

PREVALENCE OF MALE PERPETRATED DOMESTIC VIOLENCE IN THE PRESENCE OF
TRADITIONAL MASCULINE VALUES AND HEGEMONIC MASCULINITY

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By
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On my honor
I have neither given nor received
unauthorized aid on this thesis.

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ABSTRACT:

Rates of domestic violence remain high in America despite many actions being taken against it. Though both men and women can be perpetrators of domestic violence, most often domestic violence is committed by men against women. Previous studies on the topic find that traditional masculine values and masculine gender role stress increase the likeliness of a man committing violence, and that gender role stress is higher in men who experience a form of masculinity marginalized from the hegemonic masculine ideal. In the present study I examine the effect that both traditional masculine values and hegemonic masculinity has on prevalence of male perpetrated domestic violence. I use six of the nine U.S. Census regions to carry out the study. By finding the average score or level of traditional masculine values, hegemonic masculinity, and prevalence of male perpetration in each of the six regions, I was able to observe the effect had on prevalence of male perpetration when traditional masculine values and hegemonic masculinity are present in the region. The goal was to find out if stronger traditional masculine values and lower access to the hegemonic masculine ideal in a region would lead to higher rates of male perpetrated domestic violence in that region. The results support both the previous findings and hypothesis, and also highlight the lowering effect that hegemonic masculinity has on rates of male perpetrated domestic violence.

Introduction

It is likely that every person reading this article knows someone who has fallen victim to some form of domestic violence, whether they are conscious of it or not. Domestic violence is a problem all around the world, without exception in America. The statistics recording the rates of domestic violence are astoundingly high despite the great strides being made to bring awareness and resolution to the problem. While both men and women may be the instigator of the violence, studies find that women are the victims 85% of the time (Catalano 2007). For the purpose of this study, only domestic violence committed by men will be explored.

Many studies find that having traditional masculine values and perspectives increase the likelihood that a man will commit domestic violence (Kimmel 2005; Sugarman and Frankel 1996). Traditional masculine values include the belief that men are stronger, more intelligent, more ambitious and more powerful than women. In a nutshell, for a man to really believe in traditional masculine values, he must truly believe that men simply are better than women. Traditional gender roles are also included in traditional masculine values, such as the male breadwinner ideal that supports the notion that the man makes money for the family while the wife takes care of the kids and house. Traditional gender roles tend to be strongly linked to heteronormativity as well, or the ideology that heterosexuality is the norm (Van Eeden-Moorefield, Martell, Williams and Preston 2011).

Hegemonic masculinity, which can be described as the most socially accepted form of masculinity, has also been found to play a role in domestic violence. Men without total access to the hegemonic ideal yet with the desire to have total access, tend to be more likely to commit domestic violence than others. Antonio Gramsci defines hegemony as the winning and holding of

power and authority (Lawrence and Wishart 2000) as well as the ability for one group to maintain a leading position in society (Connell 2005). Hegemony refers to the ability of one social class to have power over others, as well as the ability for the dominant social class to define what is natural and normal to other subordinated groups (Chandler 2000). Thus hegemonic masculinity is the form of masculinity in a given society that holds most authoritative and decisive power (Connell 2005). While traditional masculine values highlight a type of masculinity learned through socialization that include ideologies of male toughness and male supremacy, hegemonic masculinity is the most ideal form of masculinity, defined by the ability to claim absolute power and authority over all women and most men while also including all aspects of traditional masculine values as well. While hegemonic masculinity is the most socially desired form of masculinity in a culture at any given time, it is important to note that it is not the most commonly obtained form of masculinity, nor accepted by all men as the most desirable. Rather, hegemonic masculinity always changes to encompass what is the most ideal form of masculinity as is defined by the culture that it exists in (Connell 2005).

In the study I will examine domestic violence committed by men and the forms of masculinities that have the greatest effect on high rates of violence. I explore whether or not the prevalence of male perpetrated domestic violence is highest in areas where traditional masculine values are strongly held, and where many men experience a form of masculinity marginalized from the hegemonic ideal. The present study thus investigates the prevalence of male perpetrated domestic violence when both hegemonic masculinity is apparent and traditional masculine values are strong in the area or region in which the violence is committed.

Literature Review

Domestic Violence

Domestic violence refers to a number of abusive behaviors, either physical, sexual, emotional, or psychological (Humphrey 2012) that occur between two intimates or family members. Other terms also used include intimate partner violence and wife abuse, though wife abuse refers not strictly to those who are married, but those who are cohabitating intimately (Yllö and Bograd 1988). Lawson, Brossart and Shefferman (2010) define intimate partner violence as that which is used to maintain or gain a sense of power and control by one partner over the other. Humphrey (2012) offer a similar definition for domestic violence as harassing behavior meant to intimidate and coerce.

Despite a decline in intimate partner violence since 1993 (Catalano 2007), domestic violence continues to exist despite the numerous laws and efforts in effect to end it. In the U.S., intimate partner violence occurs in one out every three marriages (Humphrey 2012), not including civil unions or other cohabitating intimate partners. Though some studies find that men and women perpetrate violence at equal rates, statistics show (Rennison and Welchans 2000) that 85% percent of the victims of domestic violence are women, and up to ninety-five percent of the offenders are male (Humphrey 2012). Johnson (2007) coined two terms describing forms of intimate partner violence: *intimate terrorism* and *violent resistance*. Intimate terrorism is violence used as an attempt to take control over one's partner, and was found to be committed by men ninety-seven percent of the time in a Pittsburg study. Violent resistance is described as the violence used in response to intimate terrorism, and was found to be committed by females ninety-six percent of the time (Johnson 2007). Johnson's categorizations of violent acts helps make sense of the contradictory statistics, highlighting that female violence is usually committed in response to initial male violence. Intimate partner violence also exists between same-sex couples, but because violence is highest in he

heterosexual couples I have chosen to focus specifically on these cases.

Intimate partner violence occurs across all races and classes but is reported as being most common between interracial partners, with black females experiencing the highest rates of abuse (Catalano 2007). All levels of income are affected by intimate partner violence, yet individuals living in the low annual income range are three times more likely to experience violence than those living in the higher annual income range (Catalano 2007). Similarly, women living in rental properties are three times more likely to experience abuse than those living in owned properties (Catalano 2007).

Traditional Masculine Values and Violence

A number of previous works on domestic violence have found that ideologies of male toughness and adherence to beliefs in traditional forms of masculinity may be a predictor of violence in men (Kimmel 2005; Sugarman and Frankel 1996). The traditional role of the man as breadwinner and the woman as homemaker is the simplest example of traditional values. Other traditional masculine values typically include the belief that women should be obedient and loyal to men (Sugarman and Frankel 1996), and the belief that all men have access to the numerous social benefits allotted to men by the patriarchal structure, or what Connell describes as the patriarchal dividend (Connell 2005). Traditional masculine values also include ideologies of male strength and toughness, and the right that all men have to exert this strength when necessary (Sugarman and Frankel 1996). Not all men hold these traditional values, in fact many men do not, and if they do they are likely unaware of these beliefs and unconscious to the exercising of them. However, some studies find that men who hold these traditional masculine values, whether they embody them or not, are more likely than other men to batter and abuse their female partners

(Sugarman and Frankel 1996). Lawson, Brossart, and Shefferman (2010) find that men who exhibit severe partner violence also show stronger beliefs in male dominance. Kimmel also finds that violence against women happens most often when the husband holds the most power and that rates of violence decrease as equality between spouses increase (Kimmel 2005). Furthermore, Schrock and Padavic (2007) state that “qualitative and quantitative research has shown that men who harm women often do so when their sense of traditional manhood—such as being a breadwinner or having women meet their often-unspoken needs—is threatened” (628). These findings all support the idea that in households where traditional masculine values of male dominance and power are either held or desired, domestic violence is more likely to occur.

Speculation exists as to the reasons why men who hold traditional masculine values, either embodied or desired, use violence against their female partners more often than other men. Certain theories when applied to men with traditional masculine beliefs may help to pinpoint some of the reasons. These theories include feminist theory and Johnson’s theory of intimate terrorism. In both models, intimate partner violence is described as a tool through which men gain or maintain power over their female partners when she acts in a way not in line with traditional feminine roles. Johnson’s term *intimate terrorism* describes violence that is enacted in an attempt “to take general control over one’s partner” (Johnson 2007: 258). It can be argued that this desire for power and control would not be as important to men that do not value traditional masculine roles. Johnson’s theory of intimate terrorism incorporates the underlying belief of feminist theory into explanations as to why men use violence against their female partners. Feminist theory suggests that systems of patriarchy socialize men to believe they deserve power as well as the acceptability of using violence to maintain it. Violence is thus used against women as a way of maintaining the power and control allotted by patriarchy (Dobash & Dobash 1988; Yllö and Straus 1984; Yllö & Bograd

1989). Like Johnson's theory, feminist theorists believe that men "set expectations for the behavior of their intimate partners. When women fail to live up to these expectations men resort to violence to establish their position of dominance in the relationship" (Humphrey 2012: 127). Both intimate terrorism theory and feminist theory may offer an explanation as to why traditionally masculine men are more likely to use violence against women than other men. It is when the power that the male perpetrator sees as his right is threatened that domestic violence occurs.

Connell's semiotic approach to masculinity, that masculinity is defined in contrast to femininity (2005), may also explain why men holding traditionally masculine values may resort to domestic violence. Connell believes that masculinity and femininity are contrasted, that masculinity is defined by norms of power and dominance, and that femininity is ultimately defined in relation to masculinity as everything that masculinity is not (2005). While masculinity is seen as the default, femininity is defined and understood only in terms of its subordination to masculinity. If femininity is constantly created in terms of what masculinity is not, when traditional forms of femininity are not enacted correctly the assumed dominance of masculinity will be threatened, leading to violence as a way of regaining male dominance (Connell 2005). Furthermore, Connell finds that men who use violence as a means of sustaining dominance likely do not see their violence as problematic. Rather, their violence towards women for the maintenance of power is seen as a right that is authorized by the patriarchal "ideology of supremacy" (Connell 2005: 83).

Defining and Determining Hegemonic Masculinity

Much research on masculinities has been centered on Connell's theory of hegemonic masculinity, or the currently accepted form of masculinity portrayed in mass culture that insures the legitimacy of patriarchy and the dominance of men over women (2005). Hegemonic

masculinity is an ideal that changes to always encompass that which is seen as dominant in a culture at any given time (Connell 2005). It is an ideology that defines the appropriate values and expectations of men (Leach 1994). Hegemonic masculinity is not the most common form of masculinity, but rather the most desired. While Connell argues that hegemony is the successful claim to authority, he notes that often time violence is used as a way of gaining this authority. Because hegemonic masculinity is an ideal type it becomes impossible for anyone to fully meet its standards. Instead, hegemonic masculinity is a set of values that functions as a way of measuring one's own level of masculinity. While most men aspire to it, the number of men actually living up to the hegemonic ideal is quite small, yet all men who exercise any aspects of the hegemonic ideal, the simplest being the overall subordination of women, benefit from the patriarchal dividend (Connell 2005).

The term "hegemony" was first coined by Gramsci (1929) and was defined as "the winning and holding of power and the formation (and destruction) of social groups in that process (as cited in Donaldson 1993: 2). Men who conform to norms of hegemonic masculinity are rewarded by having power and authority over women and men who do not, or cannot, conform to these norms. It is the seemingly effortless claim to power and the authority over others that most clearly defines hegemonic masculinity. The ideal form of hegemonic masculinity is embodied by white men working in high paying, influential and competitive jobs who simultaneously embody the culturally desired form of manliness (Donaldson 1993). The ideal hegemonic male is aggressive and successful in competition, and maintains an attitude and appearance that demands attention and authority. Donaldson cleverly describes the hand of the hegemonic male as being "white, hairy, and manicured" (Donaldson 1993: 9). Thus it is one's race, gender, and income that ultimately decide whether a person in our society acquires hegemonic authority.

Having the ability to compete is also a major aspect of hegemonic masculinity. Dedication to competition is only possible when a man can give his whole person to gaining more power, money, and control, which means that the idealized hegemonic masculinity involves having a wife who is totally devoted to the well being of her husband and children. To summarize, one's level of hegemonic masculinity is ultimately determined and reinforced by one's condition of life and ability to gain power, authority, and money. All men benefit from hegemonic masculinity in some way, even those men marginalized from the ideal based on race or class, since all men are raised in a society that values men over women. Thus despite a man's access to the hegemonic ideal, he may still tap into the patriarchal dividend simply by exerting power over women.

The area or region of America that a man lives in plays a role in predicting a man's level of hegemonic masculinity. One of the major aspects of hegemonic masculinity is the ability to gain and maintain power over others (Donaldson 1993). Having a large income adds to someone's likeness of gaining power, since wealth offers authority and decisive power (Donaldson 1993). Obtaining a high educational degree also heightens a man's level of hegemonic masculinity, since more education not only insinuates greater knowledge, but also leads to a larger income. Thus if a man lives in an area of the country where average incomes and level of educational degrees are high, it may be predicted that his general level of hegemonic masculinity is also high. The United States Census Bureau separates America into nine regions when analyzing census data. These nine regions include New England, the Middle Atlantic, East North Central region, East South Central region, West South Central region, the Mountain region, Pacific region, South Atlantic region, and West North Central region. For the purposes of the present study it is important to note the differences between median household income and highest degree of education attained in six of these regions. If there is a difference between the regions in median household income and

educational level, then it is also likely that there will be a difference in hegemonic masculinity present in these regions. The median household income for the New England region is \$57,192, whereas in the Middle Atlantic it is \$57,507. In the East North Central region the median household income is \$48,006, in the East South Central region it is \$39,733, in the West South Central region it is \$42,559, and in the Mountain region it is \$48,591 (U.S. Census Bureau 2012). Clearly six of the nine regions have varying median household incomes, thus levels of hegemonic masculinity are likely to be different in each region as well. Educational degree obtained also varies by region, with 32.72% of New England individuals over 25 having a bachelor's degree or higher, 31.1% of Middle Atlantic individuals having a bachelor's degree or higher, 25.5% in the East North Central region, 21.4% in the East South Central region, 22.13% in the West South Central region, and 25.18% in the Mountain region (U.S. Census Bureau 2012). Based on these statistics, it is likely that in the New England region where the median household income is \$57,192 and the percent of individuals over 25 having a bachelors degree or higher is 32.75%, hegemonic masculine ideals will be stronger and more apparent because more of the people living in this region are also living close to or within the boundaries of hegemony. Thus while a man can gain access to hegemonic masculinity through power and authority, his level of hegemonic masculinity may also be predicted based on the region that he lives in.

Marginalized masculinities are those that lack total access to the hegemonic ideal. Marginalized masculinities exist in subordination to hegemonic masculinity, or that which is in authority (Connell 2005). Marginalized men experience powerlessness and emasculation because of their class or race (Austin 2007). Protest masculinities arise when marginalized men claim a localized form of power. Thus gaining absolute power over a smaller, more specific group of people. The only difference between hegemonic masculinities and protest masculinities arising

from a marginalized group is the amount of absolute power obtained over others (and particularly over other men). Since protest masculinities cannot claim power through economic and institutional authority in the same way that hegemonic masculinities can, the amount of absolute power held simply by being a man is much smaller (Connell and Messerschmidt 2011).

Gender Role Stress

While studies find that men who hold traditional masculine values are more likely to commit domestic violence than other men, masculine gender role stress (Gallagher and Parrot 2011) stemming from the attempt to fulfill the social expectations set by these values is a more accurate predictor of domestic violence than having traditional masculine values alone. Masculine gender role stress is the socialized pressure experienced by a man when attempting to adhere to hegemonic masculinity (Gallagher and Parrott 2011). Men who strongly desire hegemonic masculinity experience gender role stress more strongly than men less concerned with measuring up to the hegemonic ideal (Gallagher and Parrott 2011). Parrot and Gallagher find that men who experience gender role stress cope with it by reasserting their dominance over women. Gender role stress is thus a product of hegemonic masculinity, in that marginalized men who desire adherence to hegemonic norms are more likely to develop masculine gender role stress at the realization of their ostracization from the hegemonic ideal.

A number of studies (hooks 1981; Connell 2005) demonstrate the ways in which gender role stress arises when men cannot fulfill hegemonically masculine expectations. Bell hooks discusses the ways in which black masculinity has been marginalized in America because of capitalism and racism. She argues that black marginalized masculinities lack of access to the power of hegemonic masculinity has pushed black men to present their masculinity by exerting power and control over

black women (hooks 1981). At the realization by black marginalized men of their inaccessibility to hegemonic power, it can be argued that masculine gender role stress arises, and is dealt with by claiming masculine power in an immediately accessible way: violence against women. Hooks also argues that violence is perhaps more prevalent in marginalized masculinities because these men do not receive all the benefits of the patriarchal dividend that they have been socialized to believe is their right (1981).

Men and boys in gangs also fall under the category of marginalized masculinity because they are barred from and defined by hegemonic masculinity based on the conditions of their everyday lives. Because gang members are unable to adhere to hegemonic ideals through employment and class status, they resort to violence against other men and sexual violence against women as a way of reasserting their masculinity and coping with gender role stress (Connell 2005).

A major characteristic of hegemonic masculinity is social power and status, as well as the respect gained by having a steady job that allows a man to not only be a breadwinner for his family, but also to be in a position of power and authority over others in and out of his occupational field. For many men in the category of marginalized masculinity, employment and class status are characteristics that are not always easy to come by due to a number of social factors that function to maintain social hierarchies and stereotypes. Hotaling and Sugarman (1986) identify working-class status, low income and low educational level as three of eight predictors for husbands who abuse their wives (as cited in Humphrey 2012). Each of these predictors implies a lack of class status and inability to move up, which are important aspects for obtaining the hegemonic masculine ideal. By not having a good education, most of these men remain stuck in the low-income working class. Kimmel finds that one of the most accurate predictors of someone being a perpetrator of domestic violence is unemployment (2005). This means that men

marginalized from hegemonic masculinity due to lack of employment and low social status will be more likely to be perpetrators of domestic violence than men with steady jobs and higher social status. A number of men interviewed by Ptacek (1988) in his study of perpetrators suggested that not making enough money was a reason why they used violence against their female partners. Both Kimmel and Ptacek's findings are supported by the theory of masculine gender role stress, in that an inability to adhere to the hegemonic norm of employment and ultimately class status and power may produce gender role stress that is dealt with through violence against women. Women become victims of men's violence because of their subordinated relationship to them. One man justified his violence by saying that he was fed up with his partner constantly telling him that they needed money for the baby, particularly because he was working but not making money, and for this reason he threw a plate at her. Another man justified his actions in a similar manner; saying that after listening to his partner complain about money he decided to "shut her up physically" (Ptacek 1988: 149). For these men the constant reminder that they were unable to provide for their family, and the stress realized by this failure to adhere to hegemonic expectations of men, was dealt with through violence.

In this study I will look at the effect that traditional masculine values has on rates of domestic violence as well as the effect that lack of access to the hegemonic ideal has on rates of violence. I hypothesize that male perpetrated domestic violence is highest when traditional masculine values are strong and marginalization from the hegemonic ideal exists. Because the region that a man lives in can help to predict his level of hegemonic masculinity, I will compare levels of hegemonic masculinity and strength of traditional masculine values in a given census region with rates and prevalence of male perpetrated domestic violence. My belief is that masculine gender role stress

(Parrot and Gallagher 2011) is highest when hegemonic masculinity is inaccessible and traditional masculine values are strong, thus domestic violence will be most likely to occur in such conditions.

Method and Data

Two data sets were used in order to carry out the analysis. Each dataset was analyzed in STATA separately, and the results for each dataset were then compared to one another by myself outside of a statistical program. The International Dating Violence Study of 2001-2006 examines domestic violence data on both the perpetrators and the victims. Researchers in 32 nations conducted the study using questionnaires answered by individuals attending university. The study asks respondents about violence that they have previously experienced, their attitudes towards violence, their influences on attitudes about violence, and their past violent behaviors. In order to use the International Dating Violence Study I collapsed the responses to include only male respondents in the United States. From the International Dating Violence Study (IDVS) I created composite variables measuring the prevalence of male perpetration and strength of traditional masculine values. A number of demographic variables were also used from this study. Because the International Dating Violence Study did not provide information about the respondent's level of access to hegemonic masculinity, I was forced to use a different data set for this measure. I turned to the World Values Survey of 2005 to create a composite variable measuring hegemonic masculinity. The World Values Survey (WVS) is a study conducted every few years that ask respondents about their attitudes regarding a number of different aspects of society as well as questions highlighting the respondent's social demographics. I chose questions from the WVS that displayed the respondent's level of access to the hegemonic ideal to make the composite for

hegemonic masculinity. The WVS includes respondents from over 100 countries, therefore I collapsed the data from the survey to include only respondents from the United States.

Because I wanted to examine the rates of domestic violence committed by men when both traditional masculine values and a lack of access to the hegemonic ideal exist, I needed to find a way to combine the results from the International Dating Violence Study and the World Values Survey. I discovered that both surveys provided information regarding the area of the United States in which the questionnaires and surveys were conducted. I therefore created a variable for region in each data set. The World Values Survey listed the actual region of the United States that the survey was conducted in, which included New England states, Middle Atlantic states, South Atlantic states, East South Central states, West South Central states, East North Central states, West North Central states, Rocky Mountain states, Northwest states, and Pacific states. The International Dating Violence Study recorded the universities that each questionnaire was administered at. I created a variable for region in the IDVS, and separated the universities into the regions that are listed in the WVS based on the states that the universities are located in. The universities where the IDVS took place were located in six of the ten regions that were listed in the WVS. I therefore created a variable in the IDVS that included New England, Middle Atlantic, East North Central, East South Central, West South Central, and Mountain. Because none of the universities in the IDVS were in the Northwest, Pacific, South Atlantic, or West North Central regions of the United States, I did not include these regions in the variable created in the IDVS. I also did not include these regions in the WVS variable for region. Table 1 displays the name of the regions that were used in both the WVS and the IDVS, as well as the universities from the IDVS that fall under each region. It is important to understand that the same variable describing the region where the questionnaire or survey was conducted in exists in both datasets. In the World

Values Survey the region variable categorizes the state in which the survey was conducted, and in the International Dating Violence Study the region variable separates the universities where the questionnaires were administered into the same regional categories as the WVS. The two variables for region that I created in each dataset were both coded as follows: 1= New England, 2 = Middle Atlantic, 3= East North Central, 4 = East South Central, 5 = West South Central, 6 = Mountain.

Table 1: Breakdown of IDVS Universities based on State into Regional Categories used in WVS Region Variable

Regions used in both WVS and IDVS	IDVS Universities Included in Region	State University Located in
Middle Atlantic	Howard University	Washington DC
	Dickinson College	Pennsylvania
	John Jay College	New York
East South Central	Univ. of Southern Miss. Jackson State University	Mississippi
	University of Tennessee	Tennessee
East North Central	University of Cincinnati	Ohio
	Indiana State University	Indiana
	Illinois State University	Illinois
New England	University of New Hamp.	New Hampshire
Mountain	Utah State University	Utah
West South Central	Univ. of Texas El Paso	Texas
	Texas Tech University	
	Rice University	
	Stephen F. Austin State Uni.	
	Grambling University	Louisiana

Because I could not find one dataset that included information about all three of my dependent variables, rather one dataset including information about prevalence of male perpetration and traditional masculine values and another dataset including information about

hegemonic masculinity, I had to slightly alter my hypothesis. My original hypothesis was that rates of male perpetrated domestic violence will be higher when men have strong traditional masculine values and also lack access to the hegemonic masculine ideal. The hypothesis that I actually tested was that the prevalence of male perpetrated domestic violence will be higher in a region or area where there is little hegemonic masculinity and a strong presence of traditional masculine values. Because the use of two datasets limited my ability to test my original hypothesis, I created the variable for region in each dataset so that I could compare the average prevalence of male perpetrated violence, average strength of traditional masculine values held, and average amount of hegemonic masculinity present in each region. I ran one-way ANOVAs to find out the mean score of each composite variable in each region, and then gave each region a ranking for each composite variable. A region with a ranking of one for prevalence of perpetration had the highest average prevalence of male perpetrated domestic violence, and so forth. A region with a ranking of one for hegemonic masculinity had the highest amount of hegemonic masculinity of the six regions. After ranking each region for prevalence of male perpetration, traditional masculine values, and hegemonic masculinity, I was able to observe whether a region having a higher ranking for prevalence of male perpetration also had higher rankings for traditional masculine values and lower rankings for hegemonic masculinity. In this way I was able to see if stronger traditional masculine values and lower levels of hegemonic masculinity had a heightening effect on prevalence of male perpetrated violence.

From the International Dating Violence Study, 2001-2006, I created a composite variable measuring traditional masculine values and a composite variable measuring the prevalence of male perpetrated domestic violence. Before creating the composites the dataset was cut down to include only male respondents in the United States. The variables I chose to include in the composite for

traditional masculine values were questions asked on the survey that displayed the respondents attitudes and beliefs about the appropriate social roles of men and women. Because traditional masculine values are described in the literature as beliefs that men have power and dominance over women, that women should be obedient and fulfill certain social roles, and that men have the right to exert their strength over women when necessary (Sugarman and Frankel 1996), I chose variables to include in the composite for traditional masculine values that highlighted these beliefs. The variables used in the composite for traditional masculine values were recoded on a scale from 1-4, with 1 representing values that are not traditionally masculine, and 4 representing values that are traditionally masculine. The specific values addressed by the variables used to create the traditional masculine values composite are as follows: if a woman was raped she probably asked for it; I often feel resentful of women; if a boy is hit by another boy he should hit back; I have taken advantage of someone; I have received advice to hit back if I am hit or insulted; I don't think about what affects others; after having sex to a certain point I can't stop; it is okay to break the law if I don't get hurt; it is okay for a husband to force his wife to have sex; it is important for a boy to have a fist fight; it is sometimes okay for a husband to hit his wife; I have done wrong things in order to get ahead; I am easily frustrated by women; my partner needs to remember I'm in charge; women irritate me a lot; one should never walk away from a fight; and I often have to remind my partner whose boss. Despite having recoded each variable to be on the same scale, I used the z-score of each variable as a way to make sure that each variable used in the composite was on the same scale. The z-scores of the variables were used to determine the Cronbach's alpha coefficient of the composite variable. The Cronbach's alpha coefficient measures the strength of the relationship between the variables in the group and the measure of internal consistency. The alpha coefficient for relationship between the variables in the group measuring traditional masculine

values was strong ($\alpha = .811$). The resulting range of the composite variable measuring traditional masculine values was from -1 to 2.

I created the composite variable measuring prevalence of male perpetrated domestic violence by compiling variables that asked respondents about actual violence they have or have not committed in the past. The variables were recoded on a scale from 1-8, with 1 representing having never committed the form of violence and 8 representing having committed the form of violence 20 or more times. Because only American male respondents were included in the sample, the composite variable specifically addresses male perpetrated violence. The variables included in the prevalence of violence composite are as follows: I threw something at my partner that could hurt her; I have twisted my partner's arm or hair; my partner had a sprain or a bruise as a result of a fight with me; I have pushed or shoved my partner; I have punched or hit my partner; I have slapped my partner; I have threatened to hit or throw something at my partner; my partner felt physical pain inflicted as a result of a fight; I have kicked my partner. I again used the z-scores of the variables to determine the Cronbach's alpha coefficient measuring the strength and internal consistency of the relationship for the variables included in the composite. The Cronbach's alpha for the prevalence of male perpetrated violence was strong ($\alpha = .854$). The resulting composite for prevalence of male perpetrated violence was measured on a scale from -.28 to .26.

Variables measuring one's class and economic standing were also used in the analysis, and include father's education, mother's education, family income, and SES scale. The two composite variables compiled in the dataset measuring traditional masculine values and prevalence of perpetration were used as the dependent variables in both one-way ANOVAs and correlations. The independent variables used from this data set included age, the class variables, and the variable for region. One of the major limitations of the International Dating Violence Study was the focus on

individuals in college. It is important to note that the respondents do not necessarily permanently reside in the region in which they attend school and were interviewed. Age was not seen to be a problem since many of the respondents were aged between 30 and 40 despite being in college.

The 2005 World Values Survey was used to create a composite measuring level of hegemonic masculinity. The composite for hegemonic masculinity was used as a dependent variable in both one-way ANOVAs and correlations. Like in the International Dating Violence Study, I created an overarching variable that includes all the regions to be used as the independent variable in one-way ANOVAs. The composite for hegemonic masculinity was created to measure the general presence and prevalence of hegemonic masculinity within a certain region. Each variable used in the composite addresses some aspect of hegemonic masculinity as is discussed and defined in the literature. I recoded each variable used in the composite so that 1 represented a not hegemonic answer, and the highest number on the scale represented a hegemonic answer. It was difficult to recode each variable on the same scale since the original variables were coded on a number of different scales. In order to actually create the composite I thus used the z-scores of each recoded variable when creating the composite so that all the variables were on the same scale¹. The composite was compiled from the following variables: subjective social class; income; importance of work; how much freedom one feels; to develop talents one needs a job; it's humiliating to receive money without working for it; people who don't work turn lazy; work is a duty towards society; work should always come first; men make better political leaders; I decide my life goals by myself; satisfaction with one's financial situation; the importance of being rich; the importance of being successful; the importance of hard work; the importance of adventure; seeing oneself as autonomous; and measuring one's work tasks on a scale of not independent to

¹ When two or more variables are measured on different scales, z-scores, or the standard score on the distribution of a variable, are used to standardize the scores of the variables and place them on the same scale (Urdan 2010).

independent. The Cronbach's alpha coefficient for the composite was moderately strong ($\alpha = .692$). The resulting composite for hegemonic masculinity was measured on scale from -.11 to .80. Only American respondents were used from this data set. However, unlike with the International Dating Violence Study, women were not excluded when creating the hegemonic masculinity composite since women also play a role in determining a man's level of hegemonic masculinity. Additional independent variables created and used from this survey include age, race, and education.

In order to investigate the hypothesis, I used STATA to run one-way ANOVAs to determine the mean score of each composite variable in each region. In the IDVS dataset I ran two one-way ANOVAs, one between prevalence of male perpetration and region and one between traditional masculine values and region. In the WVS I ran a one-way ANOVA between hegemonic masculinity and region. Once I had a mean score for the composite variables in each region I was able to apply rankings to each region's level of prevalence of male perpetration, traditional masculine values, and hegemonic masculinity. Using the applied rankings I observed whether or not regions with high rankings for prevalence of violence also had high rankings of traditional masculine values and low rankings of hegemonic masculinity. Nonparametric alternative tests were also run to recheck for statistical significance. From the nonparametric alternative tests performed on the one-way ANOVAs, it became clear that one of the major limitations of the study was the sample size, since sample sizes were small and not equally varied by region.

Regression analyses were performed but due to small sample size, results were not significant and those that were did not add to the findings, rather only confirmed the results found from the ANOVAs. Three correlation tests were run between prevalence of male perpetration and

presence of traditional masculine values, prevalence of male perpetration and various class variables, and hegemonic masculinity and various class variables.

Results

Results for the one-way ANOVA performed to compare the means for prevalence of male perpetration in each of the six regions produced statistically significant results ($F = 3.45, p < .01$). The regional analysis indicates that the East South Central region has the highest rates of male perpetrated domestic violence out of the six regions ($M = .046$). The range of possible scores for the variable for prevalence of perpetration was between $-.28$ and $.26$. The range of possible scores is a standardized scale that simply allows me to view which region has the highest mean score for prevalence of male perpetration. The Middle Atlantic region had the second highest mean score for prevalence of male perpetration ($M = -.003$), followed by the West South Central region ($M = -.105$), the East North Central region ($M = -.122$), the New England region ($M = -.148$), and the Mountain region ($M = -.185$). The results show that The East South Central region has the highest rates of male perpetrated domestic violence out of all the regions, and thus receives a ranking of 1 for prevalence of perpetration. The Middle Atlantic region has the second highest rates of male perpetrated violence out of the six regions and thus receives a ranking of 2. Table 2.1 displays the rest of the six regions rankings for prevalence of male perpetrated violence.

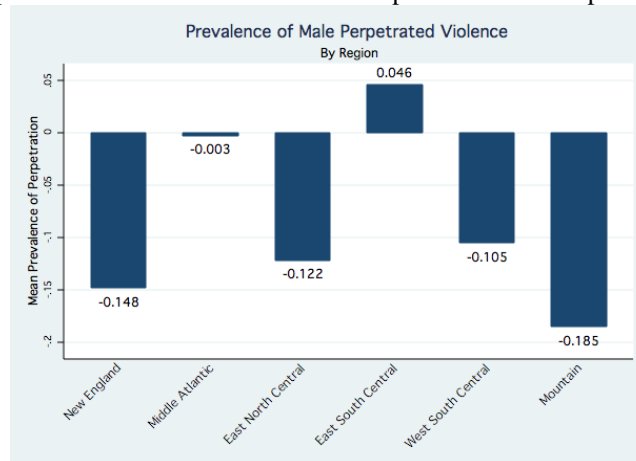
Table 2.1: Rank for Prevalence of Male Perpetration in Each Region (1= Highest, 6 = Lowest)

Region	Ranking for Prevalence of Male Perpetrated Violence
East South Central	1 – highest prevalence of male perpetrated violence
Middle Atlantic	2 – second highest prevalence of male perpetrated violence
West South Central	3 – third highest prevalence of male perpetrated violence
East North Central	4 – third lowest prevalence of male perpetrated violence
New England	5 – second lowest prevalence of male perpetrated violence

Mountain	6 – lowest prevalence of male perpetrated violence
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A Kruskal Wallis nonparametric alternative test of equality of population sizes was run to recheck for statistical significance, revealing that there is not a significant difference between the means of each region. The statistical insignificance found with the Kruskal Wallis nonparametric alternative test is likely due to the fact that sample sizes including only American men were too small. Sample size is one of the major limitations of the present study, since small sample sizes increase the likelihood of insignificance. Nonetheless, statistically significant differences of means for each region were found when running a one-way ANOVA, thus trends in the results may still be commented on. Graph 1.1 displays the mean prevalence of male perpetrated violence by region, the ranking assigned to each region for prevalence of male perpetration in Table 2 can also be seen in the graph.

Graph 1.1: Mean Prevalence of Male Perpetrated Violence per Region



An additional limitation of using the International Dating Violence Study (IDVS) to create the dependent composite variable for prevalence of male perpetration as well as the variable measuring levels of traditional masculine values in each region is the IDVS looks specifically at individuals attending a college or university. Despite the fact that ages in the study ranged from

18-40, using a data set that focuses on all ages would provide a larger and more precise analysis. Because the IDVS did not provide comprehensive data on the presence of hegemonic masculinity, the 2005 World Values Survey was used to create a composite measuring level of hegemonic masculinity in each region. Thus in order to look at the effects that hegemonic masculinity and traditional masculine values have together on prevalence of male perpetrated violence was only possible by comparing the regional means of each dependent variable outside of a statistical program. Had greater time and funding permitted, one data set measuring all three dependent variables across all ages could have been obtained.

A one-way ANOVA performed to compare the six regions' average presence of traditional masculine values produced statistically significant results ($F = 10.14, p < .001$). The range of possible scores for the variable traditional masculine values is between -1 and 2. The mean value for presence of traditional masculine values was found to be highest in the Middle Atlantic region ($M = .344$), followed by the West South Central region ($M = .271$), the East South Central region ($M = .218$), the East North Central region ($M = .176$), the New England region ($M = .051$), and the Mountain region ($M = -.035$). The results for the one-way ANOVA comparing level of traditional masculine values in each region reveal that the Middle Atlantic region has most traditional masculine values of the six regions, while the Mountain region has the least traditional masculine values. Table 2.2 displays the ranking that each region received for level of traditional masculine values present.

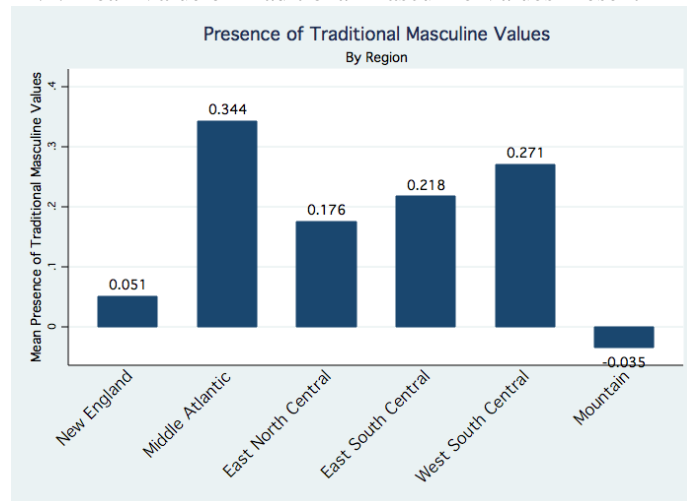
Table 2.2: Rank for Presence of Traditional Masculine Values for Each Region (1= Highest, 6 = Lowest)

Region	Ranking for Presence of Traditional Masculine Values
Middle Atlantic	1 – highest traditional masculine values
West South Central	2 – second highest traditional masculine values
East South Central	3 – third highest traditional masculine values
East North Central	4 – third lowest traditional masculine values

New England	5 – second lowest traditional masculine values
Mountain	6 – lowest traditional masculine values

A Kruskal Wallis nonparametric alternative test was again run to recheck for statistical significance based on equality of population sizes, and revealed that there is a statistically significant difference between the means of traditional masculine values present in each region ($p < .001$). Graph 1.2 displays the mean value of traditional masculine values present in each region. Notice the assigned rankings can also be seen from the graph.

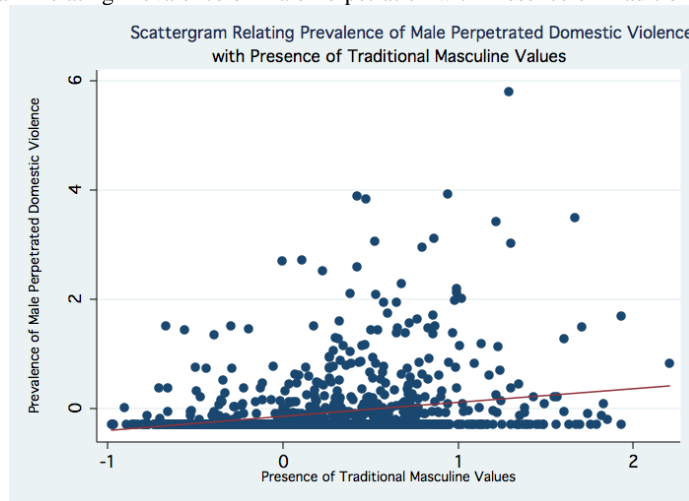
Graph 1.2: Mean Value of Traditional Masculine Values Present in Regions



The findings from the one-way ANOVA between prevalence of male perpetration and region and traditional masculine values and region highlight the relationship between traditional masculine values and prevalence of male perpetration. In the Middle Atlantic region where the presence of traditional masculine values is strongest (ranking of 1), the prevalence of male perpetrated violence is second highest (ranking of 2). The West South Central region shows a similar pattern, with traditional masculine values being ranked the 2nd strongest, and prevalence of male perpetration ranked 3rd highest out of the six regions. The rankings assigned for prevalence

of male perpetration and traditional masculine values in the Middle Atlantic region and the West South Central region reveal that where traditional masculine values are high, prevalence of male perpetration will be higher as well. These results support previous research that men with strong traditional masculine values are more likely to commit domestic violence than men without strong traditional masculine values (Kimmel 2005; Sugarman & Frankel 1996; Lawson, Brossart, Shefferman 2010). The results from the correlation between traditional masculine values and prevalence of male perpetration also support this finding. The correlation between prevalence of male perpetrated violence and traditional masculine values was positive, moderately strong, and statistically significant ($r = .248, p < .001$). The scattergram for the correlation is displayed in graph 2.

Graph 2: Scattergram Relating Prevalence of Male Perpetration with Presence of Traditional Masculine Values



The scattergram with the linear regression line shows the relationship between the two variables. As traditional masculine values get stronger, prevalence of male perpetration also rises.

Results from the one-way ANOVA between traditional masculine values and region and prevalence of male perpetrated violence and region for the other four regions do not as clearly show the positive relationship between traditional masculine values and prevalence of male perpetration.

The East South Central region is ranked 3rd for traditional masculine values, meaning it has the third highest strength of traditional masculine values, and is ranked 1st for prevalence of male perpetration, meaning it has the highest level of male perpetrated domestic violence of the six regions. In the East South Central region it appears that there are more outside factors that are effecting the high rates of male perpetrated violence. The other three regions are all ranked the same for each dependent variable. The East North Central region is ranked 4 for both traditional masculine values and prevalence of male perpetration, meaning that is has the third lowest prevalence of male perpetrated violence and presence of traditional masculine values. The New England region is ranked 5th for both prevalence of male perpetration and traditional masculine values, and the Mountain region is ranked 6th for both. The results from the one-way ANOVA between hegemonic masculinity and the regions help to explain the rankings for the East North Central region, East South Central region, New England region, and Mountain region.

The one-way ANOVA performed to compare the six regions' average presence of hegemonic masculinity produced statistically significant results ($F = 3.72, p < .01$). Possible scores for hegemonic masculinity were between -.11 and .80. The New England region was found to have the highest presence of hegemonic masculinity ($M = .391$), followed by the Mountain region ($M = .387$), the Middle Atlantic region ($M = .369$), the East North Central region ($M = .299$), the East South Central region ($M = .269$), and the West South Central region ($M = .249$). The New England region has the highest presence of hegemonic masculinity, and it thus ranked 1 for levels of hegemonic masculinity, followed by the Mountain region, which is ranked 2nd for highest levels of hegemonic masculinity. The rankings for levels of hegemonic masculinity for all the regions are displayed in Table 2.3.

Table 2.3: Rank for Presence of Hegemonic Masculinity in Each Region (1= Highest, 6 = Lowest)

Region	Ranking for Presence of Hegemonic Masculinity
New England	1 – highest level of hegemonic masculinity
Mountain	2 – second highest level of hegemonic masculinity
Middle Atlantic	3 – third highest level of hegemonic masculinity
East North Central	4 – third lowest level of hegemonic masculinity
East South Central	5 – second lowest level of hegemonic masculinity
West South Central	6 – lowest level of hegemonic masculinity

It is important to note that a high rank for hegemonic masculinity means that there are many people in that region displaying characteristics of hegemonic masculinity, thus the lower the ranking for hegemonic masculinity, the higher the level of other forms of masculinities will be. Thus it can be assumed that in regions with a low rank for hegemonic masculinity, other forms of masculinity, such as marginalized masculinities, are more apparent and likely. A Kruskal Wallis nonparametric alternative test revealed a significant difference between the means for each region as well ($p < .01$).

Graph 1.3 shows the mean values of hegemonic masculinity present in each region.

Graph 1.3: Mean Value of Hegemonic Masculinity Present in Regions

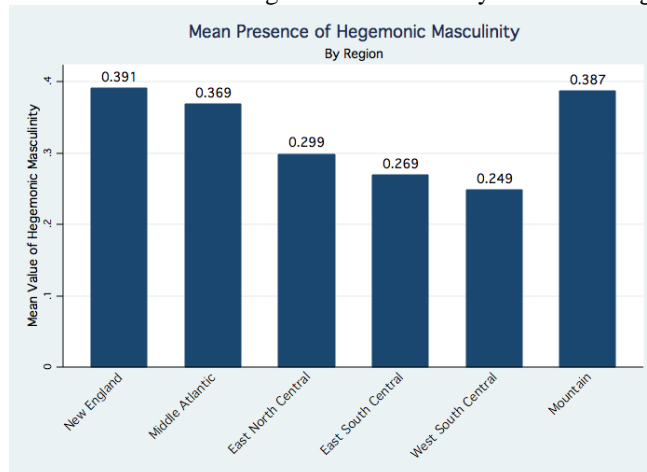


Table 2 displays the mean scores for each dependent variable in each region. The number in parenthesis shows the regions ranking for that particular dependent variable.

Table 3: Mean Scores of Dependent Variables for each region

	Mean Prevalence of Male Perpetration	Mean Presence of Traditional Masculine Values	Mean Presence of Hegemonic Masculinity
New England	-.148 (5)	.051 (5)	.391 (1)
Middle Atlantic	-.003 (2)	.344 (1)	.369 (3)
East North Central	-.122 (4)	.176 (4)	.299 (4)
East South Central	.046 (1)	.218 (3)	.269 (5)
West South Central	-.105 (3)	.271 (2)	.249 (6)
Mountain	-.185 (6)	-.035 (6)	.387 (2)
F value	3.45**	10.14***	3.72**

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

In the New England Region, where there are the highest levels of hegemonic masculinity, and second lowest levels of traditional masculine values, prevalence of male perpetrated violence is ranked second lowest as well. Consistent with statistics from the U.S. Census Bureau, New England level of hegemonic masculinity is high, as is it's median household income and level of educational degree obtained (U.S. Census Bureau 2012). Because income and education both add to one's level of hegemonic masculinity, it is not surprising that New England has the highest level of hegemonic masculinity out of the six regions. The New England region highlights that in areas where more people are living in accordance with expectations of hegemonic masculinity, and where there are not very strong traditional masculine values, the prevalence of male perpetrated domestic violence is lower. Thus access to hegemonic masculinity and weak traditional masculine values have a lowering effect on rates of male perpetrated violence. The Mountain region highlights a similar finding. The Mountain region has the second highest levels of hegemonic masculinity, meaning that there are

many people in the region who are living in accordance with expectations of hegemonic masculinity. The Mountain region also has the weakest level of traditional masculine values and the lowest prevalence of male perpetration.

In regions where there are not high levels of hegemonic masculinity, therefore more individuals are experiencing marginalization from hegemonic masculine ideals, prevalence of male perpetrated violence and traditional masculine values are higher. In the West South Central region where hegemonic masculinity is the lowest, thus marginalized masculinities are higher, and where traditional masculine values are the second highest, prevalence of male perpetrated violence is the third highest. It appears that both low levels of hegemonic masculinity and high levels of traditional masculine values have some effect on higher rates of male perpetrated domestic violence. The same trend is apparent in the East South Central region, where levels of hegemonic masculinity are second lowest, traditional masculine values are third highest, and where male perpetrated violence is the most prevalent. In these two regions it seems as if low levels of hegemonic masculinity, and thus higher experience of marginalization, have a greater effect on prevalence on violence. The correlation run between prevalence of male perpetration and family income support the findings from the New England, Mountain, East South Central and West South Central regions. The correlation shows that when family income rises, prevalence of perpetration decreases ($r = -.061, p < .05$). I found New England to have the highest levels of hegemonic masculinity, followed by the Mountain region. U.S. Census data also shows that New England and the Mountain region have the highest median household income and third highest median household income, respectively, of the six regions (U.S. Census Bureau 2012). An additional correlation run between income and hegemonic masculinity also found the two to be positively correlated ($r = .390, p < .001$), meaning that as income rises so too does hegemonic masculinity and vice versa. The Mountain and New

England regions also have the lowest rate of male perpetrated violence, thus we know that high levels of hegemonic masculinity has a lowering effect on prevalence of male perpetrated violence. Since income is connected with hegemonic masculinity, the negative correlation between prevalence of male perpetrated violence and income reveals that lower levels of hegemonic masculinity may have a heightening effect on prevalence of male perpetrated violence. This effect is apparent in the East South Central and West South Central regions, where levels hegemonic masculinity are small and male perpetrated violence is prevalent. The results for the correlations between prevalence of male perpetrated violence and income, and hegemonic masculinity and income are shown in Table 4.

Table 4: Correlation Results for Relationship of Income on Hegemonic Masculinity and Prevalence of Male Perpetration

	Income
Prevalence of Male Perpetration	-.061*
Hegemonic Masculinity	.390***

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

Discussion

Previous research has found that men with strong traditional masculine values are more likely to commit domestic violence than men without strong traditional masculine values (Kimmel 2005; Sugarman & Frankel 1996). Previous research has also found that the attempt to adhere to hegemonic ideals creates masculine gender role stress that increases the likeliness of a man committing domestic violence (Parrott & Gallagher 2011). Thus for men without much access to hegemonic masculinity, gender role stress will be stronger and therefore the perpetration of domestic violence more likely. What this study aimed to find out was not the validity of previous findings, but rather if the combination of having traditional masculine values while also being outside of the hegemonic ideal creates the greatest occurrence of male perpetrated domestic violence. In order to

test the effects that both strong traditional masculine values and lack of access to hegemonic masculinity has on prevalence of male perpetrated domestic violence, the average presence of each were found in six regions of the United States as defined by the U.S. Census. Each dependent variable was then ranked with 1 being highest and 6 being lowest, and the rankings were compared and analyzed. The hypothesis was thus that rates of male perpetrated domestic violence are highest in regions where there is little hegemonic masculinity, and thus greater forms of marginalized masculinities, and strong traditional masculine values. I found that greater traditional masculine values increase prevalence of male perpetrated domestic violence, and also that greater levels of hegemonic masculinity decrease prevalence of male perpetrated violence. Thus I was able to prove my hypothesis that prevalence of male perpetrated violence is highest when there are strong traditional masculine values in a region as well as low levels of hegemonic masculinity.

Gender role stress is likely to have played a role in the results. Since masculine gender role stress is found to be highest when men attempt to adhere to expectations of hegemonic masculinity (Parrot and Gallagher 2011). In regions where more people are living within the expectations of hegemonic masculinity, masculine gender role stress is not as prevalent, and thus neither are rates of male perpetrated domestic violence. The present study thus reflects Parrot and Gallagher's findings that masculine gender role stress arising out of an attempt to adhere to hegemonic masculinity increases the likeliness that men will commit domestic violence. The present study also supports findings that having traditional masculine values is positively associated with rates of domestic violence committed by men (Kimmel 2005; Sugarman and Frankel 1996).

Each of the regions support some aspect of the hypothesis. The New England and Mountain region show that where there is little marginalization from the hegemonic ideal and a weak sense of traditional masculine values, prevalence of male perpetrated domestic violence is low. The West

South Central and East South Central region show that where there is little hegemonic masculinity, and greater marginalization, as well as strong traditional masculine values, prevalence of male perpetrated violence is higher. The East North Central region shows that where there is a relatively high level of hegemonic masculinity, and relatively low level of traditional masculine values, prevalence of male perpetrated violence is also relatively low. The Middle Atlantic region shows that where there is some hegemonic masculinity and some marginalized masculinities, and very strong traditional masculine values, prevalence of male perpetration is high.

This study adds to the literature by highlighting the relationship between traditional masculine values, hegemonic masculinity, and rates of domestic violence committed by men. Specifically, this study adds to the literature by showing that greater access to the hegemonic masculine ideal decreases prevalence of male perpetrated violence.

The present study and results were limited by the datasets used. Without a single more conducive dataset I was only able to look at the rates of hegemonic masculinity per region and infer upon the effect that the presence of hegemonic masculinity and traditional masculine values simultaneously have on rates of domestic violence. With more time and funding I would have been able to look at how individual lack of access to hegemonic masculinity at the same time as high levels of traditional masculine values effect domestic violence rates. In order to look more closely at the effects that traditional masculine values and hegemonic masculinity have on the likeliness that individual men will commit domestic violence, data from male respondents about their attitudes towards women and men's social roles, their opinions about the violence they have committed as well as how often they have committed violence, and their specific social demographics that highlight their personal level of accessibility to the hegemonic masculine ideal must be collected.

Further research measuring individual masculine gender role stress as well as a greater focus on race and the specific effect had on prevalence of violence would also add to the findings.

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