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Assessing how adult attachment and gender role attitudes impact intimate partner violence

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ASSESSING HOW ADULT ATTACHMENT AND GENDER ROLE ATTITUDES IMPACT INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE

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ABSTRACT

Intimate partner violence (IPV) describes the physical, sexual or psychological violence and abuse by a former partner or spouse. This study explored the relationship between adult attachment style and gender role attitudes, and level of physical violence and coercive control present in an intimate relationship. This dataset is drawn from a larger research study of male batterers who participated in the domestic violence program of the Circuit Court of Cook County Social Services Department (DVP). This data was collected from November 2001 through April 2003 and includes quantitative data for one hundred fifty-four men. Attachment Style was measured using the "Relationship Scales Questionnaire" (RSQ), an instrument used to assess attachment style in close relationships. Gender Role Attitude was measured using the Sex Role Egalitarianism Scale (SRES), an instrument that accounts for a person's attitude towards the equality of men and women. Level of physical violence was measured using the "Revised Conflict Tactics Scale" (CTS2), and the "Psychological Maltreatment of Women Index" (PMWI) was used to measure the amount of control participants exerted in their intimate relationship. Overall fearful-avoidant attachment produced a statistically significant relationship with both level of physical abuse and emotional-verbal coercive control, and anxious-avoidant attachment produced a statistically significant relationship with emotional-verbal coercive control. Conclusions, limitations of the study, and future directions for research are discussed.

Keywords: adult attachment, gender role attitude, intimate partner violence, coercive control, masculinity, feminism, intersectionality

Introduction

In the United States alone, 20 people every minute experience violence from an intimate partner, and statistics show that intimate partner violence (IPV) affects nearly 12 million men and women in the United States, every year (Black et al., 2010). Intimate partner violence describes the "physical, sexual, or psychological harm by a current or former partner or spouse" ("Intimate Partner Violence," 2014). 25% of women will report being raped, physically assaulted, or stalked over their lifetimes, and 1.5 million women will report such abuse annually (Tiefenthaler, Farmer, & Sambira, 2005). As alarming as these figures appear, they unfortunately only capture a fraction of the violence that occurs in intimate relationships. In a 1998 U.S. Department of Justice report on IPV, it was found that around 50% of survivors of domestic violence do not report abuse to the police. Although the topic of IPV had gained more attention since this report was published, the Department of Justice's 2014 Special Report on Nonfatal Domestic Violence found that the percentage of IPV survivors who report the violence to police is still hovering near the halfway mark at 55%, with only a fraction following through with prosecution. Garner and Maxwell (2009) reviewed 135 English language studies and found that, on average, one third of domestic violence reports resulted in charges, and only about half of all prosecutions resulted in conviction. Similarly, Hirschel (2008) analyzed data from case records from 25 police stations in 4 different states and found that convictions were 1.5 times more likely if the victim was physically injured. These compelling statistics demonstrate why domestic violence remains such a relevant and critical topic of study.

Intimate partner violence is often theorized within paradigms of power and control. Sociological and feminist theorizing has positioned violence against an intimate partner as a phenomenon which must be discussed alongside individuals' social positioning. This includes

recognizing how race, gender, class and other social locations are necessary components of the frameworks we use to analyze and understand this type of violence (Crenshaw, 1991; Daniels 1997; Ritchie 2012). Feminists in particular have increased society's awareness of, and responses to, domestic violence while connecting it to gender hierarchies. Domestic violence, as a social issue, can be traced back to the mid-1600s where Puritans in colonial Massachusetts enacted the first laws against wife beating (Daniels, 1997; Kelly, 2003). As the U.S has gone through significant cultural and social changes since then, it is remarkable that violence against women still remains a major obstacle for societies to overcome.

Second wave feminists and the social movements of the 1960s and 1970s have been successful not only in forwarding violence against women as a social problem worthy of attention, but a gendered analysis of violence has produced insight into how large-scale cultural and institutional forces influence intimate relations (Bryson, 2003; Roth, 2004). Feminists developed arguments centered on patriarchy, a social system in which men hold primary power. A strategy employed by feminist activists to bring attention to domestic violence and to create accountability for men who batter, the criminal legal system became the focus of these goals (Daniels, 1997).

Beginning in the early 1990s, feminists relied on the criminal legal system to combat domestic violence (Daniels, 1997). Because it was proposed as an issue of gender inequalities, laws were enacted that reflected the gendered dynamics of feminist arguments. Mandatory arrest policies and the Violence Against Women Act are just two examples of the collaboration between activists and the legal system (Gondolf, 2002). Batterer accountability soon began to take the form of intervention programs specifically designed to locate men's violence within their own internalized views of women (Gondolf, 2002; Holtzworth-Munroe, 1994). Batterer

intervention programs were developed as a possible way to initiate discussions with men who batter about the relationship between gender and violence, with a focus on power and control. Ideally, these programs educate men as to why violence against women is wrong and connect their views to larger social structures, such as sexism and misogyny. But as these policies and programs seemed to reflect progress on the part of feminist efforts to combat IPV, the steady and even increasing rates of IPV to the present day have been disheartening (Black et al., 2011).

Intimate partner violence is an issue that affects the lives of a vast number of people. Society's awareness of IPV and its consequences make it no surprise that it has become a prominent area of research, even reaching across multiple and seemingly discordant disciplines (Dutton & Corvo, 2006; DeKeseredy & Dragiewicz, 2007). To get a glimpse into the tension surrounding research in this domain, one need only read Dutton and Corvo's 2006 article entitled "Transforming a flawed policy: A call to revive psychology and science in domestic violence research and practice". In this article, Dutton and Corvo argue against batterer treatment based off any model that centers gendered power dynamics. Throughout their piece, the authors repeatedly point to research denying the relationship between domestic violence and sexism, while failing to address studies that have indeed showed this relationship to exist. The main purpose of the piece is not only to call on a revival of psychology and science in IPV research (a deliberate imposition that feminist-informed research isn't based on science), but also to refuse the notion that feminist approaches to batterer intervention can and do consider psychological factors. As a response to Dutton and Corvo's article, Edward Gondolf (2007) published a response piece in the same academic journal where he argues that there is indeed psychological theory and support for intervention models that utilize gendered power dynamics as their core educational component, but more importantly, these vitriolic approaches to IPV research "shut-

off needed dialogue and debate rather than further those developments." (p. 644).

Some studies on IPV have shown that although men and women perpetrate violence in the home at similar rates (Dutton, 2006; Johnson, 2008), it is necessary to place these violent interactions within a social context of gendered power differentials (Catlett, Toews & Walilko, 2010; Dobash & Dobash, 1979). A 2011 issue of the journal *Aggression and Violent Behavior* contained articles from Michael Johnson, Edward Gondolf, and Walter DeKeseredy, all prominent researchers in this area, arguing that gendered power dynamics play an integral part in the perpetration of domestic violence.

Taking into consideration the activist, feminist and scholarly history of intimate partner violence scholarship, my study hopes to combine approaches (both empirical and theoretical) that have proved difficult and somewhat controversial to consider in tandem. This particular study seeks to forward a collaborative approach to IPV research by bringing together feminist-informed scholarship and psychological research. To do this, I will inquire whether the level of physical violence within abusive relationships (reported by instances per year) can be predicted through social and psychological factors, with a particular focus on gender role attitudes and adult attachment. Figure 1 is a conceptual model of the hypothesized relationship between adult attachment style and the dependent variables, level of physical violence and coercive control. Figure 2 is a conceptual model of the hypothesized relationship between the second independent variable being tested, gender role attitude, and the dependent variables, level of physical violence and coercive control. In this particular study the following research questions will be addressed:

- Does adult attachment style and gender role attitude affect the level of physical abuse in intimate relationships?

- Does adult attachment style and gender role attitude affect the level of coercive control in intimate relationships?

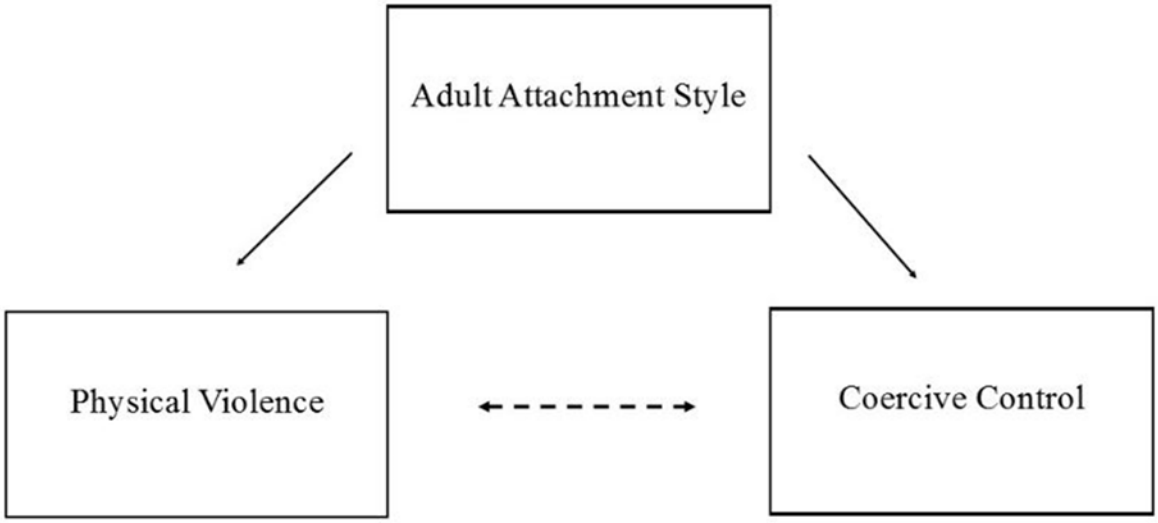


Figure 1. Conceptual model showing hypothesized relationship between adult attachment style and dependent variables.

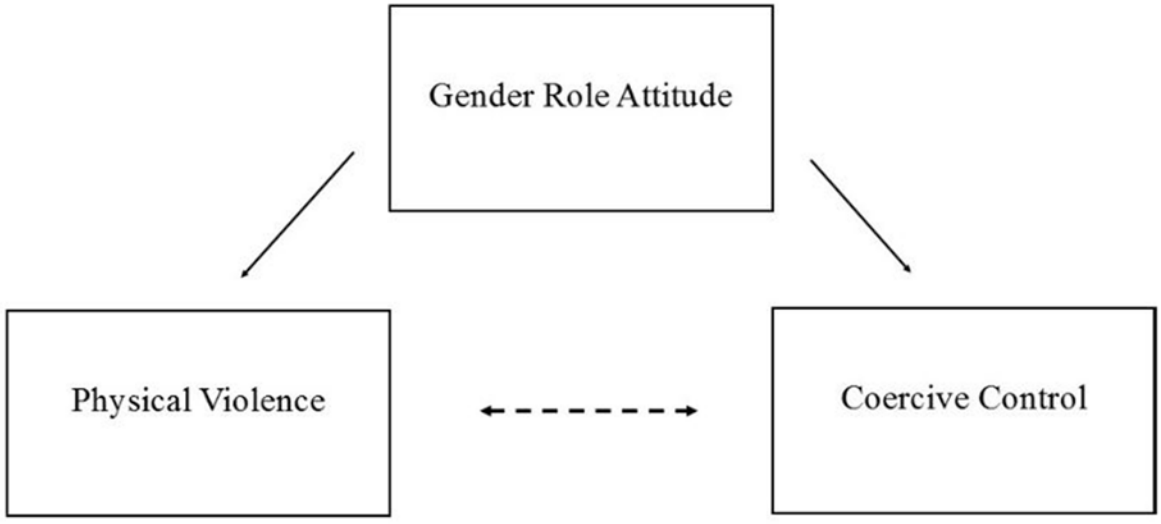


Figure 2. Conceptual model showing hypothesized relationship between gender role attitude and dependent variables.

Theoretical Foundations

This research is grounded in feminist theoretical perspectives, specifically intersectionality and the social construction of masculinity. These two foundations have guided this work in a number of ways. First, forwarding a feminist approach to IPV research has influenced the *who* in this study. By focusing on male perpetrators, this work hones in on the causes of battering and places the focus on men and the reasons they batter. Similar to more recent shifts in sexual assault discourse, this approach promotes the notion that society should focus on the cause(s) of IPV as an approach to its eradication. Secondly, an intersectional framework allows for a layered analysis of the social positioning of the men in this study. By considering the intersection of race, class and education, this research considers how combinations of different social factors influence men's likelihood to be controlling and physically violent in intimate relationships. Finally, understanding the social construction of masculinities allows this work to combine the men's social positioning, alongside their (lack of) access to power in their relationships and society.

Intersectionality

Intersectionality is an integral framework for this research, and a vital theoretical tool that is necessary when analyzing issues of domestic violence. The defining article arguing for intersectionality in domestic violence prevention and response work is Kimberlé Crenshaw's (1991) "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color." In this article Crenshaw notes the specific obstacles encountered by women of color attempting to flee domestic abuse. As shelters have been part of the social landscape of the U.S. for decades (Few, 2005), Crenshaw criticizes how shelters are managed as women of color, and

especially women whose native language is not English, are refused access to shelters and are forced to either remain homeless until they can find a shelter that will accommodate their needs, or they will return to their house, most likely with their male partners waiting to inflict more violence (Crenshaw, 1991). Throughout her article, Crenshaw points to numerous instances where race, class and nationality illuminate the need for an intersectional approach to domestic violence work, and how dangerous and limiting it is for those whose identities may result in additional obstacles before receiving the help they need.

Historically, it has been argued, that social movements lacking an intersectional lens oftentimes overlook or ignore those most vulnerable. Feminist thought emerging during the 1960s and 1970s centered on a critique of feminism's first wave, specifically its white, middle-class focus (Roth, 2004). The concurrent civil rights and black power movements, alongside second wave feminisms, were especially influential in drawing attention to the absence of women of color from dominant feminist discourses up until this point. As liberal feminists of the first wave fought for open accessibility to the public sphere while still being primarily responsible for the private, second wave feminists challenged the notion of separate spheres by arguing that "the personal is political" and that social institutions directly influence how power and privilege are distributed in both the public *and* private realms (Roth, 2004).

Black and Chicana feminists of the second wave, alongside white feminists, developed analyses of feminism, which simultaneously discussed issues of race, class *and* gender. This intersectional approach to activist organizing and thought was and still is highly influential in the relationship between theory and praxis. "Feminists of color constructed intersectional theory on the basis of their lived experiences and embodied knowledge." (Roth, 2004, p. 13).

My analysis of domestic violence brings intersectionality and the impact of marginalized identities on the perpetration of domestic violence to the forefront. Without this theoretical tool I would be extremely limited in my attempts to uncover the underlying causes of IPV within this sample of men, and the potential ways to address this issue from a preventative standpoint.

Social Construction of Masculinity

In recent decades the discipline of gender studies has seen an increase in research on men and masculinities (Kimmel, Hearn, & Connell, 2005). As gender and feminist studies have demanded attention be paid to women and their socially subordinate status in society, the privilege of masculinity was unmasked and for the first time gender was not seen as something only possessed by women. This is explained by a sociological understanding of privilege where "the mechanisms that afford us privilege are very often invisible to us. [M]en often think of themselves as genderless, as if gender did not matter in the daily experiences of [their] lives." (Kimmel & Messner, 2007, p. xvi). As research and attention started to focus on masculinity, it was initially void of an intersectional analysis. Introducing the term "masculinities", R.W. Connell (2005) challenged singular conceptions of masculinity and introduced a multi-layered analysis of how masculine identities are attained and performed in men's lives within a framework encompassing race, class and sexuality.

Over the course of interviews with men, Connell argues that singular conceptions of masculinity do not exist, but it is actually many different masculinities that are associated with different positions of power. Here we are introduced to the idea that masculinities exist within a hierarchy of hegemonic and subordinate. From her studies we see that concepts and performances of masculinities change and shift through negotiations of race, class, and sexuality.

From interviews with men and their constructions of masculinity from certain social locations, Connell details how hegemonic and subordinate masculinities function. Connell's theorizing of multiple masculinities is a prism illuminating the various ways in which masculinity is displayed within relations of power. As will become evident later, racial analyses of masculinities are extremely important because they position men differently to relations of power and require men to perform their “manhood” in different ways. Though it is important to understand that even as Connell has argued for multiple conceptions of masculinity, she also states that as a dynamic, history shows a strong linkage between masculine dominating feminine; although masculinities exist on a hierarchy, the masculine, as a singular concept, dominates the feminine. Though this may seem oversimplified, different variations of masculinity interact differently with variations of femininity producing complex relationships between men and women, sexually and non sexually.

Subordinate masculinities can be seen in the ways race, sexuality, and class interact with gender. Connell details working class masculinities and shows how they are constructed against middle and upper class white masculinities. “[M]asculinity also develops in a marginal class situation, where the claim to power that is central in hegemonic masculinity is constantly negated by economic and cultural weakness” (Connell, 2005, p. 116). As hegemonic masculinity posits wealth and financial stability as markers of successful manhood, working class men need to negotiate their masculinity in different ways, such as focusing on the physicality of their labor or their assumed dominance over women and homosexuals. This can be seen in the ways that working class men who are interviewed by Connell talk about women in demeaning ways. A view of class-based masculinities shows that while hegemonic masculinities revolve around the most privileged in society, subordinate masculinities illuminate how males are differentially

positioned to relations of power. Racial analyses of masculinities have been gaining more attention within social science research, and black masculinities have been studied at a higher rate than other marginalized races.

Black masculinities are limited in how successful manhood is achieved since one's race can create additional barriers to "successes" traditionally associated with manhood (Harper, 2007). Oliver (1988, 1989) argues that dominant African American masculinities can be bifurcated into two categories, "player of women" and "tough guy". Tough guys show their manliness through being aggressive and initiating fights and altercations. This toughness incites fear in others and expresses to their peers that they are not afraid or easily intimidated. The "tough guy" demeanor also impacts the success of black men in school. "African American males of all ages are perceived as dangerous and disproportionately lead to a harsher set of penalties in schools and society." (Harper, 2007, p. 43). The other way in which black masculinities take form is through the "player of women" trope. More common among black teenagers and young adults, this form of masculinity involves having multiple girlfriends and sexual partners. It necessitates heterosexuality as the defining feature of manhood and is highly influenced by media images of black men. Examples of this are seen as media representations overwhelmingly popularize and celebrate black men as successful in careers where they are surrounded by women. Images of rappers, pimps and athletes oftentimes show them surrounded by women and financially successful (Harper 2007, p. 44; May, 2009). When media commonly promotes black males within these two tropes of masculinity, it becomes evident that race plays a primary role in the construction of masculinities. Also obvious within this racial analysis is the multiple and complex processes involved in boys' and men's constructions of their manhood.

A conception of masculinities which is simultaneously gay exemplifies how femininity and homosexuality are conflated and run counter to hegemonic masculinity. This is an instance where the vulnerability of hegemonic masculine identities is exposed. This vulnerability of masculinity and manhood has been explained in many different ways, one of which is that this vulnerability stems from a reliance on femininity to give masculine identities their meaning (Connell, 2005, p. 43). As both masculine and feminine are defined against each other, a stark and aggressive separation of both is necessary for masculinity to maintain its dominance. But as gay masculinities are ranked as "beneath" heterosexual ones, the multidimensional reality of such orientations subordinates gay men by equating gay identities to femininity.

The paradox of men as both powerful and powerless is another theme in the literature. "Men's studies observe two aspects of men's lives. First, in objective social analysis, men as a group have power over women as a group; but, in their subjective experience of the world, men as individuals do not feel powerful." (Capraro, 2007, p. 184). Men are viewed as powerful when their representations and performance of masculinity is accepted by their peers. Their subscription to social norms of what constitutes a man reinforces the necessity of male peers in the embodiment of masculinity. As men go through their lives, the constant fear of being unmasked as feminine or a sissy creates a conundrum where men are compelled to show others that they are not feminine, weak or gay through acts of violence, aggression and hostile or absent feelings and emotions. Because violence, aggression, physicality, and heterosexuality are such powerful elements to manhood, the most accepted and celebrated ways to showcase masculinity is through sports, fraternities and sexual conquests of women (Binder, 2001; Kalof & Cargill, 1991; Kivel, 2007; Messner, 2005; O'Neil, Helms, Gable, & Wrightsman, 1986).

Key themes that evolve from literature on masculinities are vast, but another common

one is status frustration caused by social marginalization (DeKeseredy & Schwartz, 2005). Coinciding with analyses of race, class and sexuality, this frustration is caused by “economically and socially marginalized young men's inability to accomplish masculinity at school through academic achievement, participation in sports, and involvement in extracurricular activities.” (p. 360). Important in this literature is the central role that race and class play in negotiating masculinities. As financial stability and educational attainment are key factors in masculine identities, a racial analysis brings up questions of how masculinities are constructed and viewed differently by race. Because barriers to employment and education limit how men of color can participate in hegemonic masculinity, there are unique ways in which their masculine identities are performed. White masculine ideals are unattainable for men of color; therefore, these men must find alternative ways to prove their manliness (Harper, 2007).

It has been shown that as males are judged against their peers, they are compelled to distance themselves from feminine and gay stereotypes to showcase their masculinity and manhood (Connell, 1993, 2005; Harper, 2007; O'Neil et al., 2010). Utilizing male peers in the construction of a masculine identity, boys and men are taught that competition, and the outpacing and overpowering of other men and boys is a way to exhibit “proper” manhood.

> Boys grow up to be wary of each other. [They] are taught to compete with one another at school, and to struggle to prove [themselves] outside it, on the street, the playground and the sports field. Later [they] fight for status over sexual prowess, or money, or physical strength or technical know-how...the pressure is on how to act tough. [They] fear humiliation or exclusion, or ultimately the violence of other boys if [they] fail to conform. (Morrison and Eardley, 1985, p. 19).

To conceal the vulnerability of masculinity, the borders between masculine and feminine must be

aggressively policed. Men and young boys who do not fit into gender scripts are more likely to experience physical and verbal abuse by their male peers. Paul Kivel (2007) describes the ways in which masculinity is enforced through an “Act Like a Man” Box. Within this box are characteristics associated with masculinity that are verbally or physically enforced by peers. Normative masculine traits such as no feelings, don't cry, low self-worth, isolation, and sadness are coupled with emotions of anger, intimidation and not backing down to create a rigid orientation which is arguably impossible to maintain. Though as these masculine character traits and emotions are sometimes generalized to *all* males, the social location of men and boys is of utmost importance. “Although the box is a metaphor for the pressures all boys must respond to, the possibility that a boy will have control over the conditions of his life varies depending on his race, class, and culture.” (p. 149).

Verbal abuse is used to police the borders of masculinity and include insults such as wimp, girl or bitch (p. 149). Consistent with other findings of the importance of distancing masculinity from femininity, these verbal insults by male peers are utilized to restrict the behavior of men and boys and to confine them into rigid and arguably unhealthy identities. But as males are discouraged from showing emotions that are considered feminine or passive, there are caveats in this as some men feel pressure to not display emotion or feelings in front of male peers, but allow themselves to convey emotions with women (Davis, 2010). “Opening up to women as friends was seen as safer and easier than being vulnerable to other men. Although this appeared to be true with female friends, there was some fear that expressive and relational behavior might be penalized if women were seen as potential partners.” (p. 57). Again, there is a strong connection between masculinity and sexuality where heterosexuality comprises a large part of masculine identities.

Many studies have discussed the negative health impacts of masculine identities and because masculinity requires men and boys to adhere to strict and impossible-to-follow norms, the constant policing of gender by male peer groups works to aggressively patrol the borders of what constitutes a man (Griffith, Gunther, & Watkins, 2012). The borders of masculinity shift as men get older, and are reinforced in varied ways. When we look at health and masculinity discourses, there are common themes of sports involvement and alcohol consumption, which are implications of masculine identities founded upon aggressive behavior and violence. Pleck, Sonenstein, and Ku (1994) found that adolescent boys were more likely to participate in behaviors which would increase their likelihood for school suspensions and being picked up by the police. Similarly, Sabo (2007) found that young men's attitudes on masculinity encouraged them have multiple heterosexual partners and resulted in higher rates of drinking and use of street drugs. These behaviors have been linked to increased likelihood of contracting sexually transmitted diseases and HIV, as well as early death by accident or homicide (p. 289).

The consumption of alcohol is also a site when researchers find that men's health is dramatically affected (Capraro, 2007; LaBrie et al., 2010; Sabo, 2005). From this research it has been found that men's consumption of alcohol is related to work and socializing where men feel compelled and encouraged to drink alcohol at gatherings with friends and coworkers. Linking this back to peer groups, we see that men's health is intricately linked to how masculinities are enforced by male peers as sites of encouragement and regulation. As men are reportedly more likely to binge drink than women, this leads to increased risks of accidents, injury and unprotected sex (Sabo, 2005, p. 331).

Foundational Literature

The previously mentioned theoretical foundations, combined with existing literature on

IPV, leads to this study's interest in the personality characteristics of adult attachment and coercive control, and the relationship of these characteristics with the perpetration of physical violence and beliefs on gender roles. Social constructions of masculinities argue that the socialization of boys and men as aggressive and dominant creates an unrealistic and unhealthy understanding of masculinity. Because intimate partner violence is studied by a wide array of disciplines, the primary focus of this literature review is research on the variables of this study: adult attachment, coercive control, and gender role attitude.

Adult Attachment

Adult attachment has played a large role in psychological studies, and findings in this area consistently show a relationship between insecure attachment and IPV (Buck, Leenaars, Emmelkamp, & Marle, 2012; Dutton, 2006; Holtzworth-Monroe & Stuart, 1994). Adult attachment theory is a continuation of John Bowlby's attachment theory, which looked at mother-child relationships as being a formative aspect of childhood development. Specifically, attachment theory focuses on how infants respond to separation from a caregiver (Bowlby, 1958). Adult attachment theory is guided by the same focus on separation, but is applied to emotionally intimate relationships between adults (Fraley, 2010). Bartholomew and Horowitz (1991) describe 4 categories of adult attachment styles, shown in figure 3. The 4 attachment categories they describe are secure, preoccupied, dismissive–avoidant, and fearful–avoidant. Secure describes an individual who has a "sense of worthiness plus an expectation that other people are generally accepting and responsive." (p. 227). Insecure describes individuals with some combination of either negative feelings of self and/or negative feelings of others. Within insecure attachment there are three categories: dismissive-avoidant, anxious-preoccupied, and fearful-avoidant.

Figure 3. Model of adult attachment (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991)

		MODEL OF SELF (Dependence)	
		POSITIVE (low)	NEGATIVE (high)
MODEL OF OTHER (Avoidance)	POSITIVE (low)	Secure *Comfortable with intimacy and autonomy*	Preoccupied *Preoccupied with relationships*
	NEGATIVE (high)	Dismissing *Dismissing of intimacy Counter-dependent*	Fearful *Fearful of intimacy Socially avoidant*

Although the relationship between adult attachment and IPV has been studied and tested for decades, there is still much debate around how helpful attachment measures actually are in IPV research. Studies testing this relationship really do produce oscillating results, from arguing that adult attachment is not an indicator of closeness in intimate relationships, to studies that show attachment to be an integral component of research on violent relationships. Kurdek (2002) used the Adult Attachment Scale (AAS) surveyed a sample of 61 gay, 42 lesbian, and 155 heterosexual couples and found that attachment was not a significant indicator of whether a person feels close to their partner. In contrast, Collins and Read (1990) and Hazan and Shaver (1987) found attachment to be an appropriate indicator of relationship satisfaction. Collins and Read (1990) surveyed 406 undergraduates from the University of Southern California, ranging in age from 17-37 and found that "dimensions of attachment style were strongly related to how each partner perceived the relationship." (p. 644). Hazan and Shaver (1987) employed a newspaper questionnaire and analyzed the first 620 replies. They found a strong relationship between self-reported attachment style and feelings about one's relationship, such as those with an avoidant attachment style reporting higher levels of emotional highs and lows, and jealousy

(p. 515). It is precisely the personality characteristics that are produced from these attachment styles that influence the likelihood of physical and emotional violence in intimate relationships.

Insecure attachment is thought to produce personality characteristics, such as dependency, jealousy, and impulsivity, which increase the likelihood of violent behaviors (Mikulincer & Shaver, 2010; Timmerman & Emmelkamp, 2005). Studies have found that male batterers are often more insecure in their attachment characteristics than nonbatterers (Buck et al., 2012; Dutton et al., 1994; Mauricio & Gormley, 2001). Although previous studies have found this relationship to be significant, researchers are still unable to explain the reasoning behind why an insecurely attached man would be more likely to batter. Recent studies suggest that personality and psychological characteristics, such as stress, impulsivity, and jealousy may be the explanatory link (Buck et al., 2012).

Overall, attachment characteristics have been found to have explanatory significance in IPV research, therefore my analysis includes this variable.

Gender Role Attitudes

A focus on gender role attitudes in IPV literature is extensive and its use was quite explosive in the 1980s and 1990s. Studies that have looked at gender role attitudes and IPV have predominantly shown that men who abuse their female partners are often more traditional and less egalitarian than nonbatterers (Berkel, Vandiver, & Bahner, 2004). Crossman, Stith, and Bender (1990) found that gender role attitudes are a significant indicator of marital violence with men enrolled in anger management programs. Stith and Farley (1993) surveyed 115 men (44 of which were enrolled in male violence prevention programs) and found a significant predictor of the presence of marital violence was the Sex Role Egalitarianism variable. More specifically, the

study found that views of traditional gender roles had a significant positive relationship with the use of severe violence within the marriage. Interestingly, the men's self-esteem was significantly negatively related to approval of marital violence and marital stress.

Some studies that look at the intersection of gender (specifically masculinity) and stress suggest that the ways in which stress is handled by men is important in understanding violent interactions. Umberson et al. (2003) argues that the relationship between stress and masculinity often produce unhealthy responses from individuals who possess "masculine" distress styles (e.g. hiding emotions, alcohol consumption) (p. 234). It is possible that social stressors produced through racial and/or economic marginalization, coupled with expectations of masculinity, can create coping mechanisms in men where stress is dealt with in unhealthy ways. These unhealthy responses to stress and confrontation have been shown to increase impulsive and explosive behaviors (Repetti, 1992; Umberson et al., 2003).

Although there are many instruments available to assess a person's beliefs towards gender roles, Anderson (2005) argues that there have been inconsistencies in the ways in which gender has been measured within IPV research. As debates have been centered on obtaining accurate measurements of violence, instruments used to measure gender role attitudes have not gotten the same attention or critical analyses. This argument is important in the literature as it does encourage us to understand the tools we use and the process they have gone through in order to be valid and reliable. Nevertheless, the relationship between gender role attitude and IPV has been found to be quite strong in the literature, therefore it is included in my analysis.

Coercive Control

Coercive control is a term that describes the impact of domestic violence beyond its

physical attributes, and includes a pattern of controlling behaviors exhibited by perpetrators (Stark, 2007). Feminist scholars have argued that controlling behaviors are central to IPV, and that this component of abuse actually has the most devastating and long lasting psychological effects on survivors (Anderson, 2008; Stark, 2007; Street & Arias, 2001). Typologies of IPV have been developed to delineate domestically violent interactions. More current typologies have been theorized that are predicated upon the presence or absence of coercive control in intimate confrontation and disputes. Currently dominating the sociological discourse on domestic violence typologies is Michael Johnson's 2008 book, *A Typology of Domestic Violence: Intimate Terrorism, Violent Resistance, and Situational Couple Violence.* In his book Johnson argues that violence in relationships can and does occur without the intent of one person controlling the other and distinguishes three typologies of IPV to further explain.

Johnson's two typologies that have garnered the most attention are intimate terrorism and situational couple violence. Johnson's first typology, intimate terrorism, is centered on the idea of patriarchy and presence of controlling behaviors. It includes the presence of not only physical violence perpetrated by men, but other forms of coercive control, such as limiting a woman's access to friends, family and economic independence, and stalking. Johnson's second and oft-criticized typology is termed situational couple violence. Situational couple violence is violence that, as Johnson argues, is absent from coercive control and is situationally provoked. According to Johnson, situational couple violence occurs when a conflict escalates from verbal confrontation to physical violence. Johnson argues that most IPV falls within this typology, is perpetrated equally by men and women, and is largely due to ineffective communication.

Within Johnson's typologies it is apparent that his typology of intimate terrorism closely aligns with feminist theorizing of domestic violence because it accounts for men's social

dominance in intimate heterosexual relationships. Johnson's notion of situational couple violence is more contested by feminist scholars of IPV, which is not at all surprising due to how stark of a contrast exists between this typology and existing literature and research, especially that which describes men's and women's violence in intimate relationships as wholly different (Jasinski, Blumenstein, & Morgan, 2014; Tanha et al., 2010). In particular, this typology refutes the notion that gendered power differentials and social constructions of gender are ever-present in IPV.

Robertson and Murachver (2011) sampled 172 men and women using the Revised Conflict Tactics Scale (CTS2) to measure IPV and the Psychological Maltreatment of Women Inventory (PMWI) to measure coercive control. They found that controlling and coercive behaviors were typical of perpetrators of IPV and the best predictor of violence was, in their study, coercive control. Tanha, Beck, Figueredo, and Raghavan (2010) used the Relationship Behavior Rating Scale (RBRS) to survey a sample of 762 divorcing heterosexual couples. The researchers found a positive relationship between coercive control and women's overall level of victimization, and that men disproportionately perpetrated coercive control, psychological abuse, and intimidation over their partner more than the reverse.

Methodology

My dataset is drawn from a larger research study of male batterers who participated in the domestic violence program of the Circuit Court of Cook County Social Services Department (DVP). The Cook County DVP was initiated in 1979 and has staff that is specially trained in group intervention and supervision of men who have been found guilty of being violent towards a female partner. Invitations to participate in the study were extended to all men who attended orientation for the DVP's mandatory intervention program, and participants received a $25 gift

certificate for their participation. Of those invited, 72% chose to participate and received a small gift card for doing so. The data was collected from November 2001 through April 2003 and includes quantitative data for 154 men.

Statistical modeling was utilized as an analytical tool to examine how social phenomena such as intimate partner violence is impacted by adult attachment style and attitudes about gender roles. Tarling (2009) explains that in social science research, "statistical modeling is undertaken for one of four main reasons: (1) to improve understanding of causality and the development of theory, (2) to make predictions, (3) to assess the effect of different characteristics, (4) to reduce the dimensionality of data." (p. 1). This study uses statistical modeling for a number of purposes. First, this study aims to assess the causality between study variables and making predictions, specifically looking at the assumptions one holds about gender roles and their attachment style in adulthood influence their likelihood to be violent and controlling towards an intimate partner.

More specifically, regression was employed in this statistical model to predict the relationship between the unknown quantities from existing data, and produces an equation for predicting values. Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression was utilized in this study to analyze the data to test the relationship between the independent and dependent variables. This method of statistical analysis minimizes the difference between the observed and predicted responses to create a modeling equation that expresses the linear relationship, or straight line, that best represents the data. In doing so, the line produced from the equation attempts to come closest to all data points. The predictive capabilities of OLS regression make it a particularly valuable tool for this study, and the equation produced by the regression can ideally be used to predict findings for the larger population. For this study in particular, OLS regression allows for an analysis of

the relationship between the independent variables of adult attachment style and gender role attitudes, and the dependent variables of level of physical abuse and level of coercive control.

Through regression, I hope to gain a better understanding of how men's views and beliefs about gender and gender roles, alongside their psychological profile in terms of adult attachment, may influence their likelihood to be physically violent and/or controlling towards female partners, and if this relationship can be generalized to the larger population.

Demographic Variable

The demographic variable included in this study was the employment status of the men. Because the men in this group were mostly from a lower socioeconomic status, I decided to include employment status as a control variable. By doing so, the impact employment status may have on the level of physical abuse or presence of coercive control in the men's relationships was controlled so that the relationships between the independent variables could be more clearly assessed. Because social class impacts how men enact and display their masculinity, I did find importance in including this variable as a way to lessen its impact on the relationships between the study's independent and dependent variables. Therefore, employment status was included to represent social class by including it as a control variable. In employing this as a control variable, it was intended to assess the robustness of the focal relationships between physical abuse, attachment and gender role attitude, and between coercive control, attachment and gender role attitude.

Table 1 shows the mean and standard deviation for employment status, which was dichotomously coded. The participants self-reported their unemployment rate at 43%. The median annual income for the men who were employed was less than $10,000. The ages of the

men in the sample ranged from 16 to 58, with a mean of 34.4. 63.3% of the men identified as African American, 19.3% as Latino, and 12.7% as white.

Measures

Adult Attachment Style

Adult attachment style was used as an independent variable and measured using the "Relationship Scales Questionnaire" (RSQ) (Griffin & Bartholomew, 1994). The participants were given a series of statements and asked how well each represented their characteristic style in close relationships. Answers ranged from 1 to 5, where 5 represented a statement that most accurately described characteristics of the participant. Examples of statements include "I find it difficult to depend on other people," "I am not sure that I can always depend on others to be there when I need them," and "I am nervous when anyone gets too close to me."

To measure the four attachment styles in the respondents, I averaged the four or five questions that specifically measure a certain attachment style. Secure attachment was measured by averaging the scores from questions 3, 9, 10, 15, and 28. Dismissive-avoidant attachment was measured by averaging the scores from questions 2, 6, 19, 22, and 26. Anxious-preoccupied attachment was measured by averaging the scores from questions 6, 8, 16, and 25. Finally, fearful-avoidant attachment was measured by averaging the scores from questions 1, 5, 12, and 24. See Appendix A for the complete instrument.

Gender Role Attitude

Gender role attitude was used as an independent variable and measured using the "Sex Role Egalitarianism Scale" (SRES). This measure has been utilized in numerous other studies on IPV and has been shown to accurately account for a person's attitude towards gender roles

(Berkel, Vandiver, & Bahner, 2004; Crossman, Stith, & Bender, 1990; Stith & Farley, 1993). Participants were given a series of statements about appropriate behaviors for men and women, and asked to rate them from 1 to 5, where higher scores represented more traditional attitudes towards gender. Statement examples included "a husband should leave the care of young babies to his wife," "men and women should be given equal opportunities for job training," and "equal opportunity for all jobs regardless of sex is an ideal we should all uphold." See Appendix B for the complete instrument.

Level of Physical Abuse

Self-reported level of physical partner abuse was used as a dependent variable and measured using the physical assault subscale of the "Revised Conflict Tactics Scale" (CTS2). The theoretical basis for this instrument is conflict theory, which assumes that "conflict is an inevitable part of all human association, whereas violence as a tactic to deal with conflict is not" (Straus, Hamby, Boney-McCoy, & Sugarman, 1996, p. 284). This subscale is the most widely used measure of domestic violence and has been found to be reliable and valid (Straus, 1996). The participants were asked how often they had participated in a violent or aggressive act towards their intimate partner within the last year. Answers ranged from "never happened" to "more than 20 times". Examples of questions in the CTS2 include "I explained my side of a disagreement to my partner," "My partner threw something at me that could hurt," and "I pushed or shoved my partner." See Appendix C for the complete instrument.

Coercive Control

Coercive control was used as a dependent variable and measured with the "Psychological Maltreatment of Women Index" (PMWI). This instrument measures the amount of control the

respondents exerted in their relationship. Statements describing controlling behaviors were given and possible answers ranged from “never” to “very frequently”. Examples of statements in this instrument include: tried to keep her from doing things to help herself; blamed her for your problems; I monitored my partner's time and made her account for her whereabouts; and I interfered with my partner’s relationship with other family members. Higher scores are indicative of higher levels of coercive control exhibited by the men in their relationships.

I used two subscales of the PMWI to assess coercive control. The first subscale is the dominance-isolation subscale. This subscale measures the extent to which these men demanded subservience from their partner, their attempts at isolating them from resources, and how rigidly they observed traditional sex roles. This subscale was comprised by combining items 26, 30, 32, 36, 39, 40 and 42 of the PMWI. The emotional-verbal subscale measures the extent to which the respondent withheld emotional resources in his relationship and is comprised by combining items 10-13, 45, 46 and 49 of the PMWI. Together, these two subscales were used to measure coercive control because they show the extent to which respondents attempted to cut off resources from their partner as a way to limit their ability to leave the relationship. See Appendices D and E for the subscales.

Results

Descriptive Analysis

Table 1 provides descriptive statistics for all study variables. The mean for securely attached men was higher than that of any of the three insecure attachment styles, at 3.1 (scale ranging from 1 to 5). There was a great deal of variation within attachment styles, with the greatest variation in scoring found within dismissive-avoidant attachment (standard deviation= 0.9), followed by fearful-avoidant (standard deviation= 0.84), anxious-preoccupied (standard

deviation= 0.76), and finally secure (standard deviation= 0.59). The mean for gender role attitudes was 53.62 (scale ranging from 20 to 100) and showed a large variation in responses. Emotional-verbal coercive control produced a higher mean than dominance-isolation. The means were 1.71 and 1.35 respectively, with emotional-verbal showing the most variation in responses. The mean for level of physical abuse was 10.12 (scale ranging 0 to 60). Finally, employment status was dichotomously coded and 57% of the men were found to be employed.

Table 1. Description of the Data
(N=154)

Variable	Mean	Minimum	Maximum	Standard Deviation
Attachment Style+				
Secure	3.1	1.4	4.75	0.59
Dismissive-avoidant	2.93	1	5	0.9
Anxious-preoccupied	2.56	1	4.25	0.76
Fearful-avoidant	2.31	1	4.25	0.84
Gender Role Attitude+	53.62	25	97	13.44
Level of Physical Abuse++	10.12	0	58	13.35
Coercive Control++				
Emotional-Verbal	1.71	1	4.29	0.59
Dominance-Isolation	1.35	1	3.43	0.47
Employment Status				
Unemployed	0.57	0	1	0.5

+Independent variable
++Dependent variable

Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) Regression

Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression was employed to assess two particularly important aspects of these data. First, regression will produce an equation that expresses the form of the relationship between the independent and dependent variables, and OLS regression specifically will establish an equation that will produce a straight line that comes closest to all data points. Second, regression will also allow me to assess the strength of the relationships

between the independent and dependent variables. See figures 2.1-2.8.

Figure 4.1 Stata output, histogram of secure attachment style

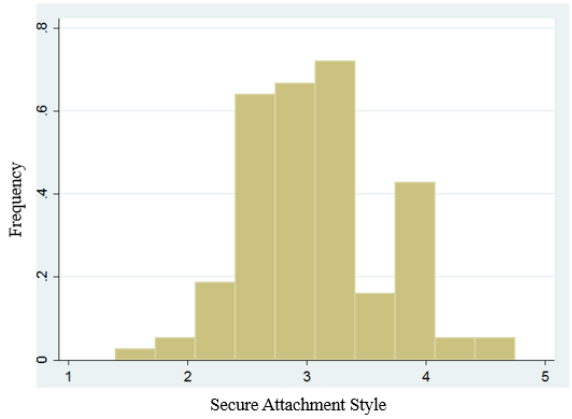


Figure 4.2 Stata output, histogram of dismissive-avoidant attachment

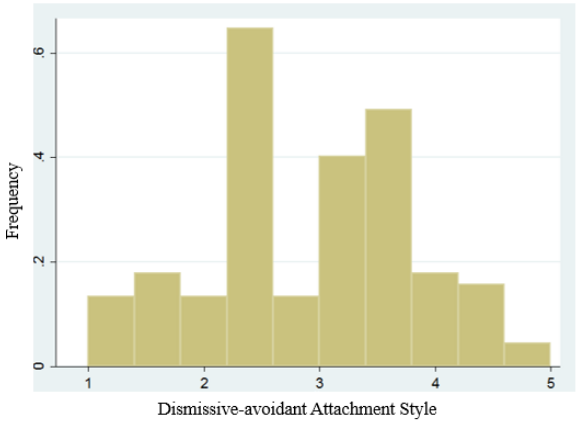


Figure 4.3 Stata output, histogram of anxious-preoccupied attachment style

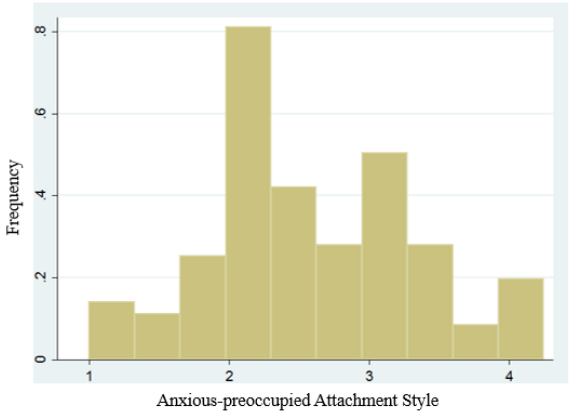


Figure 4.4 Stata output, histogram of fearful-avoidant attachment style

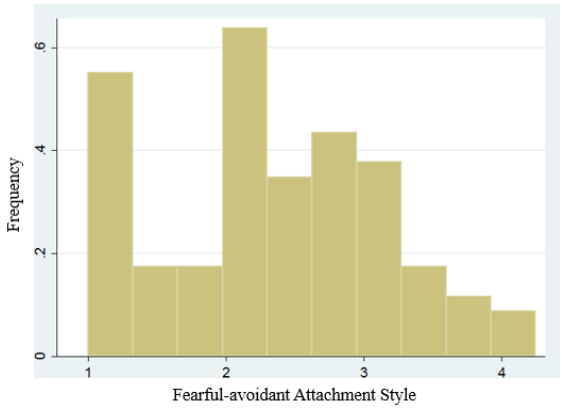


Figure 4.5 Stata output, histogram of gender role attitude

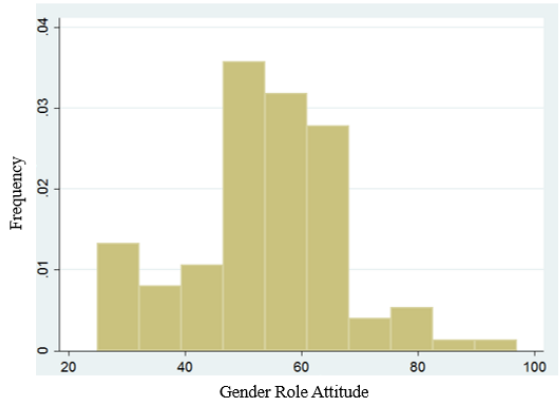


Figure 4.6 Stata output, histogram of level of physical abuse

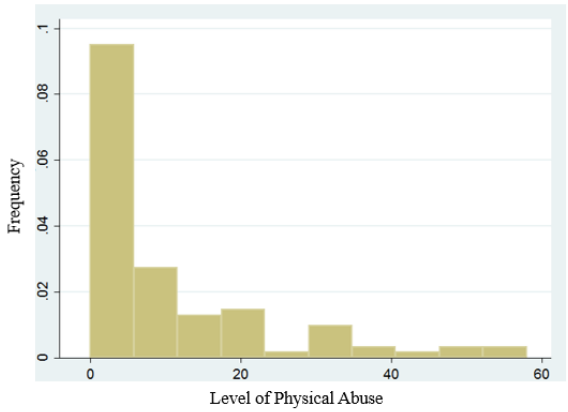


Figure 4.7 Stata output, histogram of emotional-verbal coercive control

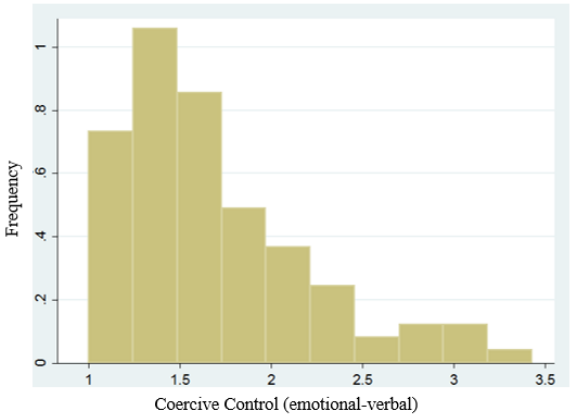
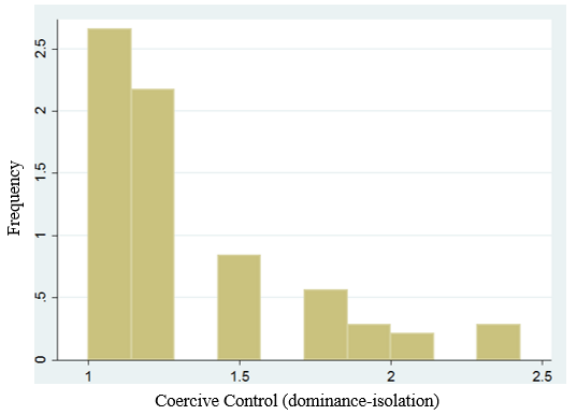


Figure 4.8 Stata output, histogram of dominance-isolation coercive control



The OLS regression for level of physical abuse is shown in Table 3 with three different models, each introducing a new variable. The first model shows the regression for attachment style and level of physical abuse. The second model introduces gender role attitude and the third model adjusts for employment status. Results produced from the regression mostly didn't reach statistical significance, except for fearful-avoidant attachment which consistently produced a statistically significant relationship ($p<.05$) with the dependent variables and produced the highest R-squared values out of all independent variables throughout the study (see table 3).

Additionally, anxious-preoccupied attachment produced a statistically significant relationship with emotional-verbal coercive control. When predicting level of physical abuse, secure attachment produced a negative relationship with level of physical abuse, where a respondent reported a more secure attachment style, incidents of physical abuse are shown to decrease. For each of the three insecure attachment styles (dismissive-avoidant, anxious-preoccupied, and fearful-avoidant) as a respondent's attachment score increased, incidents of perpetrating physical abuse were also likely to increase.

It should also be noted that introducing gender role attitude into the model did not produce any meaningful changes in the coefficient for attachment style. Additionally, introducing employment status into the model also did not produce any meaningful changes in the coefficients for attachment style, and the coefficient for unemployment is not statistically significant.

Table 2. Predicting level of physical abuse by attachment style

Attachment Style	Constant	Coefficient	Gender Role Attitude	Unemployment	R-Squared
Secure					
Model 1 (N=106)	13.18	-0.95	-	-	.002
Model 2 (N=97)	10.73	-0.74	0.03	-	.003
Model 3 (N=92)	9.69	-0.64	0.62	-0.46	.005
Dismissive-avoidant					
Model 1 (N=106)	6.37	1.32	-	-	.008
Model 2 (N=97)	3.16	1.44	0.05	-	.011
Model 3 (N=92)	1.66	1.79	0.08	-0.68	.017
Anxious-preoccupied					
Model 1 (N=106)	2.53	2.97	-	-	.029
Model 2 (N=97)	-1.24	3.30	0.05	-	.035
Model 3 (N=92)	0.01	2.82	0.07	-0.77	.030
Fearful-avoidant					
Model 1 (N=106)	-2.75	5.63***	-	-	.120
Model 2 (N=97)	-0.59	5.74***	-0.05	-	.115
Model 3 (N=92)	1.29	3.05***	0.03	0.26	.049

***P<.05

The OLS regression for coercive control is shown in tables 4.1 and 4.2, divided by dominance-isolation and emotional-verbal categories. The model shows the regression for level of physical abuse and each measure of coercive control. The second model introduces gender role attitude, while the third model adjusts for employment status. This OLS regression found a statistically significant relationship between fearful-avoidant attachment and both measures of coercive control. Additionally, anxious-preoccupied attachment showed a statistically significant relationship with emotional-verbal measures of coercive control. Finally, R-squared values were all insignificant, although the emotional-verbal variable produced R-square results that were consistently higher than the R-squared values for dominance-isolation.

Although the results produced from the model assessing the relationship between the independent variables and coercive control were mostly insignificant, there are a few things that should be mentioned. First, the only attachment style to produce a negative relationship with coercive control was dismissive-avoidant, and the strongest coefficient was in the third model (r= -0.38). Other insecure and secure styles produced a positive relationship, with the strongest being dismissive-avoidant attachment in the second model (r= 0.96). This positive relationship may be due to the subconscious fear of intimacy and viewing lovers as unreliable that characterizes this attachment style. As a respondent's score increased across the dismissive-avoidant items of the RSQ, the findings demonstrate that their actions to physically isolate their partner would decrease while their actions to withhold emotional resources would increase.

Fearful-avoidant attachment produced a statistically significant relationship with the emotional-verbal subscale of coercive control in the first two models. This attachment style describes an individual who has both a negative view of themselves as well as others. The results from the regression show a positive relationship between fearful-avoidant attachment, which was

strongest in the first model (r= .186). As a respondent scored higher on the fearful-avoidant attachment items, they also reported increased perpetration of coercively controlling actions towards their partner. Finally, it should be noted that introducing gender role attitude and employment status held no predictive value, in that neither regression did not produce any meaningful results.

Table 3.1 Predicting level of coercive control (dominance-isolation) by attachment style

Attachment Style	Constant	Coefficient	Gender Role Attitude	Unemployment	Adjusted R-Squared
Secure					
Model 1 (N=78)	1.19	.034	-	-	.003
Model 2 (N=72)	1.11	0.49	0	-	.007
Model 3 (N=70)	1.07	.049	.001	.049	.011
Dismissive-avoidant					
Model 1 (N=78)	1.34	-.016	-	-	.002
Model 2 (N=72)	1.34	-.017	0	-	.002
Model 3 (N=70)	1.36	-.038	0	.055	.013
Anxious-preoccupied					
Model 1 (N=78)	1.07	.085	-	-	.032
Model 2 (N=72)	1.11	.063	0	-	.018
Model 3 (N=70)	1.10	0.55	.001	.043	.018
Fearful-avoidant					
Model 1 (N=78)	1.23	.029	-	-	.005
Model 2 (N=72)	1.32	.016	-.001	-	.003
Model 3 (N=70)	1.28	.011	-.001	.055	.001

***P<.05

Table 3.2 Predicting level of coercive control (emotional-verbal) by attachment style

Attachment Style	Constant	Coefficient	Gender Role Attitude	Unemployment	Adjusted R-Squared
Secure					
Model 1 (N=79)	2	-.114	-	-	.018
Model 2 (N=73)	2.05	-.115	-.001	-	.016
Model 3 (N=71)	2.08	-.115	0	-.097	.03
Dismissive-avoidant					
Model 1 (N=79)	1.39	.095	-	-	.028
Model 2 (N=73)	1.37	.096	.001	-	.029
Model 3 (N=71)	1.43	.075	.002	-.107	.026
Anxious-preoccupied					
Model 1 (N=79)	1.17	.186***	-	-	.081
Model 2 (N=73)	1.22	.160***	0	-	.061
Model 3 (N=71)	1.26	.146	.002	-.096	.061
Fearful-avoidant					
Model 1 (N=79)	1.27	.169***	-	-	.081
Model 2 (N=73)	1.37	.155***	-.001	-	.07
Model 3 (N=71)	1.39	.129	0	-.04	.054

***P<.05

Discussion

The purpose of this study was to examine how a perpetrator's self-reported attachment style could predict the level of physical violence and coercive control they perpetrated in their intimate relationships, as well as how their self-reported attitude towards gender roles might also be a predictor of the level of physical violence and coercive control they perpetrate in their intimate relationships. By including adult attachment and gender role attitude as independent variables, this study combined approaches to researching intimate partner violence that are oftentimes separately termed "feminist" and "psychological." By taking this approach, I hoped to obtain a more comprehensive understanding of how male perpetration of IPV can, and very well may be, impacted by multiple variables. It is also important to emphasize that taking an interdisciplinary approach to IPV research adds layers of understanding to this complex phenomenon. While it may seem apparent that "feminist" and "psychological" are not mutually

exclusive approaches to researching domestic violence, they have been treated as such in previous debates and studies. Although I am not the first to utilize a feminist framework to analyze psychological attributes in IPV research, this analysis can improve upon the history of vitriol in this area of study.

Although the findings of this study were mostly statistically insignificant, the relationship between attachment style and IPV found in this study is consistent with previous research (Babcock et al., 2000; Buck et al., 2012; Follingstad, Bradley, Helff, & Laughlin, 2002). Fearful-avoidant attachment produced a statistically significant relationship with both level of physical abuse and emotional-verbal coercive control, and anxious-avoidant attachment produced a statistically significant relationship with emotional-verbal coercive control. A plethora of studies have shown that domestic violence perpetrators have higher rates of insecure attachment than the general population. Holtzworth-Monroe, Stuart, and Hutchinson (1997) used the Relationship Scales Questionnaire to compare attachment patterns between violent and nonviolent husbands and found that men who were violent exhibited more "insecure, preoccupied, and disorganized attachment, more dependency on and preoccupation with their wives; and more jealousy and less trust in their marriage" (p. 314). Similarly, Mauricio and Gormley (2001) surveyed sixty men who committed a violent act against their female partner utilizing instruments such as the Relationship Questionnaire (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 2001) and the Conflict Tactics Scale (Straus, 1979) to measure the frequency of violence and attachment style of participants. Their study found that just over half (58%) of the men self-reported one of three insecure attachment styles.

Although research suggests insecure attachment influences the likelihood of men in heterosexual relationships to batter, these data tell a more nuanced story. As previously

mentioned, fearful-avoidant attachment produced a statistically significant relationship with both dependent variables and anxious-preoccupied attachment produced a statistically significant relationship with emotional-verbal coercive control. Although this study was unable to find a significant relationship between the other independent and dependent variables, physical abuse, and the two other insecure attachment styles, scholars have pointed to emerging directions of IPV research that may provide insight to this outcome. Specifically, Michael Johnson's work on typologies may be a potential explanation as to why the relationships between the independent and dependent variables did not produce a stronger and more compelling outcome.

Johnson (2011) describes his perspective on domestic violence as "feminist" and theorizes three typologies for which to organize domestically violent interactions; these are violent resistance, intimate terrorism, and situational couple violence. The latter, Johnson argues, is actually the most common type of intimate partner violence and does not involve one partner attempting to control the other. Johnson argues that, although gendered power differentials do contribute to violent interactions in intimate relationships, this explains a smaller portion of IPV instances than is often discussed in scholarship and research. It is possible that Johnson's situational couple violence grouping can be seen in this data, which is one possible explanation for gender role attitude to exhibit nearly no relationship with coercive control. Johnson and Leone explain that situational couple violence "occurs when specific conflict situations escalate to violence. It is probably best understood through the conceptual framework of family conflict, in which it assumed that conflict is endemic to family life." (p. 324). Additionally, the statistically significant relationship produced between fearful-avoidant attachment and the independent variables, along with anxious-preoccupied attachment and coercive control, would be

categorized as Johnson's intimate terrorism typology, which is a "combination of physical and/or sexual violence with a variety of non-violent control tactics." (p. 290).

I would be remiss if I did not connect back to this study's theoretical groundings of feminism, intersectionality, and the social construction of masculinity. Although Johnson's research on the role of coercive control in IPV is compelling, I am not completely convinced that "situationally-provoked" interactions between intimate partners escalate to violence without societal influences. The social construction of masculinity and what society upholds as appropriate behaviors for men and women cannot be absent from social interactions and must be accounted for in research on physical, emotional and psychological violence between intimate partners. As such, including an analysis of how social influences and gender roles are prescribed to, and accepted by, individuals allows for a more nuanced view of how multiple factors may contribute to IPV. More specifically, as men are socially conditioned and encouraged to hide emotions and show their feelings through their physicality, this may impact how men with insecure attachment interact with their partners and why male batterers are more likely to be insecurely attached.

In addition, by using in tandem intersectionality and the social construction of masculinity, this study argues that race, ethnicity, and socioeconomic status impact how an individual's masculine identity is constructed. Although this was not as clearly evident in the quantitative data, the in-depth interviews did shed light on a common conflict the participants experienced as they struggled to maintain a dominant masculine identity in their family and social lives by means other than economic and social status. Although self-reported gender role attitude showed nearly no impact on the dependent variables, the qualitative data suggests a connection between how participants talked about arguments that led up to their physically

violent encounter. A telling quote from the qualitative portion of the data is a man who described his relationship problems with the woman he was accused of being violent towards. “I’m sayin’, she was actin’ like the boss in the relationship. And, and you know I couldn’t have her… try to talk to me any ol’ kinda way or tell me what she gonna do, who she gonna get and all that. You know, I couldn’t have that. So I had to step up as a man. It was like she was tryin’ to treat me like I’m a woman, and she the man you know I’m sayin’. She wear the pants and I wear the skirt. I can’t have that you know I’m sayin’. I wasn’t raised up like that you know.” Although outside the scope of this study, the men often contextualized accounts of arguments with their female partners utilizing socially constructed notions of appropriate ways men and women should act in relationships. References to gender roles and was threaded throughout the qualitative data and evident with a simple analysis of the transcribed interviews, analyzed in qualitative research software program NVivo.

Limitations and Future Directions

Limitations

This study did have several limitations. First, there are inherent limitations to self-reported data should be openly discussed. Each instrument utilized self-report methodology to measure the men’s placement across psychological and social scales. The most notable limitation of self-report measures is social desirability bias. Because domestic violence is considered a social ill, it is possible that respondents answered questions in a way that is more socially favorable instead of being entirely truthful about their abusive behavior. In addition to social desirability bias, research also shows that men are more likely to underreport their severe

violence and aggression that is directed towards an intimate female partner (Heyman & Schlee, 1997; Straus & Gelles, 1990).

With this smaller sample size, it should also be noted that the data lacked variability among participants, in regards to their race and socioeconomic status, which could be a partial explanation as to why the findings were mostly insignificant. The sample was also not diverse in terms of socioeconomic status, which limits the opportunity to more confidently assess how income may impact abusive relationships. As seen in tables 3-4, controlling for unemployment had no statistically significant impact on the relationship between the independent and dependent variables. As previously mentioned, the construction of masculinity is influenced by many factors, including socioeconomic status and income. When considering the varied ways in which men conceptualize their masculinity, it is not a stretch to theorize that not identifying with traditional conceptions of men as "bread winners," can impact how men with less financial stability look to reclaim their manhood and masculinity in others ways, such as perpetrating violence. The participants were included in this study precisely because they had a history of physically abusing a female partner. If data were also collected on men with no history of IPV, I may have been able to more accurately assess the impact of adult attachment and gender role attitude on level of physical violence and coercive control by comparing data from these two groups of men. Future studies would do well to include both groups for comparative purposes.

Finally, it should be explicitly mentioned that this study was not able to ideally operationalize its theoretical grounding in intersectional feminist thought with a primary focus on the social construction of multiple masculinities. This secondary analysis of existing data presented a challenge in clearly connecting the theories that guided my analysis to the existing

quantitative data. Although the quantitative data did not present obvious and clear opportunities to demonstrate the significance of the social construction of masculinity in this study, it was necessary to frame this study in masculinity theory as I analyzed the ways in which participants understood and made sense of their physical and emotional abuse towards their female partners.

Future Directions

Although outside the scope of this study, a sub-sample of research participants also participated in in-depth interviews, which spoke to the ways in which they understood their masculinity and violent interactions. Prevalent in the qualitative data were descriptions of how participants felt they needed to show or demonstrate that they "wore the pants" in the relationship, or had "control" and "power." Future studies should assess how men's conceptions of masculinity influence their likelihood to respond to conflict with violence, and how they respond to women who challenge the dominance they feel entitled to in their relationship.

Throughout this analysis it was important to keep in mind that the men in this study were racially and economically marginalized. Guided by theories of masculinities, it is likely that the men in this study may have performed their masculinity in an attempt to offset their marginalization; in particular, their relationship with law enforcement, lack of access to a steady financial income, and their understanding and interpretation of gender roles. Although the findings in this study did not indicate any relationship between gender role attitudes and physical abuse, previous studies have consistently shown this relationship to exist (Finn 1986; Santana, Raj, Decker, La Marche, & Silverman, 2006), and future work in this area is warranted.

An important consideration here is the negative impact that racial and economic marginalization has on this group of men. Research has shown that men of color and lower

income communities have more negative relationships with police officers and encounter more obstacles in finding employment; these social patterns may be important factors that, at least to some extent, shape this study's findings (Moss & Tilly, 1996; Simms et al., 2013; Smith & Holmes, 2003). I speculate that the social marginalization experienced by this sample of men impacts their view of women, especially as they attempt to obtain dominance in their relationships. This has been explored in studies that seek to examine how men may perpetrate domestic violence as a display of their masculinity (Santana et al., 2006) and how environmental and social stressors, including economic stress, increase rates of domestic violence (Renzetti & Larkin, 2009).

The literature is convincing about how men's multiple and various social identities influence their performance of masculinity. Stress research has found that men often exhibit "masculine" distress styles, which encompass behavioral expressions such as alcohol consumption and physical violence (Repetti, 1992; Rosenfield, 1999; Umberson et al., 2003). The men in this study may have been responding to relationship stressors (arguments, confrontations, etc.) in a physically violent way in an effort to maintain dominance in their intimate relationships. One study on stress, marginalization and health found that four primary sources of stress identified by low-income men that affected their health and overall well-being were lack of income, racism, unsafe communities, and relationship conflicts (Simms, McDaniel, Monson, & Fortuny, 2013). Additionally, Umberson, Anderson, Williams and Chen (2003) found that "many men characterize their violence as an expression of extreme and cumulative emotional upset." (p. 244). It would be insightful for future studies to explore the impact of social stressors on men's conceptualization and display of their masculinity, to bridge this existing research.

During in-depth interviews a number of the men described having a difficult time finding or holding a job, as well as experiencing negative and hostile interactions with law enforcement. Previous research has noted the various personality characteristics and stressors due to marginalization, and their adverse effects on personal health and healthy relationships (Huntsinger & Luecken, 2004; Repetti, 1992; Riphagen, 2008; Umberson et al., 2003). Additional research suggests that stress may directly contribute to domestic violence perpetration (Felson, 1992; Straus, 1990; Umberson, Williams, & Anderson, 2002; Umberson et al., 2003). It is my belief that the stress and frustrations the men in this study experienced due to their race or ethnicity and socioeconomic status created additional stressors as these were added obstacles encountered when performing masculinity.

It would be insightful for future studies to include socially privileged and socially marginalized samples for comparative purposes, especially across race and class, with attachment styles considered. It is necessary for future studies to have strong analyses of the relationship between masculinity and social marginalization, and specifically in men's attempts at demonstrating hegemonic masculinity while being marginalized in some way. Although this study included a measurement for coercive control *within* relationships, expanding this scope to assess feelings of control within men's larger social spheres can be relevant. Studies have shown that men who are generally violent (e.g. violent outside of their family) are also more likely to be psychologically violent to an intimate partner (Boyle, O'leary, Rosenbaum & Hassett-Walker, 2008) and the qualitative data did speak to how participants understood their (lack of) control and privilege in both their communities and families.

Previous studies on intimate partner violence (IPV) that have utilized adult attachment measures as independent variables often only differentiate between secure and insecure

attachment. Although significance levels have been shown to vary from study to study, common findings indicate that insecurely attachment men are more likely to be abusive towards and intimate partner than securely attached men. Additionally, many studies have found links between the presence of coercive control in a relationship and the presence of physical violence. Although insecure attachment styles are sometimes collapsed in studies on IPV to distinguish only between secure and insecure attachment, I found it important to disaggregate insecure styles to differentiate negative/positive feeling of self and negative/positive feelings of others. It is the distinctions between insecure attachment styles that warrant more pointed analysis in how an individual's feelings about themselves and others influence their violent and controlling relationship behaviors. Although research shows that men who batter are more likely to exhibit characteristics of insecure attachment, studies have only more recently begun to distinguish between insecure attachment styles when exploring the relationship between adult attachment and domestic violence. Buck et. al. (2012) have shown the importance of moving in this direction, as they were able to show promising findings on specific personality characteristics related to the three insecure attachment styles, and the relationship between these various personality characteristics and intimate partner violence.

Although the results of attachment style's effect on coercive control proved to not be significant, the relationship between fearful-avoidant attachment and physical abuse was statistically significant. A fearful-avoidant attachment style is characterized by a negative view of self and negative view of others. It is understandable that the men who self-reported this attachment style would have lower self-esteem as most are marginalized by both their race and socioeconomic status. This is consistent with previous research, and by disaggregating the insecure attachment styles, has the potential to tell a better story about how the men's self-esteem

and feelings towards others and themselves influences their social interactions with intimate partners.

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Appendix A

RELATIONSHIP SCALES QUESTIONNAIRE

Please check the extent to which each of the following statements reflects your feelings about relationships in general:

		Not at all like me	A little like me	Somewhat like me	A lot like me	Very like me
1	I find it difficult to depend on other people.					
2	It is very important to me to feel independent.					
3	I find it easy to get emotionally close to others.					
4	I want to merge completely with another person.					
5	I worry that I will be hurt if I allow myself to become too close to others.					
6	I am comfortable without close emotional relationships.					
7	I am not sure that I can always depend on others to be there when I need them.					
8	I want to be completely emotionally intimate with others.					
9	I worry about being alone.					
10	I am comfortable depending on other people.					
11	I often worry that romantic partners don't really love me.					
12	I find it difficult to trust others completely.					
13	I worry about others getting too close to me.					
14	I want emotionally close relationships.					
15	I am comfortable having other people depend on me.					
16	I worry that others don't value me as much as I value them.					
17	People are never there when you need them.					
18	My desire to merge completely sometimes scares people away.					
19	It is very important to me to feel self-sufficient.					

20	I am nervous when anyone gets too close to me.					
21	I often worry that romantic partners won't want to stay with me.					
22	I prefer not to have other people depend on me.					
23	I worry about being abandoned.					
24	I am uncomfortable being close to others.					
25	I find that others are reluctant to get as close as I would like.					
26	I prefer not to depend on others.					
27	I know that others will be there when I need them.					
28	I worry about having others not accept me.					
29	Romantic partners often want me to be closer than I feel comfortable being.					
30	I find it relatively easy to get close to others.					

Appendix B

SEX ROLE EGALITARIAN SCALE

Below you will find a series of statements about men and women. Read each statement carefully and decide the extent to which you agree or disagree with each. We are not interested in what society says; we are interested in your personal opinions. For each statement circle the letter(s) which seem(s) to best describe your opinion. Please do not omit any statements. Remember to CIRCLE ONLY ONE OF THE FIVE POSSIBLE CHOICES for each statement:

SA- Strongly Agree
A- Agree
N- Neutral or Undecided or No Opinion
D- Disagree
SD- Strongly Disagree

		SA	A	N	D	SD
1	Home economics courses should be as acceptable for male students as for female students.					
2	Women have as much ability as men to make major decisions in a large business or organization.					
3	High school counselors should encourage qualified interested women to enter technical fields such as construction work and engineering.					
4	Cleaning up the dishes should be the joint responsibility of husbands and wives.					
5	A husband should leave the care of young babies to his wife.					
6	It is worse for a woman to get drunk than a man.					
7	The family home will run more smoothly if the father rather than the mother is responsible for establishing rules for the children.					
8	It should be the mother's responsibility, not the father's to plan the young child's birthday party.					
9	When a child wakens at night, it should be the mother's responsibility to take care of the child's needs.					
10	Men and women should be given equal opportunities for job training.					
11	When it comes to planning a party, women are better judges of which people to invite.					
12	The entry of women into traditionally male jobs should be discouraged.					
13	Expensive vocational and professional training should be given primarily to men.					
14	The husband should be the head of the family.					

15	It was wrong for a man to enter a traditionally female career.					
16	The important decisions about job-related issues should be left to the husband.					
17	A women should be careful not to appear smarter than the man she is dating.					
18	Women are more likely than men to gossip about the people they know.					
19	A husband should not interfere with domestic work of the household.					
20	It is more appropriate for a mother rather than a father to change their baby's diapers.					
21	When two people are dating, it is generally best if their social life is based around the man's friends.					
22	Women are just as capable as men to operate a business.					
23	When a married couple is invited to a party the wife, not the husband, should be responsible to RSVP.					
24	Both men and women should be treated equally when applying for loans.					
25	Equal opportunity for all jobs regardless of sex is an ideal we should all uphold.					

Appendix C

REVISED CONFLICT TACTICS SCALE

The following list gives a wide variety of behaviors that may arise between partners when conflict occurs. For each behavior, recall as honestly as you can about how many times you and the women who charged you with abuse engaged in the behavior **during the last year of your relationship**. Use the scale of numbers from 0 to 6 to mark how often the behavior occurred.

During the stated time period

0= This **never** happened
1= This happened **once**
2= This happened **twice**
3= This happened **3 to 5 times**
4= This happened **6 to 10 times**
5= this happened **11 to 20 times**
6= This happened **more than 20 times**

		0 Never	1 Once	2 Twice	3 3 to 5 times	4 6 to 10 times	5 11 to 20 times	6 More than 20 times
1	I showed my partner I cared even though we disagreed.							
2	My partner showed care for me even though we disagreed.							
3	I explained my side of a disagreement to my partner.							
4	My partner explained his or her side of a disagreement to me.							
5	I insulted or swore at my partner.							
6	My partner swore or insulted me.							
7	I threw something at my partner that could hurt.							
8	My partner threw something at me that could hurt.							
9	I twisted my partner's arm or hair.							
10	My partner twisted my arm or hair.							
11	I had a sprain, bruise, or small cut because of a fight with my partner.							
12	My partner had a sprain, bruise, or small cut because of a fight with me.							
13	I showed respect for my partner's feelings about an issue.							
14	My partner showed respect for my feelings about an issue.							

15	I made my partner have sex without a condom.							
16	My partner made me have sex without a condom.							
17	I pushed or shoved my partner.							
18	My partner pushed or shoved me.							
19	I used force (like hitting, holding down, or using a weapon)to make my partner have oral or anal sex.							
20	My partner used force to make me have anal or oral sex.							
21	I used a knife or gun on my partner.							
22	My partner used a knife or gun on me.							
23	I passed out from being hit on the head by my partner in a fight.							
24	My partner passed out from being hit on the head in a fight with me.							
25	I called my partner fat or ugly.							
26	My partner called me fat or ugly.							
27	I punched or hit my partner with something that could hurt.							
28	My partner punched or hit me with something that could hurt.							
29	I destroyed something belonging to my partner.							
30	My partner destroyed something belonging to me.							
31	I went to a doctor because of a fight with my partner.							
32	My partner went to a doctor because of a fight with me.							
33	I choked my partner.							
34	My partner choked me.							
35	I shouted or yelled at my partner.							
36	My partner shouted or yelled at me.							
37	I slammed my partner against the wall.							
38	My partner slammed me against the wall.							
39	I said I was sure we could work out a problem.							
40	My partner was sure we could work it out.							
41	I needed to see a doctor because of a fight with my partner, but didn’t.							

42	My partner needed to see a doctor because of a fight with me, but didn't.							
43	I beat up my partner.							
44	My partner beat me up.							
45	I grabbed my partner.							
46	My partner grabbed me.							
47	I used force (like hitting, holding down, or using a weapon) to make my partner have sex.							
48	My partner used force to make me have sex.							
49	I stomped out of a room or house or yard during a disagreement.							
50	My partner stomped out of the room during a disagreement.							
51	I insisted on having sex when my partner did not want to (but did not use physical force).							
52	My partner insisted on having sex when I did not want to.							
53	I slapped my partner.							
54	My partner slapped me.							
55	I had a broken bone from a fight with my partner.							
56	My partner had a broken bone because of a fight with me.							
57	I used threats to make my partner have oral or anal sex.							
58	My partner used threats to make me have oral or anal sex.							
59	I suggested a compromise to a disagreement.							
60	My partner suggested a compromise to a disagreement.							
61	I burned or scolded my partner on purpose.							
62	My partner burned or scolded me on purpose.							
63	I insisted my partner have oral or anal sex (but did not use physical force).							
64	My partner insisted I have oral or anal sex (but did not use force).							
65	I accused my partner of being a lousy lover.							
66	My partner accused me of being a lousy lover.							

67	I did something to spite my partner.							
68	My partner did something to spite me.							
69	I threatened to hit or throw something at my partner.							
70	My partner threatened to hit or throw something at me.							
71	I felt physical pain that still hurt the next day because of a fight with my partner.							
72	My partner still felt physical pain the next day from a fight we had.							
73	I kicked my partner.							
74	My partner kicked me.							
75	I used threats to make my partner have sex.							
76	My partner used threats to make me have sex.							
77	I agreed to try a solution to a disagreement my partner suggested.							
78	My partner agreed to try a solution I suggested.							

Appendix D

PSYCHOLOGICAL MALTREATMENT OF WOMEN INDEX
DOMINANCE-ISOLATION SUBSCALE

Here is a list of things you might have done when you and the complainant had a dispute, or at any other time. Try to remember what went on during the last year or the last year of your relationship with the complainant as you answer how often these things happened.

1- Never
2- Rarely
3- Occasionally
4- Frequently
5- Very Frequently

	N 1	R 2	O 3	F 4	VF 5
Monitored her time and made her account for her whereabouts					
Used your money or made important financial decisions without talking to her about it.					
Were jealous or suspicious of her friends.					
Accused her of having an affair with another man.					
Interfered in her relationships with other family members.					
Tried to keep her from doing things to help herself.					
Restricted her use of the telephone.					

Appendix E

PSYCHOLOGICAL MALTREATMENT OF WOMEN INDEX
EMOTIONAL-VERBAL SUBSCALE

Here is a list of things you might have done when you and the complainant had a dispute, or at any other time. Try to remember what went on during the last year or the last year of your relationship with the complainant as you answer how often these things happened.

1- Never
2- Rarely
3- Occasionally
4- Frequently
5- Very Frequently

	N 1	R 2	O 3	F 4	VF 5
Called her names.					
Swore at her.					
Yelled and screamed at her.					
Treated her like an inferior.					
Said her feelings were irrational or crazy.					
Blamed her for your problems.					
Tried to make her feel crazy.					