs and alcohol. She seems to prefer alcohol, which is more of a "party" drug to her, though she also uses L.S.D. and "anything else I can find." She tends not to smoke marijuana because it causes her to become more withdrawn and physically tired.

Cindy contemplates marrying her boyfriend, although she is not physically attracted to him. At times she feels

disgusted by all men, and intellectually considers "going gay," though she doubts she ever will. She has recently experimented with group sex, the homosexual components of which made her slightly uncomfortable. She plans on moving back to Colorado soon with her boyfriend from up north.

APPENDIX H

JOANNE

APPENDIX H

JOANNE

Joanne is a petite 23 year old whose demeanor and long straight hair suggest someone of teenage years. She graduated from college in 1973 but is unemployed and collects unemployment insurance. She spoke very softly and very rapidly, frequently mumbling or slurring her speech. She was very hesitant about participating in the study, insisting on a pseudonym from the first interview, and refusing to allow tape recording from time to time.

Joanne was born in the Midwest and moved with her family to the Los Angeles area when she was 11 or 12. She has one brother, nine years her senior. Her parents are upper middle class Jewish parents, whom, Joanne says, never showed physical affection to each other or to their children.

Though she is nine years younger than her brother, Joanne feels he was a very important influence on her personality development. He was a "beatnik" in the 1950's, and somehow he allowed Joanne to tag along to parties and gatherings with his friends. She felt accepted by them and grown up, and due to his influence, she says, she realized that she did not have to agree with and obey her

mother so much. Though she never sees him now, Joanne continues to feel emotionally close to her brother.

Joanne has very vivid memories of various incidents throughout her childhood. She tells of a series of friendships with girlfriends marked by a sense of competition and rejection. She felt continuously under pressure by her mother to conform, to pledge not to like rock n' roll, for instance. She described herself as very compliant to her mother's wishes.

When she was nine, Joanne's mother gave her a talk about sex which included a discussion of V.D., contraceptives and prostitution. Joanne does not remember having any sexual feelings until the day she first menstruated. From that day on she was "hot," although she felt "brain-washed" by her mother to think that premarital sex was bad. Thus in her teenage years she had several experiences with boyfriends in which she indulged in heavy petting, stopping short of intercourse.

During this period she also found herself attracted to older black men from time to time. Once, when she was 15, her mother discovered her walking with a black man on the beach and when she got home she was beaten by her father with a strap. Since that time Joanne has continued to be attracted to black culture.

Joanne did not want to go to college; in fact, she wished to drop out of high school. Somehow, she was convinced to "compromise" with her mother, and so she graduated early in an accelerated program. Then, somehow,

she was talked into going to college. After graduating from college, she began graduate school, dropping out due to parental objections. They preferred that she go to law school, which she did. She then dropped out of law school on her own and began another graduate program, dropping out after a few months. She worked for a while in a clerical job, getting fired finally for coming in late. Since then she has lived on unemployment insurance. She plans on a Civil Service job eventually.

Joanne has been engaged once. Though he was nice to her, she felt uncomfortable in the relationship with so much attention from him. She still remains friendly with him, but she is seeing several other men right now. She says she prefers having several relationships going on at one time.

At the time of her engagement, Joanne's mother insisted that she see a counselor (her mother disapproved of the marriage plans). She feels that the three months of therapy were helpful in that she broke the engagement, dropped out of school and was also able to financially separate from her parents.

APPENDIX I

JACKIE

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JACKIE

Jackie is 24 years old, a recent graduate from college with a bachelor's degree. She speaks rapidly and clearly, most of her sentences seeming to be statements emphasizing hostility. At the same time she is polite and even submissive in her actions.

She is the oldest of two sisters, six years apart in age. Her mother is described as controlling, wearing the pants, sadistic and psychotic. Her father spent five years in a Nazi concentration camp, and is described as passive, quiet, submissive and will do whatever his wife wishes. Jackie remembers only one time that they were openly affectionate with one another, and she has no memories of ever being cuddled or treated affectionately by them. She believes that her sister gets along with them better because they had already "crapped out" on her. When Jackie was two, her parents separated for a while. She believes she might have been their "excuse to stay together."

Jackie has very little memory of the events of her childhood. She says her mother had written in her diary that when she was six, her parents took her to a university medical center for a psychiatric evaluation. She was

supposedly too independent and hyperactive. When she was 11 she was fitted for a back brace which she wore for the next three years.

Another incident she remembers occurred when she was about 12. She had stolen some headbands and when her mother found them, she made Jackie undress completely and she examined her vagina to see if her hymen had been broken. She was very afraid of Jackie being promiscuous, although Jackie reports she really had no interest in sex, but did wish to do whatever her mother was set against. Consequently, she saw herself as a "goody two shoes" who tried to get into "faster" crowds.

When she was a freshman in college, Jackie thought that it was the appropriate time to lose her virginity. She felt it to be a burden, and she finally decided to have intercourse with a young man with whom she had gone out once or twice. The experience was unpleasant but after that she tried to make sure she slept with a man at least once a month.

When she was 19 she became severely depressed and attempted suicide by taking six Valium and telling her mother. She was hospitalized at that point for six months. On her release she was in the care of a half-way house, but she felt "totally despairing, everything was meaningless, there were no rules to follow in life, following my parents' set of rules just got me into the hospital to begin with." She became very promiscuous, stayed out past curfew, was thrown out of the half-way home, was arrested two days

later for possession of L.S.D. She spent forty one days in jail; her parents refused to bail her out. She was manicky in jail so they sentenced her to commitment in the state hospital. She was released after a few months, but her parents "shipped her back" until she was over 21 and of legal age. Finally, a social worker referred her to a private psychiatrist, who she continued to see until the present.

From 1970 to 1972 she supported herself by "turning tricks" and disability checks. When she was arrested for prostitution she decided to cease that behavior. She dates the beginning of identifying herself as a feminist with the publication of the first issue of Ms. magazine at the end of 1972. She began to relate to women for sexual gratification, though she has not really had a long term, significant homosexual (or heterosexual) lover. She also went back to college in 1973.

From time to time Jackie feels "disintegrated," with a sense of being totally empty inside. She has recently discontinued seeing her psychiatrist, who, she said, gave up on her, and she terminated with her group therapy group. Also, she recently stopped initiating communication with her parents. She is looking for a civil service job, and she hopes her father will sell her a house he owns, though she is not sure she is competent enough to take care of it. She has one close girlfriend, but as she finds herself less heterosexual, she says she can't enjoy being with this friend as much, since the friend is a decided

heterosexual.

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