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Masculinity Instability and Ideologies as Predictors of IPV Perpetration: The Mediating Role of Relationship Power

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Masculinity Instability and Ideologies as Predictors of IPV Perpetration:

The Mediating Role of Relationship Power

by

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Abstract

Intimate partner violence (IPV) is considered to be a pervasive and devastating

social issue and disproportionately perpetrated by men (CDC, 2017). Masculinity

ideologies, which are comprised of male role norm expectations, inform boys and men

about what it means to be and to not be "a man" and have been established as a predictive

factor of men's IPV perpetration (Levant, 1996; Levant, 2011; David & Brannon, 1976).

These ideologies serve to maintain existing social hierarchies that entitle men to seek

socially dominant and powerful positions in society, as well as within their intimate

relationships (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Jewkes, Levin, & Penn-Kekana, 2002).

Further, masculinity is considered to be unstable, subject to threat, and in need of

defense, often through physical violence. The unstable nature of masculinity has not been

thoroughly studied as a predictive factor in men's IPV perpetration. In this dissertation, a

mediational analysis, where the relationship between precarious manhood beliefs (PMB),

masculine gender role stress (MGRSS), masculinity ideology adherence, and the

frequency of IPV perpetration and coercive controlling behaviors are examined in a

sample of men with a history of abuse, who are currently enrolled in area batterer

intervention programs (BIPs). Further, the variable of men's desire for additional

relationship power is examined as a mediating mechanism through which both PMB and

MGRSS lead to IPV perpetration and coercive controlling behaviors. Findings reveal that

PMB and masculinity ideologies are significantly predictive of men's frequency of IPV

perpetration and coercive controlling behaviors. Further, desire for additional relationship

power (DARP) is found to fully mediate the relationship between masculinity ideologies

and the frequency of IPV perpetration and coercive controlling behaviors. Implications of the present research include applying the findings of the present study toward informing the inclusion of masculinity ideologies within BIP curricula and expanding theoretical knowledge surrounding the roles of masculinity instability, masculinity ideologies, and relationship power as they predict IPV perpetration among men with a history of violence.

Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to the memory of my father, Stephen Marioles. Although my father is not present to see the completion of this work, he has been a constant inspiration and motivation throughout pursuing my graduate work and to embark on my many roads less traveled. I love you, Dad.

"I shall be telling this with a sigh
Somewhere ages and ages hence:
Two roads diverged in a wood, and I—
I took the one less traveled by.
And that has made all of the difference."
-Robert Frost

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CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

Defined as physical and sexual violence, stalking, or psychological aggression that occurs among current or former spouses and dating partners, intimate partner violence (IPV) is considered a highly pervasive social problem, leading to a multitude of detrimental, long-term psychological impacts (e.g., major depressive disorders, anxiety related disorders), in addition to physiological impacts, including physical injury and death (CDC, 2017; NISVS, 2015; Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2013). Additionally, IPV victimization disproportionately impacts women, compared to men, with 1 in 4 adult women in the U.S. reporting experiences of IPV (CDC, 2017).

While men are victimized by IPV as well, the prevalence rates tend to be lower, with 1 in 7 men experiencing IPV victimization (CDC, 2017). Further, the motivations behind women's perpetration of violence toward their male partner have been demonstrated to be different than those of men, with women perpetrating violence in response to men's primary perpetration of violence toward them, often in self-defense (Allen et al., 2009), thus making it necessary to understand men's perpetration of IPV toward women differently than women's toward men.

A multitude of factors have been examined in order to better determine what leads men to perpetrate IPV toward their partners, including the role of relationship power and more specifically, relationship power imbalances and gaining control over their partner (Jewkes, Levin, & Penn-Kekana, 2002; Johnson & Ferraro, 2000). The disproportionate power differential that exists between men and women in society and in relationships informs men's experiences of gaining and losing power within an intimate

relationship (Connell & Jamieson, 2017). Within this dissertation study, the construct of relationship power dynamics, which is comprised of men's relationship power perceptions and their desire for additional power within their relationship, is examined as a predictive factor of IPV perpetration.

In addition to gaining power in their relationships, men are motivated by masculinity ideologies to seek power within relationships by exerting control over women through the use of physical violence (DeKeseredy & MacLeod, 2007). Masculinity ideologies are comprised of male role norm expectations that inform boys and men about what it means to "be a man" and serve to maintain existing social hierarchies that aid in the continuation of power structures privileging white, able-bodied, men. These ideologies often inform men both of their role as men in society, and also provide them with an entitlement to social dominance (Levant, 1996; Levant, 2011; Thompson & Bennett, 2015). The present study plans to contribute to this extant literature by examining two measures of masculinity ideologies as predictive factors of IPV perpetration.

Further, an additional body of research has evidenced that masculinity, for many men, is experienced as unstable, subject to loss through threat, and in need of defense (Vandello et al., 2008). Moreover, men also report experiencing strain, anxiety, and discomfort when they are made aware that their behavior is discrepant with the prevailing cultural male gender role norms (Eisler & Skidmore, 1987; Pleck 1981;1995). The extant literature has not fully explored how masculinity instability, and its underlying theoretical constructs, lead to IPV perpetration, thus this dissertation study intends to explore these

theoretical constructs, namely precarious manhood beliefs (PMB) and masculine gender role strain and stress (MGRSS) may lead to IPV perpetration.

Taken together, the goals of this dissertation are to investigate how relationship power dynamics mediate the relationship between masculinity ideology adherence, experiencing masculinity as unstable, and the perpetration of IPV. Specifically, this study measures if men desire additional power within their relationship, and how these power perceptions relate to both their masculinity ideology adherence, masculinity instability, and past perpetration of IPV.

First, relevant literature is reviewed to explain how boys and men develop a gendered sense of self, and through normal socialization processes, boys and men learn what it means to be a man often through the cultural transmission of masculinity ideologies and male role norms. Further, literature is reviewed describing the unstable nature of masculinity and the implications of experiencing masculinity threats, and how men respond against threats to their masculinity. Next, the relationship between power and masculinity is described, including the concept of hegemonic masculinity. Finally, introduced is the idea that men are culturally socialized toward powerful positions, including within their romantic relationships, and that when men perceive themselves to be low in power, particularly within their relationships, they are more likely to perpetrate IPV. Following the literature review, the study methodology is described, including the description and analysis of a series of hypothesized mediational models. Lastly, a discussion section detailing the study results, study contributions, and limitations of the study methodology and findings are discussed.

CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

The Gendered Self

Over the last century, social psychological research has contributed to understanding how as social creatures, our identities and behaviors are shaped and formed through interacting with our social environments (Markus & Wurf, 1987; Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Swann & Bosson, 2010). Further, self-knowledge and information that we come to know as self-relevant to our identities is often derived from information we know about ourselves, such as one's own traits and personal qualities, and information gathered interpersonally, such as knowledge about one's own social roles (i.e., gender roles) (Swann & Bosson, 2010). Moreover, this view of one's self, known as the self-concept, has been theorized as a dynamic, interpretive structure that continually regulates behavior both on an intrapersonal (e.g., self-relevant information processing, regulation of affect) and interpersonal level (e.g., social perception, making comparisons, and the shaping of interactions) (Markus & Wurf, 1987). Gender is an area of the self-concept shown to have dynamic properties, becoming more or less salient depending on specific contexts (Aries et al., 1998). Experimental evidence supports the notion that men specifically experience their gendered self-concepts to be malleable and that specific situations, such as being made to feel or behave in a contradictory way to their gender role, impact how men perceive their gendered selves (McCall & Dasgupta, 2007).

Masculinity as a social construction. The notion that men experience their gendered self-concepts as malleable is further explained by understanding the socialization processes of boys and men in Western cultures, and more specifically,

American culture. As children, boys learn what it means to "be a man", and the consequences they could face, often in the form of social and physical punishments, for failing to perform these behaviors (Levant, 1996; Levant, 2011). These behaviors are often referred to as male role norms, which are defined as socially sanctioned expectations that prescribe and proscribe how men and boys should feel and behave (Thompson & Pleck, 1986).

Early theorists describe male role norms using multi-dimensional categories of attributes. For example, Cicone and Ruble (1978) describe the "typical" male as being achievement oriented, dominant within interpersonal relationships, and level-headed, not showing extreme emotion. Similarly, David and Brannon (1976) describe male role norms as encompassing four main components: the eschewing of femininity ("no sissy stuff"), gaining respect for successes and achievements ("the big wheel"), never demonstrating weakness ("the sturdy oak"), and engaging in risky behaviors, including violence ("give 'em hell").

Noticeably absent from early theorists' descriptions of these male role norms is mention of biological characteristics necessary to be considered a man, but instead focus entirely on socially constructed ideas of norms that men and boys are expected to adhere to. Through this lens, referred to as the social constructionist perspective, gender, including manhood, is not viewed as being a biologically determined or stable, inherent quality. Rather, manhood and masculinity are viewed as being defined and constructed at a variety of social levels, ranging from interpersonal, micro-interactions (i.e., transmission of male role norms from father to son) to cultural level interactions (i.e.,

American culture supports the idea that men should hold powerful social positions).
Social constructionists assert that the construction of varies across different
environments. In other words, what it means to be a man can differ considerably
depending on social context (i.e., what it means to be a man as a father versus what it
means to be a man in the workplace). Social constructionists assert that multiple
masculinities exist and are continually shifted and reconstructed based on specific social
and cultural contexts and factors (Connell, 2005; Addis & Cohane, 2005).

These multiple masculinities are informed and created by masculinity ideologies,
which are defined as an individual's internalization of cultural belief systems and
attitudes toward men's roles and are transmitted socially and culturally during childhood
(Levant & Richmond, 2007). Masculinity ideologies are comprised of male role norm
expectations (e.g. the eschewing of femininity, dominant social positions, being
aggressive, maintaining emotional composure) and inform boys and men about what it
means to "be a man" and the consequences they may face, often in the form of physical
and social punishments, for failing to perform these socially proscribed behaviors
(Levant, 1996; Levant, 2011; David & Brannon, 1976; Cicone & Ruble, 1978). However,
masculinity ideologies extend beyond informing boys and men about manhood at
dispositional and trait levels. They also serve to maintain existing social hierarchies that
perpetuate culturally and socially pervasive power structures that privilege White,
heterosexual, able-bodied men (Thompson & Bennett, 2015). This theory of masculinity,
called hegemonic masculinity, legitimizes norms of male dominance (Connell &
Messerschmidt, 2002). And while not all men achieve or adhere to these prevalent social

systems that maintain and promote hegemonic masculinity (e.g., men having disproportionate social dominance and financial success, compared to women or non-normative men) men who benefit from a hegemonic society do tend to embody at least one of these aspects of hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 2005; Ricciardelli et al., 2010).

Also inherent to the concept of hegemonic masculinity is the adherence to hierarchies that place women and men from sexual or racial minority groups in subordinate position to white, heterosexual men. These hierarchies exist and are maintained across a variety of social levels, ranging from local (e.g., family interactions, organizations), regional (cultural, national), and global (e.g., world politics, global media, and globalization), creating an ideological system that persists and is heavily resistant to change (Connell, 2005). How social cultures work to maintain hegemonic ideals is highly evidenced within American culture. Researchers have demonstrated that both men and women define what constitutes an American national identity using more male associated agentic traits, supporting the notion that hegemonic masculinity is pervasively embedded not only within the social systems that operate in American culture, but also within what it means to be an American (Van Berkel et al., 2017).

In the present study, masculinity ideologies are studied using two measures of men's endorsement of masculinity ideologies: male role norm adherence and conformity to dominant cultural masculine norms. These variables were chosen to indicate masculinity ideology endorsement, as each scale has items that describe what it means to "be a man" in American culture. The Male Role Norms Inventory (MRNI) was developed to assess men's individual endorsement of role norms that are traditionally

mandated for men to adhere to (Levant et al., 1992). The Conformity to Male Norms

Inventory (CMNI) was developed to determine how much an individual conforms to the

dominant norms as they relate to masculinity in American culture (Mahalik et al., 2003;

Levant et al., 2020).

Masculinity Instability

Masculinity ideologies provide individuals with a social and cultural set of male

role norms that men are expected and socialized to adhere to. The transmission of

masculinity ideologies is not only isolated to men, but women also can endorse,

acknowledge, and uphold masculinity ideologies, though often to a lesser extent than men

(Levant & Richmond, 2007). Men experience the process of adhering to these norms

differently than women, as for men, this experience is one characterized by instability,

uncertainty, discomfort, and threat (Pleck, 1981; 1995; Eisler & Skidmore, 1987;

Vandello et al., 2008; Bosson et al., 2009). As explained by the gender role strain

paradigm framework, contemporary gender roles that men are expected to adhere to are

often contradictory and inconsistent, resulting in experiencing frequent actual or

imagined gender role violations, which ultimately lead to psychological consequences for

men, characterized by discomfort, anxiety, and stress (Pleck, 1981; 1995). Men also

respond to these perceived violations by overconforming to gender roles (i.e., physical

aggressiveness), which are often problematic, maladaptive, and harmful for men (Pleck,

1995).

According to the GRSP framework, men experience a type of gender role strain

called discrepancy strain when they realize they are not living up to their internalized

ideals about what constitutes manhood, which are often socially constructed and malleable across social environments (Pleck, 1995). Past research examining discrepancy strain has focused on the experience of discomfort and stress as it relates to men's perceptions of their actual or imagined behavior as being discrepant with male gender role norms (Levant, 2011; Eisler & Skidmore, 1987).

Building upon the GRSP framework, Eisler and Skidmore's (1987) masculine gender role stress framework (MGRSS) describes the stress associated with men's discrepancy strain when they appraise themselves as not able to adhere to masculine role norms broadly, or when they find themselves in a specific situation requiring behavior that is antithetical to masculinity (i.e., feminine behavior). The Masculine Gender Role Stress Scale (MGRSS) was created to measure the five main factors leading men to experience stress and strain associated with adhering to masculine role norms: physical inadequacy (i.e., men's inability to meet masculine standards surrounding physical abilities, sexuality, and appearance), emotional inexpressiveness (i.e., situations that require emotional intimacy, including the expression of love, fear, and hurt, and the display of crying), subordination to women (i.e., men perceiving themselves to have subordinate power compared to women, women who make more money than them, or are more successful), intellectual inferiority (i.e., the demonstration of lack of ambition), and performance failure (i.e., failure to perform well in both work and/or sexual contexts) (Eisler & Skidmore, 1987). MGRSS has been linked to a variety of violent outcomes for men, particularly intimate partner violence perpetration, with all five subfactors contributing equally to the likelihood of IPV perpetration (Moore et al., 2010).

Similar to GRSP and MGRSS, the precarious manhood theory (PMT) describes manhood and masculinity as something that is socially prescribed, leading men to become acutely aware of what it means to be (and not be) "a man." According to PMT, American men adhere to a belief system whereby manhood is considered to be a tenuous status that is achieved and earned, and once earned, can be threatened, and perceived as lost. However, PMT extends previous theories of masculinity by not only suggesting that manhood is a precarious state that is subject to threat through a variety of gender non-normative behaviors, but through elucidating the notion that once men perceive their manhood to be lost, they engage in actions to earn it again through defensive behaviors that "prove" masculinity, especially in public domains (Vandello & Bosson, 2013; Vandello et al., 2008).

Taken together, MGRSS and precarious manhood are conceptualized within the present study as two variables that characterize the idea of masculinity instability. Together, these two theoretical frameworks describe the idea that the process of adhering to male gender norms is often an uncomfortable and stressful experience for men due to their potential realization that they have violated one of these norms, resulting in a loss of masculinity.

Experiencing and defending threatened masculinity. MGRSS, PMT, and GRSP all describe how men often experience their masculinity as unstable and stressful. Previous literature has demonstrated that these emotional experiences are often the result of experiencing threats to masculinity that occur when men violate gender role norms by engaging in or encountering gender non-normative behaviors or experiences, which

induce stress and discomfort among men (Bosson, Prewitt-Freilino, & Taylor, 2005; Vandello et al., 2008).

Within experimental research, masculinity threats have been instigated by having male participants perform stereotypically feminine tasks, experience being misclassified as non-heterosexual or feminine, and through information that the personality traits they possess are "feminine" (Bosson et al., 2005; Glick et al., 2007; Vandello et al., 2008; Bosson et al., 2009; Bosson & Michniewicz, 2013; Glick et al., 2015; Hunt et al., 2016; Netchaeva et al., 2015; O'Connor et al., 2017).

For example, Bosson, Prewitt-Freilino, and Taylor (2005) demonstrated that when men were asked to imagine themselves performing a traditionally feminine task, they were more likely to report heightened levels of discomfort in response. Further, Vandello et al. (2008) reported that men have heightened access to anxiety related cognitions following a threat to their masculinity. Taken together, this experimental evidence lends support to what MGRSS, discrepancy strain, and GRSP described as men's increased stress, anxiety, and discomfort when realizing they have defied gender norms (Eisler & Skidmore, 1987; Pleck, 1981;1995).

As previously described by PMT, men perceive their masculinity to be lost as a result of experiencing masculinity threat, which then leads to needing to defend masculinity (Vandello et al., 2008). A body of research has shown that men respond defensively to masculinity threats in a variety of ways ranging from the subordination of women (e.g., sexist behaviors, endorsement of ideological dominance over women) to discriminating against gender non-normative men (e.g., demonstrations of homophobia,

eschewing femininity in self and other men, reluctance to intervene when witnessing discrimination toward gay men)Glick et al., 2007, Glick et al., 2015, Bosson et al., 2009, Bosson & Michniewicz, 2013; Kroeper, Sanchez, & Himmelstein, 2014; Weaver & Vescio, 2015; Nechaeva et al., 2015; O'Connor et al., 2017).

This dissertation study examines masculinity instability as predictive of heterosexual men's intimate partner violence within the context of heterosexual relationships. Thus, while it is of broad theoretical importance to understand the range of negative outcomes that result from experiencing masculinity as unstable and subject to threat, men's defensive actions in response to masculinity threat that result in the subordination of women, eschewing of femininity, and physical aggression are be emphasized. Understanding further why men engage in these acts intended to subordinate and oppress women shed light on the theoretical model predicting whether men engage in IPV perpetration toward women when they experience masculinity instability.

As previously described within the main components of male gender role expectations (David & Brannon, 1976) research has reliably demonstrated that men eschew femininity following threats to their masculinity. According to Bosson and Michniewicz (2013), following threat, men become highly sensitive to gender norms, accentuating the dichotomy that exists between men and women's traditional gender role norms and become motivated to engage in traditionally masculine activities in an attempt to restore threatened masculinity (Bosson & Michniewicz, 2013). Men also endorse ideological dominance over women, following a threat to their masculinity designed to place men in a subordinate position to women and were more assertive with women in

positions of power (Dahl et al., 2015; Netchaeva et al., 2017). Further, men who are provided information that their personality is feminine are more likely to reject gay men who are perceived as being feminine, as opposed to gay men who are perceived as being masculine (Glick et al., 2007; Hunt et al., 2015).

Men also are less likely to intervene when witnessing discrimination against a gay man, as the expression of tolerating discrimination protected their heterosexual identity, and following a threat, men are more likely to report enjoying sexist and homophobic humor (Kroeper et al., 2014; O'Connor et al., 2017). Taken together, the extant literature supports the notion that following a threat to masculinity, men reject feminine qualities in the self and others and derogate those who are gender non-normative. Both of these actions serve to defend their sense of masculinity.

As described previously, traditional masculinity ideologies include men's willingness to engage in risky behaviors, such as physical violence, which can also be observed as a response to masculinity threat (David & Brannon, 1976; Bosson & Vandello, 2011). In a culture of hegemonic, socially dominant masculinity, men's physical violence is often considered a culturally acceptable (and gender-consistent) response to threat (Bosson & Vandello, 2011; Kalish & Kimmel, 2010; Weaver et al., 2011). Men are encouraged by their social and cultural scripts to use aggression, not only as a way to display and perform masculinity to themselves, but also to others. Through social norms, men are provided with a sense of entitlement to use aggression (Kalish & Kimmel, 2010).

Physical aggression in response to masculinity threat has been shown to reduce the anxiety arising from masculinity threats. After completing a stereotypically feminine task (i.e., braiding hair on a mannequin's head) vs. a non-feminine task (i.e., braiding rope), men were more likely to engage in an aggressive activity (punching a punching bag as opposed to completing a puzzle or shooting basketball hoops). Further, men who experienced masculinity threat punched the punching bag with greater force compared to those who did not experience masculinity threat, leading to a decrease in anxiety (Bosson et al., 2009).

Overall, previous research exploring men's experiences of masculinity threat has shed light on possible responses to masculinity threats, particularly those that cause men to appraise a discrepancy between their idealized version what it means to be masculine and their actual or perceived behavior. Moreover, GRSP, MGRSS, and PMT theories all describe the experience of manhood and masculinity as characterized by perceived instability and as subject to ongoing threat. The present study assesses outcomes of experiencing masculinity instability as they relate to IPV perpetration, particularly because of the evidence that men are likely to respond in a physically aggressive manner following threats to their masculinity (Kalish & Kimmel, 2010; Bosson et al., 2009).

Power and Masculinity

Entitlement to power is deeply embedded within the social scripts of men across individual, interpersonal, and society-wide levels(e.g., a disproportionately male government is in charge of enacting legislation that directly impacts women). As described by the sociological concept of hegemonic masculinity, the often prevailing

cultural and social norms for gender legitimize and serve to maintain white, heterosexual men's subordination of and power over women and non-hegemonic men, including those from subordinate groups (e.g., men of color, non-heterosexual men, gender non-normative men) (Connell, 1987; Messerschmidt, 2019).

Empirical findings have demonstrated that following threats to masculinity, and when that threat is in the form of having lesser power than women, men are especially more likely to endorse ideological dominance over women through sexism, sexual objectification, and social dominance (Dahl, Vescio, & Weaver, 2015). These findings support the notion that men's power over women is a key aspect of men's masculinity and that being perceived as more powerful than women are a meaningful part of what constitutes perceptions of being a "good" man. Taken together with the body of research describing the experience of masculinity instability, the present study plans to further assess the extent to which experiencing a chronic sense of low power and the desire to have more power within the context of an intimate relationship relates to experiencing masculinity as unstable. Specifically, the present study measures the relationships between masculinity instability on the one hand and the desire for more relationship power on the other, and how these both are related to men's abusive behaviors toward their partners within the context of their intimate relationships.

The disproportionate power differential that exists between men and women in society, and that is perpetuated through socially and culturally pervasive norms, informs men's experiences of gaining and losing power within an intimate relationship (Connell & Jamieson, 2017). As previously described, men are socialized to seek power across a

variety of contexts, including within intimate relationship. Power has a large role within intimate relationships because individual attainment of goals and needs often depend heavily on their partner's cooperation (Kelley & Thibaut, 1978; Overall, Hammond, McNulty, & Finkel, 2016). Thus, if an individual perceives that their partner has more power than them, they may also perceive their partner as inhibiting their ability to attain their goals.

Power dynamics have been demonstrated as closely connected with how individuals perceive their romantic relationships, and uneven balance of power leads to decreased relationship satisfaction. Aligned with the notion that men are socialized as entitled to seek power, regardless of how much power men perceive themselves to have in their relationships, men still report a desire for additional relationship power, compared to their women partners (Traeder & Zeigler-Hill, 2020).

If masculinity ideologies inform men's entitlement to have dominant power in their intimate relationships, perceptions that their partner has a greater amount of power within their relationship (e.g., decision-making power, financial power) will likely threaten masculinity and contribute to an overall feeling over powerlessness within their relationships. Building upon previous research where individuals who perceive themselves as lacking power in their romantic relationships demonstrate an increased risk for relationship violence (Bentley et al., 2007), the present study assesses abusive men's desire for additional relationship power and models it as a mediating variable through which experiencing masculinity as unstable leads to intimate partner violence perpetration.

Masculinity, Power, and Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) Perpetration

Intimate partner violence. IPV is defined as physical and sexual violence, stalking, or psychological aggression that occurs among current or former spouses and dating partners and is considered a highly pervasive social problem, affecting 1 in 4 adult women in the US. The experience of IPV can begin early in life, often during adolescence, and continue throughout the lifespan (CDC, 2017). The consequences of experiencing IPV victimization range from physical injury to death, where half of female homicides are perpetrated by a current or former intimate partner, particularly male partners. Further, the Bureau of Justice Statistics reports that men are 285 times more likely than women to murder their significant other (Hamby, 2005; Whitaker, 2013; Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2011).

Other negative health outcomes related to IPV include impacts to multiple physiological systems (i.e., cardiovascular, digestive, reproductive, and muscular-skeletal) and psychological well-being, often leading to long-term chronic physical and mental health conditions (Coker et al., 2000). The impacts of IPV extend beyond just the individual level consequences, but also have large economic impacts on society due to costs associated with IPV related medical care, loss of productivity from paid work, and costs accrued by the criminal justice system (Whitaker, 2013). In sum, IPV is a persistent social problem with widespread, devastating impacts and the most severe forms of IPV are perpetrated predominantly by men toward women. A body of research exists exploring a multitude of predictive factors of men's IPV perpetration, including

masculinity ideology adherence, masculinity instability, and relationship power imbalances.

Masculinity ideology adherence and violence toward women. Adhering to masculine gender role norms has been well established as associated with men's IPV perpetration toward a female partner (Parrott & Zeichner, 2003; Reidy et al., 2009; Reidy, Berkey, Gentile, & Zeichner, 2014). Empirical research has revealed that hypermasculine men demonstrate higher levels of aggression toward women, especially when they perceive that a woman violated feminine gender role norms (Parrott & Amos, 2003; Reidy et al., 2009). These findings are further explained by men's socialization toward success, power, and competition as a way to demonstrate masculinity. When these parts of men's masculine identity are threatened by a female partner, it has been hypothesized that men will likely respond by defending their masculinity through violence (O'Neil & Harway, 1997). Moore and Stuart (2005) garnered support for this hypothesis by demonstrating an association between masculine gender role stress and partner violence. Taken together with the aforementioned notion that men experience discomfort and take action, often through aggression, as a way to defend their masculinity from threats, the present study predicts that adherence to masculinity ideologies, experiencing manhood as precarious and experiencing stress surrounding adhering to masculinity ideologies, are all predictive of IPV perpetration (Eisler & Skidmore, 1987; Vandello et al., 2008; Bosson et al., 2009; O'Connor, Mankowski, Manriquez, & Szabo in preparation). .

Power as a motivation for perpetration of abuse. As described, men engage in IPV perpetration, especially sexual and injurious IPV, at higher rates than women and IPV continues to be a highly prevalent social problem (CDC, 2017). Thus, understanding and identifying factors that motivate men's IPV perpetration is necessary. IPV has been categorized into a variety of subtypes of violence including intimate terrorism (IT), which characterizes a type of IPV perpetration motivated by the need to control and gain power over one's partner (Johnson & Ferrero, 2000). Furthermore, IT can be understood through a feminist theoretical perspective emphasizing that men are socialized into a patriarchal, male-dominated society that entitles men to seek power and control over subordinate others through violence, especially women (Propsero, 2008; Dobash et al., 1992). A feminist perspective further specifies IT to include patriarchal terrorism, which explains how men are motivated by patriarchal norms to perpetrate IPV through the use violence, threats, and other destructive means to exert control over women within relationships (Johnson, 1995; Johnson & Ferrero, 2000).

Evidence for the attainment of power as a motivating factor in men's IPV perpetration been shown across a number of studies (Johnson & Ferrero, 2000 Jewkes, Levin, & Penn-Kekana, 2002; Connell & Jamieson, 2017). In societies such as the United States where women are continually gaining power and are offered equitable routes to power within domains traditionally held by men, women are projected to continue to increase in their social power over the next five decades. Taken together with the notion that men are motivated to perpetrate IPV as a way to exert power and control over their partner, as women continue to gain more social, economic, occupational, individual, and

relational power it becomes increasingly more important to understand the implications of relationship power dynamics, particularly as they relate to IPV perpetration and victimization (Diekman, Goodfriend, & Goodwin, 2004).

Researchers examining the implications of relationship power imbalances have discovered that relationship power imbalances are related to IPV perpetration for men (Babcock, Waltz, Jacobson, & Gottman, 1993; Jewkes, Levin, & Penn-Kekana, 2002). Babcock et al. (1993) examined how relationship power relates to IPV perpetration among married couples. Certain aspects of relationship power, such as decision-making power, were found to be related to men's perpetration of psychological and physical violence toward their partners. When men reported lower levels of decision-making power, they were more likely to perpetrate violence toward their partners as a way to compensate for lack of power. Further, decision making power within the relationship was found to be related to level of educational attainment, where the partner with more education held more decision-making power. Additionally, violence perpetration occurred more often in relationships where a large discrepancy between education level existed among partners, especially when women had more education than their partners (Babcock et al., 1993).

Additionally, there has been evidence for the notion that men perpetrate IPV at higher rates when women appear to be gaining independence. Specifically, for Latino men, acculturation was related to higher rates of workplace IPV perpetration toward their female partners . These findings lend evidence to the notion that as women begin to replace traditional norms typically found within Latino cultures (i.e., women are

encouraged to be caretakers vs. income generators) with American norms that encourage

women to work and have more independence and financial power, men's IPV

perpetration towards them increases (Galvez, Mankowski, & Glass, 2015).

Coercive control as a dominant form of IPV. One widely studied means of IPV

perpetration is through tactics and behaviors of coercive control. Interestingly though,

there does not seem to be one singular definition of coercive control, but across the extant

literature, there are a few commonalities when attempting to define the concept. First, a

key component of coercive control is that one partner exercises and establishes

dominance (Stark, 2007; Hamberger et al., 2007; Bair-Merritt et al., 2010). For

relationships where IPV is present, dominance and control are commonly maintained

through acts of intimidation, destruction of property, threats, and physical and sexual

violence (Stark, 2006; Hamberger et al., 2007; Beck et al., 2009). Second, coercive

control is used by those who perpetrate abuse as a way to gain partner compliance with

their demands, as noncompliance leads to consequences that are typically negative, which

include violence and intimidation (Hamberger et al., 2007). Coercive behavior tends to be

strategic, manipulative, and engaged in with the purpose reducing the other partner's

ability to make decisions, maintain independence, their ability to maintain relationships

and obtain education or other financial resources (Ehrensaft et al., 1999; Hamberger et

al., 2007).

Taken together, the literature on coercive control converges on the idea that it is

used as a means to gain power over another person, often through abusive behaviors. The

present study examines how the desire for additional relationship power can be a

motivating factor in men's perpetration of IPV. Since the concept of coercive control is specifically linked to the idea of demonstrating power over through dominance and intimidation, specific hypotheses about how masculinity ideologies and variables of masculinity instability are linked to perpetration of coercive control behaviors, especially when men desire additional power over their partner.

IPV perpetration as a response to power imbalances and masculinity instability. Men's desire to maintain power and control over their partner has been described as a motivating factor in men's IPV perpetration. Preliminary research has revealed that men do use relationship violence as a way to punish their partners and to demonstrate their masculinity (Anderson & Umberson, 2001). Further, men who have perpetrated IPV describe perceiving women who possess traditionally masculine characteristics in their relationships (i.e., have disproportionate power compared to men) to be especially threatening. Couples in which the female partner holds higher power tend to experience higher rates of IPV, compared to couples with equalitarian or divided-power relationships (Moore & Stuart, 2005). These findings suggest that power imbalances in relationships, particularly those where men perceive themselves as low in power, are critical in predicting partner violence

Overall, men who perpetrate IPV have demonstrated an increased adherence to masculinity ideologies and are more likely to perpetrate IPV when they experience their masculinity as vulnerable to threat or experience masculinity adherence as stressful (Eisler & Skidmore, 1987; Parrott & Zeichner, 2003; Vandello et al., 2008; Bosson et al., 2009; Reidy et al., 2009; Reidy, Berke, Gentile, & Zeichner, 2014; O'Connor,

Mankowski, Manriquez, & Szabo in preparation). Furthermore, men are motivated to seek power and exert control within their relationships and previous literature garners support for the notion that IPV perpetration serves to maintain or re-establish men's relationship power.

Conceptualizing the Hypothesized Theoretical Framework

The aforementioned literature describes how in the US, boys and men are socialized from a young age to adhere to culturally prescribed and socially transmitted ideals about what it means to be a man (Levant & Richmond, 2007; David & Brannon, 1976). Further, the process of adhering to these ideologies for some men can be characterized as tenuous, unstable, and often psychologically stressful, particularly when faced with violating the culture ideologies surrounding manhood (Pleck, 1981; 1995; Eisler & Skidmore, 1987; Vandello et al., 2008; Bosson et al., 2009). Masculinity ideologies instruct men to seek power over subordinate others, and that as men, they are entitled to socially dominant, hegemonic positions within society, and also within their relationships (Connell, 1987; Traeder & Zeigler-Hill, 2020). Moreover, when men experience a threat to their masculinity, including perceiving themselves as having lesser power compared to a subordinate other (i.e., an intimate partner who is a woman), they are more likely to engage in compensatory and defensive reactions, including physical aggression in general and the perpetration of IPV (Bosson et al., 2009; Babcock et al., 1993; Anderson & Umberson, 2001).

From this body of literature emerges a conceptual framework that the present study uses to theorize a) the relationship between masculinity ideologies, masculinity

instability, IPV perpetration, and coercive control and b) the role that desiring additional relationship power has in explaining why the relationships among this set of variables exists. Four independent variables (IVs) and one mediator variable are included in the conceptualized model: two variables of masculinity ideologies (male role norm adherence and conformity to male role norms) and two variables of masculinity instability (PMB and MGRSS), and the mediator variable of desire for additional relationship power (DARP). There are also two distinct, but related, dependent variables (DVs) that are being examined as the outcomes of interest in the hypothesized conceptual model: frequency of IPV perpetration and frequency of coercive control.

First, each of the IVs independently are hypothesized to have a unidirectional relationship with each of the DVs. Based upon the previously reviewed literature, there exists a robust and well-established rationale for this portion of the conceptual model. Masculinity ideologies have been established as predictive factors of men's IPV perpetration (Parrott & Zeichner, 2003; Parrott & Amos, 2003; Reidy et al., 2009; Reidy et al., 2014) and masculinity instability, including PMB and MGRSS, have also been established, though to a lesser extent, as predictive factors of men's physical violence (Bosson et al., 2009), as well as men's perpetration of IPV (O'Neil & Harway, 1997; Stuart & Moore, 2005; O'Connor et al., in preparation). In the present study, the hypothesized theoretical framework intends to first replicate the relationships between the study IVs and the DV of IPV perpetration. Secondly, the present study intends to establish a that a relationship exists among the study IVs and the DV of coercive control.

Next, each of the IVs are independently hypothesized to have a unidirectional relationship with the mediator variable, DARP. As described previously, entitlement to power is deeply embedded in what is socially considered part of being a man, and the concept of hegemonic masculinity further elaborates upon this idea by describing the existing social norms for gender, particularly for White men, serve to maintain existing social power hierarchies (Connell, 1987; Messerschmidt, 2019). Thus, the present framework hypothesizes that men who adhere to traditional ideologies surrounding how to be (and how not to be) a good man in Western society, will perceive themselves as entitled to power across all contexts, including within their relationship. It is their adherence to these ideological belief systems surrounding masculinity that leads to their desire for additional relationship power. The extant literature is somewhat sparse when it comes to identifying potential causal mechanisms explaining the relationship between masculinity ideologies and IPV perpetration. Masculine gender role stress and attachment are two mediators that have been discovered in previous studies linking masculinity ideologies to IPV perpetration (McDermott & Lopez, 2013; Merino-Verdugo et al., 2021), but this study that the desire for relationship power as a novel mediator of this relationship.

Similarly, previous literature supports the notion that men who adhere to belief systems that masculinity can be lost due to threats (i.e., having less power than their significant other), and that experience a great degree of stress surrounding not adhering to traditional male role norms, are more likely to engage in defensive, performative actions that are intended to restore their masculinity following a threat, as a way of reducing the

discomfort and stress associated with this experience ((Eisler & Skidmore, 1987; Bosson et al., 2005; Glick et al., 2007; Vandello et al., 2008; Bosson et al., 2009; Bosson & Michniewicz, 2013; Glick et al., 2015; Hunt et al., 2016; Netchaeva et al., 2015; O'Connor et al., 2017). In the present conceptual framework, masculinity instability is hypothesized to lead to DARP along a unidirectional predictive pathway due to power, and more specifically gaining power, being inextricably linked to what it means to be a man. Thus, when men experience their masculinity as easily lost or associate stress with adhering to male role norms, this should lead to their desire for additional power in their relationship, as this would serve to fulfill their socially prescribed norms of what it means to be a man, reduce male gender role stress and strain, and potentially serve as a defensive mechanism against masculinity threats.

In the conceptualized model, DARP serves as a mediating variable between masculinity ideologies, masculinity instability, and the DVs of IPV perpetration and coercive control. In other words, the present study's theoretical model hypothesizes that DARP can explain, to an extent, the reason why men who adhere to traditional masculinity ideologies and view their masculinity as unstable perpetrate IPV and coercive control: The desire for additional relationship power leads these men to use acts of violence as a means of adhering to masculinity ideologies and as a way to cope with the tenuous, stressful nature of masculinity ideology adherence. As discussed, power attainment has been an established motivating factor behind why men may perpetrate IPV within their relationships (Johnson & Ferrero, 2000 Jewkes, Levin, & Penn-Kekana, 2002; Diekman et al., 2004; Connell & Jamieson, 2017). However, the hypothesized

theoretical model being conceptualized in the present study is the first to examine power, and specifically the desire for more power in a relationship, as a motivational force that explains why adherence to masculinity ideologies and why experiencing masculinity as unstable leads to IPV perpetration; desiring more power is part of what it means to be a man, and perpetrating IPV is a means of viewing the self as more powerful and actually gaining more tangible power within the relationship. Thus, for men who hold these ideologies, desiring additional power can directly cause them to perpetrate IPV and coercive control.

Further, the hypothesized theoretical model does not examine DARP as an interaction with masculinity ideology or masculinity instability belief adherence, or as moderator between the model IVs and DVs, as it is modeled to be the mechanism driving men with these ideologies to perpetrate, and not as a boundary condition specifying which men of those who adhere to these beliefs will perpetrate. Desiring additional relationship power is hypothesized in the present study model to be a mechanism that can explain why the relationship exists between the IVs and the DVs. The scope of the theoretical model is not to determine under what conditions men with ideology adherence or beliefs about masculinity being unstable will perpetrate violence, but instead the aim is to determine why men who adhere to these ideologies perpetrate violence.

Lastly, the hypothesized theoretical model is conceptualized to include two separate DVs: Frequency of IPV perpetration, as measured by the Conflict Tactic Scale 2-Short Form (CTS2-SF) and coercive control, as measured by the Coercive Control Scale. The CTS2-SF scale intends to measure items that are related to more blatant forms

of IPV, such as physical abuse, verbal abuse, and sexual abuse, whereas the coercive control scale is interested in coercive controlling behaviors, which tend to be more subtle, nuanced forms of IPV with the intention of capturing a different set of behaviors than those included in the CTS2-SF. The CTS2-SF has been widely used to measure IPV in both university student samples (Straus et al., 1996), as well as samples of men who have a history of abuse (Chapman & Gillespie, 2019). The coercive control scale is not frequently used among samples of men who are known to have used abusive behavior (though other measures of coercive control have been) but has been used mostly among college and university student samples, and while the CTS2-SF has utility to measure the frequency of more extreme, or well-known forms of IPV perpetration,, the coercive control scale has the capacity as a standalone DV measure to inform the more nuanced power and control driven behaviors perpetrated by men who abuse, and how these behaviors can be predicted by power beliefs, as well as beliefs of traditional masculinity ideology adherence and the instability of masculinity. By including coercive control as a standalone DV indicator of IPV within the hypothesized theoretical model, it provides a novel contribution to the extant literature of what is known about the IV and mediator variable constructs as they serve to predict this specific subtype of IPV.

The Present Study

In order to further examine the previously described theoretical framework, I plan to test how variables of masculinity instability and masculinity ideologies predict IPV perpetration, and what role, if any, DARP has on the strength of these relationships. In the US, responses to IPV perpetration are implemented predominantly through the

criminal justice system, which often involves mandating individuals with IPV or DV related offenses to attend BIPs. The individuals who attend these programs are either mandated to complete the program through the criminal justice system due to a domestic violence misdemeanor offense, due to a state department of human services child-welfare mandate or are completing the program on a voluntary basis. For those who are mandated to complete the program, they are often referred from either the criminal court or family court system.

The decision to recruit a sample of men who are currently enrolled in a BIP, as opposed to from a university or community setting, was due in part to the majority of the previously reviewed studies being conducted using samples from college/ university or general community populations. Therefore, it is not entirely clear how the aforementioned phenomena exist in populations of men who have historically perpetrated IPV. Further, by conducting this research on a sample of men who are currently enrolled in BIPs, the present research findings are meaningful and applicable to those engaged in the development of prevention program curricula. Further, a prediction can be made that inquiring about IPV perpetration within a community or college/university sample could potentially result in restricted variability in measures that are frequently used to assess frequency of abuse, such as the ones being used within this study, as individuals from a university or community sample are potentially less likely to disclose accurate information regarding their history of perpetration due to concerns of social desirability or both social and legal consequences, whereas within the setting of a BIP, disclosure of past IPV perpetration is a normative expectation of participation.

Ideally, the conceptualized theoretical path model (Figure 1) would be tested using structural equation modeling (SEM). As opposed to running a series of separate mediational models, as is depicted in H1a-H4b, SEM would analyze all of these hypothesized pathways in a single model (Gunzler et al., 2013). However, the current sample is significantly underpowered to reliably conduct and interpret the hypothesized conceptual model tested using SEM framework.

Thus, the present study uses mediational analyses to examine how the variables of PMB and MGRSS, and two measures of masculinity ideologies (Male Role Norms Inventory- Short Form and the Conformity to Male Norms Inventory-30 item version) predict the frequency of IPV perpetration and the frequency of engaging in coercive controlling behaviors, as mediated by the variable of desire for additional relationship power. More specifically, the present study tests a series of eight mediational models, as depicted in Figures 1a-4b. In the first four models, I test to see if the desire for additional relationship power (DARP) mediates the relationship between PMB, MGRSS, Male Role Norms Inventory scores, Conformity to Male Norms Inventory scores and 12-month frequency of IPV perpetration. In the second four, I test to see if the desire for additional relationship power (DARP) mediates the relationship between PMB, MGRSS, Male Role Norms Inventory scores, Conformity to Male Norms Inventory scores and 12-month frequency of coercive controlling behaviors. Across all models, the direct and indirect effects models are compared in order to determine if the variable of the desire for additional relationship power mediates the relationship between the PMB, MGRSS, Male

Role Norms Inventory (MRNI) and Conformity to Male Norms Inventory (CMNI)

scores.

The present study tests the following series of research questions and hypotheses:

Research question 1a (RQ1a): Is the relationship between precarious manhood (PMB) and intimate partner violence (IPV) perpetration (measured by the CTS2-SF) fully mediated by a desire for additional power in a relationship (DARP) (Figure 1)?

Hypothesis 1a (H1a): DARP fully mediates the relationship between PMB and frequency of

IPV perpetration.

RQ1b: Is the relationship between masculine gender role strain and stress (MGRSS) and frequency of IPV perpetration fully mediated by DARP (Figure 1)?

H1b: DARP fully mediates the relationship between MGRSS and frequency of IPV perpetration.

RQ2a: Is the relationship between MRNI the frequency of IPV perpetration fully mediated by DARP (Figure 1)?

H2a: DARP fully mediates the relationship between MRNI and IPV perpetration.

R2b: Is the relationship between CMNI and the frequency of IPV perpetration mediated by DARP (Figure 1)?

H2b: DARP fully mediates the relationship between CMNI and IPV perpetration .

RQ3a: Is the relationship between PMB and frequency of coercive control behaviors fully mediated by DARP?

H3a: DARP fully mediates the relationship between PMB and frequency of coercive control behaviors (Figure 1).

RQ3b: Is the relationship between MGRSS and frequency of coercive control behaviors fully mediated by DARP (Figure 1)?

H3b: DARP fully mediates the relationship between MGRSS and frequency of coercive control behaviors.

RQ4a: Is the relationship between MRNI and frequency of coercive control behaviors fully mediated by DARP (Figure 1)?

H4a: DARP fully mediates the relationship between MRNI and frequency of coercive control behaviors.

RQ4b: Is the relationship between CMNI and frequency of coercive control behaviors fully mediated by DARP (Figure 1)?

H4b: DARP fully mediates the relationship between CMNI and frequency of coercive control behaviors.

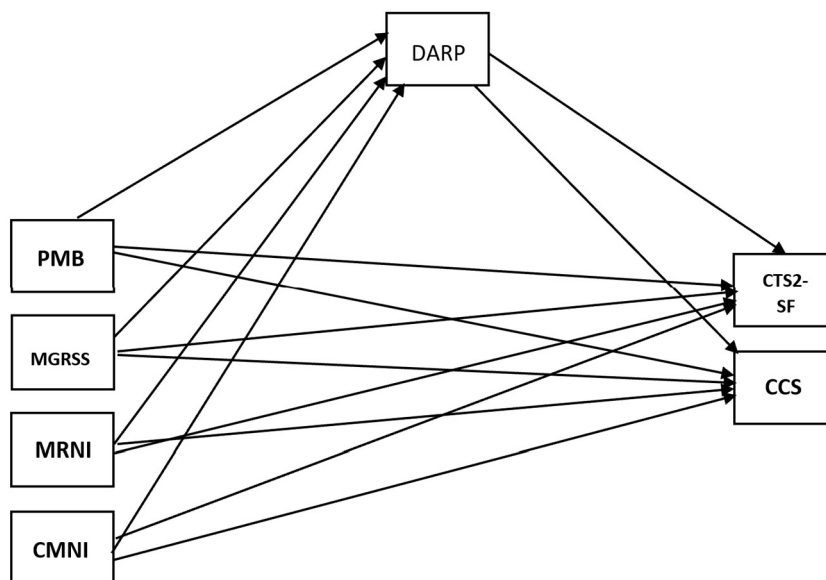*Figure 1.* Theoretical model depicting the hypothesized pathways predicted by H1a-H4b. IVs: Precarious Manhood Beliefs (PMB), Masculine Gender Role Stress and Strain (MGRSS), Male Role Norms Inventory (MRNI), Conformity to Male Norms Inventory (CMNI). Mediator: Desire for Additional Relationship Power (DARP). DVs: Conflict Tactic Scale 2- Short Form (CTS2-SF, measure of IPV perpetration), Coercive control scale (CCS).

CHAPTER 3. METHOD

Participants

In order to determine the appropriate sample size required to conduct the series of hypothesized mediation models, power analyses were conducted using G*Power 2 software (Faul, Erdfelder, Lang & Buchner, 2007) with an assumed α of .05, power of .95, and a small effect size ($\eta2 = .15$). The power analysis indicated a need for a sample size of 108 participants. Within the men's only battering intervention program (BIPs) groups, approximately 82% of participants ultimately decided to participate, leading to a sample of n = 110 participants recruited to participate in the present study from BIP groups ($k = 19$). A set of inclusion criteria was applied determine if participants are eligible to be included in the study sample. These inclusion criteria were developed based upon the notion that the guiding theoretical framework of this study, particularly as it relates to masculinity ideology adherence, has been studied predominantly on heterosexual, cis-gender, adult men. Only heterosexual, cis-gender men who are 18 years of age and older were included in the final study sample, and those who did not meet the aforementioned criteria were excluded. Moreover, the hypotheses of interest are focused on men who perpetrate IPV within the context of a relationship, the sample is limited to only men who have perpetrated abuse or violence against an intimate female partner with whom they were or are currently in a relationship. Thus, 95 men were ultimately included in the final sample used in the present study.

The participants for this study were recruited from Allies In Change, a Portland, OR area organization that conduct BIPs for men. Allies in Change is located in the

Portland Metro Area, with locations in both Multnomah County and Washington County, Oregon. Allies in Change provides individual, couple, and group counseling services to both men and women. Their programs offer BIPs to men who are either court mandated to attend BIPs or enroll in the BIP on a voluntary basis. The groups are open not closed, with continuous enrollment of new attendees as prior ones complete the program. Participants enroll in the BIPs at Allies in Change at different times and will have attended the programs for different lengths of time at the time of the data collection. Duration of enrollment in the program are measured and included as a covariate within the study analyses. Allies in Change was selected as a data collection site due to their specified counseling and group services geared toward intervening in abusive behaviors, specifically in men.

Due to the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic, state and federal health guidelines currently prohibit the gathering of groups larger than ten people. Thus, at the time of data collection, which occurred during the Summer of 2021, Allies in Change offered their weekly BIP groups through a virtual interface. Participants were recruited from both Allies in Change locations and from all men's only BIP virtual groups offered by the agency. The principal investigator (PI) or a research assistant (RA) attended the first portion of a single session of virtual group meetings in order to recruit participants to take part in the study and also to assist with technology as needed for participants to be able to complete the survey via Qualtrics, an online survey platform.

Measures

The Male Role Norms Inventory-Short Form. The MRNI-SF (Levant, Hall, & Rankin, 2013) is a 21-item measure that was adapted from the MRNI (Levant et al., 1992) in order to assess endorsement of traditional masculinity ideology, specifically by measuring men's level of agreement with certain statements about specific masculinity ideologies. The items are divided into seven separate subscales, including avoidance of femininity, fear and hatred of homosexuals, extreme self-reliance, aggression, dominance, non-relational attitudes toward sexuality, and restrictive emotionality. Participants are asked to indicate on seven-point Likert type scale how strongly they agree with specific statements, ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree). Items include statements such as "Men should excel at contact sports", "Men should always like to have sex," and "Men should be detached in emotionally charged situations." Past research has established that the MRNI-SF subscales have Cronbach alphas indicative of moderate to high levels of internal consistency ($\alpha =.73$ to $\alpha = .96$); the measure had a high level of internal consistency in the current sample ($\alpha = .94$). Additionally, further validation studies of the MRNI-SF have demonstrated evidence for the scale's convergent, construct, and incremental validity (Levant et al., 2007; Levant et al., 2015; Levant et al., 2016). This measure is scored by averaging across participant scores on each item, with higher scores indicating higher adherence to male role norms.

The Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory-30 item version (CMNI-30). This measure assesses the conformity to specific dominant cultural norms surrounding masculinity (Mahalik et al., 2003; Levant et al., 2020). Adapted from the original 94-item

scale which included 11 factors, the 30-item version of the CMNI was developed to be used as a psychometrically valid short form of the original measure. In the CMNI-30, a 10-factor structure (emotional control, winning, playboy, violence, heterosexual self-presentation, pursuit of status, primacy of work, power over women, self-reliance, and risk-taking) was identified that evidenced strong model fit and measurement invariance (Levant et al., 2020). Unlike the original CMNI which used a four-point response scale, the CMNI-30 uses a six-point response scale in order to obtain greater variability and precision in responding (0 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree). Sample items on the CMNI-30 include "I take risks," "I feel good when work is my first priority," "I would change sexual partners often if I could," and "I will do anything to win." A validation study on the CMNI-30 reports acceptable levels of reliability across all subscales, ranging from $\alpha = .72$ to $\alpha = .90$, as well as evidence for criterion, concurrent, and construct validity (Levant et al. 2020). In the present study, the CMNI-30 also demonstrated a high level of internal consistency ($\alpha = .88$). The scale is scored by reverse coding specific items and summing across all items to calculate a composite CMNI score.

The Precarious Manhood Beliefs Scale (PMB scale). The PMB scale is a 7-item measured developed to assess the extent that men agree with statements that manhood is something that is stable versus easily lost and in need of defense. Participants are asked to respond to a variety of items (e.g., "It is fairly easy for a man to lose his status as a man"; "Some boys do not become men, no matter how old they get) on a response scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree). Past research using the PMB scale to measure beliefs about the precariousness of masculinity have reported an acceptable level

of reliability (α = .83 - .87) (Vandello et al., 2008; O'Connor, Ford, & Banos, 2017).

Similarly, in the present study, the PMB scale demonstrated high internal consistency (α

=.87). This instrument is scored by averaging participant scores across each item on the

scale, with higher averages indicating higher agreement with the statements presented in

the measure. Recent research has indicated that the PMB scale is psychometrically valid

and is distinct from other commonly used measures of gender ideologies (Bosson et al.,

2021).

Abbreviated Masculine Gender Role Stress Scale (A-MGRSS). This modified

abbreviated version of Eisler and Skidmore's (1987) MGRSS scale was developed to

assess the stress and strain men experience due to their attempted adherence to masculine

role norms across five factors of physical inadequacy, emotional inexpressiveness,

subordination to women, intellectual inferiority, and performance failure (Swartout et al.,

2015). Abbreviated from the original version, participants respond to 15 items, indicated

the degree of stress they anticipate experiencing when considering each statement, on a

scale of 0 (not stressful at all) to 5 (extremely stressful). Like the original MGRSS scale,

the A-MGRSS measures items across five subscales, including subordination to women,

physical inadequacy, emotional inexpressiveness, performance failure, and intellectual

inferiority (Eisler & Skidmore, 1987). Example items include statements such as "Being

outperformed at work by a woman," "Having others say that you are too emotional", and

"Being perceived as having feminine traits." The abbreviated version of the MGRSS has

a high internal consistency (α =.92), and validation studies have established that it has

comparable convergent and construct validity to that of the full length MGRSS (Swartout

et al., 2015). In the present study, the scale also demonstrated a similarly high level of

internal consistency, in comparison to the previous research (α =.91). An overall score for

this scale can be determined by summing and computing an average score across all

items, with higher scores indicating greater masculine role stress. Subscale scores are also

available by summing and computing an average across each subscale item (Swartout et

al., 2015).

Desire for Additional Power – Modified (DARP). This modified version of

Williams et al.'s (2017) Desire for Power Scale captures the extent to which participants

seek additional power within the context of their romantic relationships (Traeder &

Zeigler-Hill, 2020). This scale consists of four-items, including the item "I deserve to be

a more powerful and influential person in my relationship than I am now," and "In a

fairer world, I would have more control over my partner than I do now." Participants

indicate their level of agreement with each statement based on a seven-point Likert-scale,

with 1 = strongly disagree to 7 = strongly agree. Previous research has established that

the modified version of this scale has an acceptable level of internal consistency (α =.

85). In alignment with the previous research, in the present study the DARP scale also

demonstrated high levels of internal consistency (α =.91). In order to score this measure,

participant responses are averaged, with a higher score indicating a higher desire for

additional power in their relationship.

Coercive Control Scale – Modified (CCS). This 11-item scale was originally

designed to assess women's frequency of experiencing coercive controlling behaviors by

their male partners. For the purpose of the present study, this scale was modified to

measure the frequency of perpetration of IPV in the form of coercive controlling behaviors toward a female partner. Participants are asked if over the past year they have been angry with their partner for a variety of reasons, including items such as "They don't work," "They are not obedient," and "They do not want to have sexual intercourse." Participants respond on an 8-point Likert scale, ranging from 1 (once in the past year) to 8 (this has never happened). Originally, this scale was scored dichotomously (0 = no coercive controlling behavior present, 1 = coercive controlling behaviors present). However, the present study is concerned not only with whether or not these behaviors are occurring but with the frequency in which these behaviors occur, thus the response scale has been modified to allow for participants to report frequency over a 12-month period of time. Since this scale has been modified specifically for use in the present study, Cronbach's alpha cannot be computed at this time. However, the original configuration of the measure yielded an acceptable level of internal consistency ($\alpha = .80$) (Terrazas-Carrillo & McWhirter, 2015). The modified version of this scale utilized for the present study also demonstrated an acceptable level of internal consistency, consistent with the original measure ($\alpha = .80$).

    Conflict-Tactic Scale 2-Short form modified. The CTS2-SF modified is derived from both the CTS and the CTS2, a scale intended to measure the frequency of both IPV perpetration and victimization over a 12-month period of time. The largest difference between the CTS and the CTS2 is that the CTS2 includes questions about sexual coercion and physical injury that resulted from being assaulted by a partner. The CTS2 also operationalizes more thoroughly the difference between minor and severe acts of abuse

(Straus et al., 1996). The original CTS2 was quite lengthy, which lead to the development of a short form version of the CTS2; the CTS2-SF. For the present study, the variable of interest is concerned only with acts of IPV perpetration, thus a further modification has been made to the CTS2-SF leading to an 11-item scale where only the questions inquiring about perpetration were included from the original CTS2-SF. Participants are asked to report how frequently over the past 12 months (1 = once in the past year, 4 = 6-10 times in the past year, 8 = This has never happened) have they engaged in certain behaviors such as "…insulted or swore or shouted or yelled at partner," "I punched or kicked or threatened to hit my partner." Past studies examining the validity of the CTS2 have established that the scale does demonstrate construct validity, similarly to that found with the full CTS (Jones, Ji, Beck, & Beck, 2002). Furthermore, in the present study, the CTS-2 SF demonstrated an acceptable level of internal consistency (α =.71), providing evidence for the reliability of the CTS2-SF.

Participant Demographics & Criminal History Questionnaire. In order to determine the demographic composition of the participant sample, a series of demographic questions were asked of the participants, including participant age, gender, race, education level, socioeconomic status. Participants were asked about the circumstances leading to their referral into the BIP group (i.e., court mandated, child welfare mandate, voluntary/partner mandated attendance).

Information about how long individuals have been attending the group is included in the hypothesized models as a covariate. Thus, participants were asked to indicate the

month and year that they started attending the BIP so this information could be controlled

for within the tests of the hypothesized models.

    Model Covariates. Due to the possibility that period of time spent enrolled in a

BIP could impact respondent's scores on the variable measures, the variable of duration

of group enrollment was entered into each model as a covariate in order to control for this

confounding variable. Respondents reported the month and year of their enrollment.

Participant responses were coded numerically based on their month and year of

enrollment, such that those who began the group the month and year of data collection

were coded as 1, those the month before data collection began were coded as 2, those

who started two months before were coded as 3, and so on. Numerical values ranged

from 1 month to 25 months, to represent a range of 1 month or less to 24 months or more

of attendance in the BIP program.

Procedure

    Pre-data collection. Prior to beginning data collection, the PI and RAs attended

an Allies In Change virtual staff meeting with the BIP group facilitators. During this

meeting, the PI and RAs explained the study procedure and provided an overview of the

measures to the group facilitators. Even though the facilitators did not administer the

surveys, they were provided a guide to assist in answering questions that the participants

might have about any specific measure or other procedural questions following their

participation in the study. Prior to the meeting, copies of the study questionnaire were

emailed to the group facilitators for their review.

Virtual survey administration. The PI or RA (henceforth referred to as the researchers) attended a portion of a single, weekly virtual BIP meeting. At about 15 minutes into the session, one of the researchers joined the session virtually to introduce the study to the men and request their participation. The group facilitators mentioned to the group during the prior week's meeting that during their meeting the following week, they would be asked to take part in a research study by researchers from Portland State University. Thus, the participants knew to expect the researchers when they arrived at the session. During the recruitment procedure, the researchers emphasized the voluntary nature of participation and that the decision to not volunteer will not result in any potential legal or social ramifications for the men. The researcher then placed a link to the Qualtrics survey in the Zoom Chat, which is a feature of Zoom that is available to all who are attending the session and then asked the men to click on the link and access it in real time. Once all interested participants accessed the Qualtrics link, they were asked to complete a short eligibility questionnaire assessing for the pre-determined eligibility criteria. Next, the researcher directed all eligible participants to the informed consent form on the following page. The researcher read over the informed consent form aloud, answered any questions pertaining to the study or the information listed in the informed consent, and then instructed participants to complete the informed consent form. Eligible participants who consented began the study procedure. Those who denied participation muted their video and microphone and remained in the session.

Upon consenting, the participants were directed to complete a series of questionnaires. First, in order to assess masculinity ideology adherence, participants

completed the MRNI-SF (Levant et al., 1992; Levant et al., 2007) and CMNI-30

(Mahalik et al., 2003; Levant et al., 2020). Next, in order to assess adherence to

precarious manhood beliefs, participants completed the PMB scale (PMB; Vandello et

al., 2008), followed by the A-MGRSS (Eisler & Skidmore, 1987; Swartout et al., 2015)

to assess stress and strain associated with male gender role adherence. To measure sense

the desire for more relationship power, the modified DARP scale was also completed.

Next, participants were asked to report on their coercive controlling behaviors (modified

Coercive Control Scale; Terrazas-Carrillo & McWhirter, 2015) and their 12 month

history of IPV perpetration (perpetration items from the Revised Conflict-Tactics Scale,

CTS2-SF Modified; Straus et al., 1996). For the final series of questions, participants

reported some basic demographic information, including age, sexual orientation,

relationship status, racial identity, educational achievement, socioeconomic status, and

religious affiliation.

Upon completion of the study, the participants read a debriefing statement, and

they were dismissed from the study. At that time, the researchers thanked the participants

and group facilitator for their time and participation and exited the Zoom session, thus

leaving the virtual BIP meeting. Due to the mandatory nature of a large proportion of the

participants' attendance in weekly BIP group sessions, compensation for participation in

the study is not considered to be ethical in this circumstance, as participants are attending

sessions and engaging in material as a result of a criminal conviction for IPV

perpetration.

Statistical Software for Hypotheses Testing

In order to test the series of hypothesized mediational models, the PROCESS Macro version 4 for SPSS (Hayes, 2022) was used. The PROCESS Macro was chosen due to using the percentile bootstrap method, which estimates the data in a single step, versus a multiple step method, thus reducing the occurrence of Type-1 error (Tofighi & MacKinnon, 2011; Tofighi & MacKinnon, 2016). Further, the PROCESS Macro can analyze model data with non-normal variable distributions, which was necessary based on the distributions of IPV perpetration and coercive control. The PROCESS Macro tests for each regression pathway, between the predictor and mediator, mediator and outcome, the direct effect between the predictor and the dependent variables, and the indirect effect that the mediator has on the pathway between the independent variable and the dependent variable in one single step. The PROCESS Macro provides 95% confidence intervals to determine a significant indirect effect to indicate full mediation, such that if 0 is absent from the confidence interval, there is a significant indirect effect, thus a fully mediated model. For all of the hypothesized mediation models, indirect effects were tested using a percentile bootstrap estimation approach with 10,000 samples (Shrout & Bolger, 2002).

CHAPTER 4: RESULTS

Data Cleaning and Preparation

Before testing the hypothesized mediational models, the data set was examined for missingness of data. Missing data analyses were conducted using IBM SPSS Statistics for Windows Version 28 to determine the pattern behind any missing data in the dataset. First, Little's Missing Completely at Random (MCAR) test was conducted to test the source of missingness, with data concluded to be missing completely at random, χ^2 (4426) = 2588.06, p = 1.000, with no item having more than 5% of missingness (Collins et al, 2001). Thus, conducting multiple imputation procedures to replace missing values was not needed. To examine outliers, leverage and Cook's Distance were computed, resulting in the case-wise deletion of one case that had a Cook's Distance value that was approaching the suggested cut off of 1 (Bollen & Jackman, 1984). Two additional cases were found to have failed all three of the built-in attention check questions embedded into the online survey questionnaire at various points throughout the survey procedure and were also deleted from the sample using case-wise deletion.

Assumptions of regression. Assumptions of normality, heteroscedasticity, and linearity were assessed by using diagnostic procedures consisting of Q-Q Plots, P-P Plots, and residual scatterplots. Based on visual examination of the variables of IPV perpetration and coercive control, there appeared to be evidence of potential non-normality on the P-P Plots. Further, both variables had Shapiro-Wilk scores of over <.05, which supported the conclusion that the distributions of the IPV perpetration and coercive control were non-normal. Multicollinearity was assessed among the variables by

examining scores of VIF and tolerance. All of the VIF scores were < 5, indicating no significant presence of multicollinearity among the variables.

Descriptive Statistics

Descriptive statistics for all predictor and dependent variables can be found in Table 4.1. Tests of descriptive statistics were conducted on the final sample ($N = 95$). The age of the sample ranged from 21 to 70 years old ($M = 39.62$, $SD = 12.28$). The sample was diverse in regard to race and ethnicity, including those who identified as White (65.2%), Spanish, Hispanic, or Latinx (18%), mixed race (7.3%), (Black or African American (6.3%), or Native American/American Indian or Native Alaskan (3.1%). Further, a wide range of income levels were also represented within the sample, with 17.9% earning less than $20,000, 13.7% earning $21-40,000, 20% earning $41-60,000, 12.6% earning $61-80,000, 12.6% earning $81-$100,000, and 21% earning more than $100,000 yearly. Multiple levels of educational attainment were also present in the sample, with 5% completing some high school, 25.8% completing high school, 21.6% completing some college, 16.5% completing an associate degree or certification, 7.2% completing a bachelor's degree, 3.1% completing a master's degree, and 2.1% completing a professional level degree (Ph.D., M.D., J.D., etc.).

In the study sample, 58 of the participants were referred to attend a BIP due to a criminal justice system mandate due to a domestic violence misdemeanor offense, 3 were referred due to a state department of human services child-welfare mandate, and 24 were attending voluntarily. The remaining 12 reported being there due to other reasons, such as

other non-related IPV or DV charges. The average time that the men had been attending the BIP group was 8.15 months ($SD = 7.49$).

   Bivariate relationships among model variables. Bivariate correlations were conducted between the main study variables (Table 4.2) in order to examine whether relationships existed among them to justify more complex regression models to examine the study hypotheses. As expected, PMB was significantly correlated with MRNI ($r = .22$, $p < .05$), CMNI ($r = .28$, $p < .01$), DARP ($r = .20$, $p < .05$), IPV perpetration ($r = .26$, $p < .05$), and coercive control ($r = .26$, $p < .05$). Unexpectedly, PMB was not significantly correlated with MGRSS. Again, as expected, MRNI was significantly correlated with CMNI ($r = .68$, $p < .001$), MGRSS ($r = .61$, $p < .001$), DARP ($r = .48$, $p < .001$), and coercive control ($r = .21$, $p < .05$), but was not significantly correlated with IPV perpetration. CMNI was significantly correlated with MGRSS ($r = .51$, $p < .001$), IPV perpetration ($r = .28$, $p < .01$), and coercive control ($r = .31$, $p < .01$). MGRSS was significantly correlated with DARP ($r = .48$, $p < .001$), but not significantly correlated with either dependent variable. DARP was significantly correlated with IPV perpetration ($r = .21$, $p < .01$) and coercive control ($r = .43$, $p < .001$).

   The covariate of group start date was not significantly correlated with any of the main study variables, indicating that there was no significant relationship between how long the individuals had been attending the group and their outcomes on any of the IV, mediator, or DV measures. The implications of these findings are discussed in the following chapter.

Tests of Mediational Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1a. Regression analysis was used to test H1a, which states that DARP fully mediates the relationship between PMB and IPV (Table 4.3). Results indicated that PMB was a significant predictor of DARP (B =.18, SE =.09 , 95% CI [.002, .36], β =.21, p <.05) and frequency of IPV (B = .33, SE = .16 , 95% CI [.13, .65], β = .21, p <.05) and that DARP was significantly predictive frequency of IPV over the last 12 months (B = .51, SE = .19 , 95% CI [.13, .88], β = .27, p <.01). In other words, men's PMB was positively associated with their IPV perpetration, as well as their DARP scores. After controlling for DARP, the direct effect between PMB and IPV remained significant, and the indirect effect was found not to be significant (B = .09, SE = .06, 95% CI [-.01, .23], β = .06). Taken together, while DARP was not found to significantly mediate the relationship between PMB and frequency of IPV, there is evidence that both PMB and DARP significantly predict a higher frequency of IPV and together account for a significant amount of variance in frequency of IPV, R^2 = .14, F (3,89) = 4.68, p <. 005.

Hypothesis 1b. Regression analysis was used to test H1b, which stated that DARP mediates the relationship between MGRSS and IPV (Table 4.4). Results indicated that MGRSS was a significant predictor of DARP (B =.46, SE =.15, 95% CI [.15, .75], β = .30, p <.005) and that DARP significantly predict frequency of IPV (B = .52, SE = .20, 95% CI [.13, .91], β = .28, p <.01), meaning that as men reported finding situations of gender role violations more stressful, they also reported wanting more power in their relationship, and that desire for additional relationship power also was associated with higher reported frequency of IPV. However, MGRSS was not found to significantly predict frequency of IPV (B = .33, SE = .30 , 95% CI [-.27, .92], β = .11, p = .28).

Neither the direct effect nor the indirect effect model (B = .23, SE = .15, 95% CI [-.01,

.55], β = .08) were significant. However, similar to H1a, together MGRSS and DARP

accounted for a significant amount of variance in the frequency of IPV, R^2 =.11, F (3,89)

= 3.63, p <. 05.

Hypothesis 2a. A series of regression analyses were also used to test H2a, which

stated that DARP mediates the relationship between MRNI and IPV (Table 4.5). Results

indicated that MRNI significantly predicted DARP (B =.50, SE =.10, 95% CI [.30, .69], β

= .48, p <.001), and DARP significantly predicted frequency of IPV (B = .66, SE = .21,

95% CI [.23, 1.08], β = .35, p < .005). In other words, as men reported more adherence to

male role norms, they also reported higher instances of desiring more power in their

relationship, and similarly to H1a and H1b, desiring additional relationship power was

associated with higher frequency of IPV. However, MRNI was not significantly

predictive of frequency IPV (B = -.16, SE = .22, 95% CI [-.61, .28], p = .47. Evidence for

mediation did emerge, as the indirect effect of the model was significant (B = .33, SE =

.16, 95% CI [.07, .68], β = .17, meaning that DARP did explain a significant amount of

the relationship between MRNI and IPV, and that the beta coefficient between MRNI and

IPV perpetration decreased significantly when taking DARP into account. Further,

together, the variables accounted for a significant amount of variance in the frequency of

IPV perpetration, R^2 = .10, F (3,89) = 3.40, p <.05.

Hypothesis 2b. To test H2b, regression analyses were used to test the hypothesis

that DARP mediates the relationship between CMNI and IPV (Figure 4.6). Results

indicate that CMNI significantly predicted DARP (B = 1.09, SE =.16, 95% CI [.77, 1.40],

β = .58, *p* <.001), meaning that as men reported more conformity to norms about what it means to be a man, they also reported desire for more power in their relationship. While approaching significance, in this model, DARP did not significantly predict frequency of IPV (B =.42, SE =.23, 95% CI [-.04, .88], β = .23, *p* = .07). CMNI also did not significantly predict frequency of IPV (B =.51, SE = .43, 95% CI [-.34, 1.37], β = .15, *p* =.23). Neither the direct effect nor the indirect effect model was significant (B = .46, SE = .43, 95% CI [-.04, 1.02] ,β = .13). Taken together, while DARP was not found to significantly mediate the relationship between CMNI and frequency of IPV perpetration, CMNI and DARP together accounted for a significant amount of variance in frequency of IPV, R^2 = .11, *F* (3,89) = 3.73, *p* <. 05.

Hypothesis 3a. H3a, which states that DARP mediates the relationship between PMB and frequency of coercive control, was tested using a series of regression analyses (Table 4.7). PMB predicted DARP (B = .18, SE =.09, 95% CI [.00, .36], β = .21, *p* <.05) and the frequency of coercive control (B = .49, SE = .25, 95% CI [.01, .99], β = .19, *p* <.05). Consistent with H1a, as men adhered more to beliefs about manhood being unstable, subject to threat, and in need of defense, they also reported desiring additional relationship power and using coercive control more frequently over the past 12 months. DARP also significantly predicted the frequency of coercive controlling behaviors (B = 1.19, SE =.30, 95% CI [.61, 1.77], β = .38, *p* <.005). Approximately 22% of variance in IPV perpetration was accounted for by the predictors, , R^2 = .22, *F* (3,90) = 8.29, *p* <. 01. After controlling for DARP, the direct effect between PMB and frequency of coercive control remained significant, but the indirect effect was not significant (B = .22, SE = .13,

95% CI [-.02, .49], β = .08). Taken together, this pattern of findings provides evidence

for a direct only mediation (Khao et al., 2010).

  Hypothesis 3b. To test H3b, which states that DARP mediates the relationship

between MGRSS and frequency of coercive control, a series of regression analyses were

conducted (Figure 4.8). MGRSS was found to significantly predict DARP (B = .45, SE

=.15 , 95% CI [.14, .75], β = .29, *p* <.005) and DARP was found to significantly predict

frequency of coercive control (B = 1.28, SE = .31, 95% CI [.68, 1.89], β = .42, *p* <.001).

MGRSS was not found to be significantly predictive of the frequency of coercive control

(B = .12, SE = .47 , 95% CI [.68, 1.90], β = .03, *p* = .80), indicating that there was no

significant direct effect in the model. Further, no significant indirect effect was evidence

in the model (B = .58, SE = .30, 95% CI [-.02, 1.11], β = .12). However, together the

variables accounted for a significant amount of variance accounted for in the frequency

of coercive control, R^2 = .18, *F* (3,90) = 6.77, *p* <. 001. These findings are similar to those

of H1b, and the theoretical implications of these findings are discussed in the following

chapter.

  Hypothesis 4a. To test H4a, a series of regression analyses were used to determine

if DARP mediates the relationship between MRNI and frequency of coercive control

(Figure 4.9). MRNI was found to significantly predict DARP (B = .50 SE =.10, 95% CI

[.31, .69], β = .48, *p* <.001), and DARP was found to significantly predict frequency of

coercive control (B = 1.31, SE = .33, 95% CI [.64, 1.97], β = .43, *p* <.001. While MRNI

did not significantly predict the frequency of coercive control (B = .00, SE =.35, 95% CI

[-.69, .69], β = .00, *p* =.99), like in H2a, the indirect effect examining DARP as a

mediating mechanism between MRNI and frequency of coercive control was found to be significant (B = .66, SE = .25, 95% CI [.24, 1.21], β = .21). Taken together, the indirect effects model is consistent with full mediation, as the direct effect coefficient was significantly reduced by taking DARP into account. In other words, DARP explained a significant amount of the relationship between MRNI and IPV perpetration, and the coefficient between MRNI and IPV perpetration decreased significantly when taking DARP into account. Further, together the variables accounted for a significant amount of variance in the frequency of coercive control, R^2 = .18, F (3,90) = 6.74.

Hypothesis 4b. Lastly, H4b was tested using a series of regression analyses to determine if DARP mediates the relationship between CMNI and frequency of coercive control (Figure 4.10). A similar pattern of results to H2b emerged, as CMNI was found to significantly predict DARP (B = 1.09, SE =.16, 95% CI [.78, 1.40], β = .59, p <.001), and DARP was found to significantly predict frequency of coercive control (B = 1.17, SE = .36, 95% CI [.45, 1.88], β = .38, p <.005). While CMNI did not significantly predict the frequency of coercive control (B = .44, SE =.66, 95% CI [-.88, 1.76], β = .08, p = .51), the indirect effect examining DARP as a mediating mechanism between CMNI and frequency of coercive control was found to be significant (B = 1.27, SE = .43, 95% CI [.51, 2.18], β = .23). Taken together, the indirect effects model is consistent with full mediation, as there was a significant reduction in the direct effect coefficient when taking DARP into account. Further, together the variables accounted for a significant amount of variance in the frequency of coercive control, R^2 = .19, F (3, 90) = 6.93, p <.001.

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION

Building upon a body of literature that establishes a link between masculinity

ideologies, and variables of masculinity instability (MGRSS and PMB) and frequency of

IPV perpetration (Eisler & Skidmore, 1987; Parrott & Zeichner, 2003; Vandello et al.,

2008; Bosson et al., 2009; Reidy et al., 2009; Reidy, Berkey, Gentile, & Zeichner,

2014;O'Connor, Mankowski, Manriquez, & Szabo in preparation), this study investigated

whether PMB is positively related to IPV and whether this relationship is mediated by

desire for power. Also tested was if abusive men's desire for additional power within

their relationship served as a mediating mechanism between masculinity ideologies and

IPV perpetration, as well as coercive controlling behaviors. Desire for additional power

within relationships was also tested as a mediating variable within between variables of

masculinity instability and IPV perpetration, including coercive controlling behaviors. In

this chapter, theoretical implications related to the hypothesized model findings are

discussed, followed by a general discussion of the applied implications of the study

findings. Next, a section detailing the limitations of the present study's methodology and

results are presented, concluding with a discussion of future directions based upon the

present study findings.

Summary of Findings and Theoretical Implications

PMBs, DARP, and IPV perpetration/coercive control. Similar findings emerged

for both hypotheses H1a (DARP fully mediates the relationship between PMB and

frequency of IPV perpetration) and H3a (DARP fully mediates the relationship between

PMB and frequency of coercive control behaviors). In both models, endorsement of PMB

was predictive of DARP, meaning that as men perceived manhood to be more easily lost, subject to threat, or in need of defense, they reported greater desire for having more power within their relationship. Further, in model H1a, scores of DARP were positively predictive of reported 12-month frequency of IPV perpetration. Similarly, in H3a, DARP levels were positively predictive of 12-month reported frequency of using coercive control behaviors. Together, this implies that as men's reported desire for more power in their relationship increased, so did their reported frequency of IPV and coercive controlling behaviors. And lastly, in models testing H1a and H3a, PMB was positively predictive of the frequency of IPV perpetration, as well as the frequency of coercive control. However, both models were absent a significant indirect effect, indicating that DARP could not explain the causal relationship between PMB and IPV perpetration, nor that between PMB and coercive control behavior.

Taken together, these findings provide significant and novel contributions to the extant literature on the outcomes of endorsing PMB. While previous research has robustly identified that men respond to a threatened masculinity by endorsing ideological dominance over women (Dahl et al., 2015), this study is the first to my knowledge to demonstrate a significant relationship between endorsing PMB and having a desire for additional relationship power in heterosexual relationships. Demonstrations of power have been hypothesized to serve as a mechanism for exhibiting and defending masculinity (Anderson & Umberson, 2001). Further, power is considered part of what it means to be a man, based on Westernized ideals of masculinity (Connell, 1987; Messerschmidt, 2019).

Thus, establishing that men who consider their masculinity as easily lost and in need of defense also hold a desire for additional power in their relationship has the possibility to extend what we know about men who endorse PMB and their perceptions of their entitlement to power in their romantic relationships. Further, the role that PMB has on men with a history of abuse relationship functioning has not been previously explored. Thus, this study sheds light on how PMB may impact men's perceptions of their need for power within their relationship and allows researchers to better understand the role that interpersonal power dynamics may have in men's motivation to perpetrate IPV. In short, men who experience their masculinity as unstable seem to also view themselves as not having as much power as they feel they should and that they are more likely to report themselves as being deserving of more power than they currently have in their relationships.

Additional novel findings relate to the significant predictive pathways between DARP and the frequency of perpetration of IPV and coercive control behaviors. While a great breadth of research has robustly established power as a motivating factor of men's IPV perpetration (Johnson & Ferrero, 2000; Jewkes, Levin, & Penn-Kekana, 2002; Connell & Jamieson, 2017), establishing DARP as a standalone factor in men's perpetration of IPV is important because it provides further evidence of IPV being a function of men's power attainment, and it also demonstrates that men are experiencing a deficit of power. Taken together with previous work, if IPV is truly a means to exert power over another, then determining that someone has a desire for additional power

should be researched as a potential casual mechanism between other constructs of power and IPV perpetration.

Building upon O'Connor et al. (in preparation), the present study replicated the findings of a significant relationship between PMB and IPV perpetration and extended these findings by a) demonstrating this finding in a sample of men with a history of abuse and b) demonstrating this finding extends to other forms of IPV perpetration (i.e., coercive control). Theoretically, this provides additional evidence for the notion that PMB is indeed a factor that can and should be used in predicting men's aggression, and particularly, men's IPV perpetration. What makes PMB distinct from other theories about masculinity is that it describes the defense of manhood through performative action and has been linked to aggression toward others (Vandello et al., 2008). Thus, this aspect of the theory is especially relevant to what is known about why men use IPV. Further, these findings build upon and extend the extant literature linking PMB and masculinity threats to aggression in a novel way (Bosson et al., 2009; O'Connor et al., in preparation), as this study demonstrates PMB as an externally valid predictor of violence perpetrated by men with a documented history of IPV, as opposed to college student samples. For example, previous research has studied aggression as it relates to masculinity threats using lab based experimental studies (Bosson et al., 2009) and lab created vignette scenarios (O'Connor et al., in preparation). Thus, the present study extends this previous work by demonstrating the role that experiencing masculinity as unstable and subject to threat potentially has as a predictor of men's violence perpetration in real-world scenarios, such as within the context of intimate relationships.

MGRSS, DARP, and IPV perpetration/coercive control. When examining H1b and H3b, which tested DARP as a mediator of the relationship between MGRSS and frequency of IPV perpetration and behaviors of coercive control, respectively, similar patterns of findings emerged among both models. MGRSS significantly predicted levels of DARP, indicating that men who experienced more stress and strain associated with maintaining masculinity also reported the desire for having more power in their relationships. And while in these models DARP also predicted both frequency of IPV perpetration and engaging in coercive control behaviors, MGRSS did not significantly predict either IPV perpetration or engaging in coercive control behaviors. In both models examining H1b and H3b, there was no significant direct effect. Further, DARP did not significantly mediate the relationships between MGRSS and frequency of IPV perpetration or frequency of occurrences of coercive control.

MGRSS as a significant predictor of DARP can be further understood by reviewing the literature on the source of strain and stress that encompasses MGRSS as a construct. Theorists describe experiences of MGRSS being explicitly linked to stress experienced from men's perceptions of themselves as failing to adhere to masculine role norms, or engaging in defensive behaviors (Eisler & Skidmore, 1987; Moore et al., 2010). Additional research has established that power is fundamentally linked to masculinity ideologies, and within relationships, having less power than a partner is likely to threaten masculinity (Kelley & Thibaut, 1978; Dahl et al., 2015; Overall et al., 2016; Connell & Jamieson, 2017). Thus, MGRSS predicting DARP contributes to this existing body of literature, by demonstrating a positive association between perceptions

of not meeting social masculine norms as being stressful and the desire for additional

power in a relationship. This lends to the notion that wanting to have more power, or

having more power, particularly in the context of an intimate relationship is important for

men, specifically men who experience stress surrounding perceiving themselves as not

meeting masculine norms.

Contrasting to previous literature that linked MGRSS to IPV perpetration (Moore

et al., 2008), in the mediational models tested here (H1b and H3b), there was no

significant direct effect, or significant predictive pathway between MGRS and both

frequency of IPV perpetration and coercive control. These findings are also in opposition

to the findings of H1a and H3a, where PMB, the other variable of masculinity instability,

did significantly predict both IPV and coercive control. Theoretically, this raises the

possibility that while PMB and MGRSS are both theories that highlight an overall sense

of discomfort that some men experience when it comes to manhood being tenuous, these

two constructs potentially diverge in important ways. Evidence for this is found within

this study, as these two variables were not significantly correlated ($r = .06$, $p = .56$),

providing evidence for possible divergent validity. This could be due to the nature of the

items on the measures. The PMB scale is asking respondents to indicate their personal

endorsement of ideologies about manhood, whereas the MGRSS scale is asking

respondents to indicate *how stressful* they find a series of scenarios depicting violations

of masculine role norms. Thus, it is possible that an individual may endorse beliefs or

acknowledge that in American culture, manhood can be lost through threats, and needs to

be proven and defended, but not necessarily report feeling stressed by violating gender role norms.

A further theoretical explanation for the non-relationship between these two variables in the present study can be found in re-visiting the categories of male role norms, established by Cicone and Ruble (1978), particularly the category of "the sturdy oak," which describes men being socialized to never show weakness. The self-report nature of the MGRSS may have unintentionally violated this norm by requiring men to explicitly report experiencing stress, which could be considered by some men as a demonstration of weakness. Taken together, these two explanations can shed light on why ultimately, PMB and MGRSS were not found to be significantly correlated with each other, as well as MGRSS failing to predict the frequency of IPV perpetration and behaviors of coercive control.

MRNI, DARP, and IPV perpetration/coercive control. Both models H2a, which tested DARP as a mediating mechanism between MRNI and frequency of IPV perpetration, and H4a, which tested DARP as a mediating mechanism between MRNI and frequency of coercive control behaviors, demonstrated a similar pattern of findings. In both models, MRNI was significantly and positively predictive of DARP, and DARP was significantly and positively predictive of both frequency of IPV perpetration and coercive controlling behaviors. While the direct effect between MRNI and frequency of IPV perpetration (H2a) and frequency of coercive control behaviors (H4a) was not significant, in both hypothesized models, there was a significant indirect effect, indicating

that DARP did mediate the relationship between MRNI and both frequency of IPV

perpetration and coercive controlling behaviors.

Endorsement of male role norms, as measured by the MRNI-SF, predicted men's

DARP, which coincides with the extant literature (Connell, 1987;Dahl et al., 2015;

Messerschmidt, 2019). While hypothesized to lead to frequency of IPV perpetration and

behaviors of coercive control, men's endorsement of traditional male role norms as

measured by the MRNI-SF did not significant predict either outcome. As described

previously, power and dominance are inextricably linked to what it means to be a man.

Men are socialized to have a sense of entitlement to these aspects of masculinity (Levant,

1996; Levant, 2011; Thompson & Bennett, 2015). Establishing that the endorsement of

traditional ideologies predicts desire for additional relationship power adds to this body

of work in a novel way, as it is the first study to look at these ideologies as being linked

to a desire for *more* relationship power in comparison to one's partner. This extends the

aforementioned association between endorsement of traditional masculinity ideologies

and power by specifically examining the correlation within the context of a romantic or

intimate relationship and the notion that abusive men who adhere to masculinity

ideologies also view themselves as entitled to power not just in society as a whole, but

also within their relationships. For example, items on the DARP scale ask men to indicate

how strongly they agree with statements such as "I deserve to be a more powerful and

influential person than I am now in my relationship," and "I don't have as much power in

my romantic relationship as I deserve." These particular items nicely illustrate how the

DARP scale directly measures how deserving (or entitled) men feel they are to relationship power.

In both models H2a and H4a, there was no direct effect between MRNI and frequency of IPV perpetration or frequency of using behaviors of coercive control. In other words, MRNI did not significantly predict frequency of either outcome. This finding is in direct contradiction to a body of research that has established masculinity ideologies as predictive of men's IPV perpetration and that using violence and aggression comprises what it means to be a man in Western cultures (Parrot & Zeichner, 2003; Reidy et al., 2009; Reidy et al., 2014). One plausible explanation as to why these findings emerged in the hypothesized models could be due to the specific sample of men with a history of IPV perpetration in the present study. The men who attend BIP groups at Allies in Change are exposed to curriculum that directly addresses masculinity ideologies. Thus, the group of men in this study may have had more exposure, on average in comparison to the whole population of men who abuse and the whole population of men in general, to the concept of male role norms and their relationship to IPV perpetration. It is possible that by attending their BIP group sessions, the men in this sample are potentially working to actively lessen their adherence to these norms, which may have been evident in their scores on both of the MRNI-SF and the CMNI-30 in the present study. In an effort to reduce the impact that this previously attained knowledge about masculinity ideologies may have had on the hypothesized models, duration of total time attending the group was entered into the models as a covariate. However, it is still possible that even being in the

group for a short duration of time could have resulted in a marked decrease is masculinity ideology adherence.

Despite the non-significant direct effect in both models H2a and H4a, a significant direct effect is not necessary to determine if a model is fully mediated, because mediation was analyzed using a bootstrap estimation approach of the indirect effect. Therefore, DARP did ultimately fully mediate the relationships between MRNI and frequency of IPV perpetration and MRNI and frequency of reported behaviors of coercive control. This implies that desire for additional relationship power can explain to an extent *why* men who adhere to masculinity ideologies perpetrate IPV and engage in coercive controlling behaviors. In other words, men who adhere to traditional masculinity ideologies who perpetrate IPV and engage with coercive control do so in part because of their desire for additional relationship power over their partner that they believe they deserve or are entitled to.

These findings are novel, and to my knowledge, the first to identify a mechanism to explain the relationship between MRNI and frequency of perpetrating IPV and coercive controlling behaviors. This theoretical framework is important, as it directly and causally links masculinity ideology adherence to the perpetration of IPV and does so within a sample of men with a history of IPV perpetration. These findings directly contribute to furthering the understanding of how IPV perpetration is a mechanism by which men who abuse attempt to reinstate their power in their relationship. The applied implications of these findings are further discussed below.

CMNI, DARP, and IPV perpetration/coercive control. Lastly, models H2b and H4b tested if DARP mediated the relationship between the conformity to male norms and the frequency of IPV perpetration and coercive controlling behaviors. In both models, the CMNI-30 significantly and positively predicted DARP. In model H2b, both DARP nor CMNI-30 failed to significantly predict frequency of IPV perpetration. In model H2b, neither the direct or indirect effect were significant, meaning that DARP did not mediate the relationship between conformity to male norms and the frequency of IPV perpetration. In model H4b, DARP did significantly and positively predict frequency of coercive control behaviors. Even though CMNI-30 failed to significantly predict frequency of coercive control behaviors, DARP did significantly mediate the relationship between CMNI and coercive control behaviors, as indicated by a significant indirect effect.

Like in the discussion of the implications of H2a and H4b where MRNI was the predictor, CMNI was positively predictive of DARP. This finding lends support to the extant literature in a similar way that the finding between MRNI and DARP does, in that it extends what is known about how adhering to masculinity ideologies leads men to experience an entitlement to power. In general, there was a strong relationship between scores on the CMNI-30 and the MRNI-SF ($r = .68$, $p < .001$). Thus, men who endorse ideologies about masculinity are also likely to conform to those norms as well. This information is helpful in understanding the implications of the significant positive pathway between scores on the CMNI-30 and the DARP. Men who endorse, or in this case, conform to norms about what it means to be a man are likely to perceive themselves

as entitled to power. Thus, this particular finding extends what is known not only about the endorsement of male role norms as it relates to men's entitlement to power within their relationships, but also how the degree that a man conforms to these norms as predictive of his desire for additional relationship power.

Similar to the MRNI-SF in H2a and H4a, scores on the CMNI-30 did not significantly predict the frequency of IPV perpetration and of coercive controlling behaviors. As previously discussed, this finding is in contradiction to the previous body of research establishing the relationship between endorsement of masculinity ideologies, such as conforming to male norms, and IPV perpetration (Parrott & Zeichner, 2003; Reidy et al., 2009; Reidy, Berkey, Gentile, & Zeichner, 2014). One plausible explanation for this finding was previously discussed in regard to the sample of men attending a BIP group with a curriculum that specifically provides education on masculinity ideologies. As was the case in H2a and H4a, length of time in the group was entered into the models testing H2b and H4b as a covariate, but it is possible that even short durations of exposure to information raising awareness about what masculinity ideologies are and/or how they might impact behaviors could have decreased endorsement of these ideologies among men in the present study's sample.

In H4b, DARP was found to fully mediate the relationship between conformity to male norms and the frequency of perpetrating behaviors of coercive control. In other words, DARP can explain why men who conform to male norms engage in coercive controlling behaviors and expands what is known about the motivations for men's IPV

perpetration, namely behaviors of coercive control, particularly among men who strongly conform to male norms.

The theoretical implications of these findings are similar to those already discussed in relation to the findings of H2a and H4a. These findings are novel, and to my knowledge, the first to identify a mechanism to explain the relationship between CMNI-30 and frequency of engaging in coercive controlling behaviors. This theoretical framework is important, as it directly contributes to understanding the causal relationship between conformity to male norms and engaging in behaviors of coercive control. Further, these findings contribute to understanding how men may use coercive control when they feel they do not have as much power in their relationship as they are entitled to have. The applied implications of these findings are further discussed.

Additional theoretical implications. Together, all of the hypothesized mediational models (H1a-H4b) found evidence to support a relationship between both the adherence to masculinity ideologies (MRNI-SF and CMNI-30) and experiencing masculinity as unstable (PMB and MGRSS) and the desire for additional relationship power. Theoretically, these findings contribute to a field of research examining the notion that power is inextricably linked to ideas of what it means to be a man and that when men feel their masculinity can be lost or that they are not living up to both their self and the social and cultural expectations of what it means to be a man, they will report wanting additional power, particularly in heterosexual relationships.

Next, in all but one model (H2b) DARP significantly predicted frequency of IPV perpetration and coercive controlling behaviors. This finding provides additional support

to the breadth of research that has established maintaining power over a significant other as a motivating factor for IPV perpetration (Babcock et al., 1993; Jewkes et al., 2002; Johnson & Ferrero, 2000; Diekman et al., 2004; Hamberger et al., 2007). However, these findings are also novel, as the present study is the first to determine if desiring more power in a relationship than an individual may already perceive themselves to have is related to perpetration of IPV.

Lastly, by implementing the present study in a sample of men with a history of IPV, the present study establishes that masculinity instability, specifically PMBs, and adhering to masculinity ideologies are externally valid predictors of men's aggression and violence, as evidenced by the men in the sample adhering to and endorsing these belief systems around masculinity and also reporting actual abuse perpetrated within their real-world relationships. Taken together, the findings of the present study suggest that particularly among men who have a history of abuse, variables related to masculinity serve as a predictive factor, thus should be further highlighted by theorists studying predictive factors of IPV perpetration.

Applied implications. Considering the notion that men are socialized as entitled to use aggression and to have power across a variety of contexts, including their relationships, understanding the role that masculinity has in IPV perpetration could be crucial for further understanding potential routes of prevention and intervention for men who use violence within their intimate relationships. In the present study, and a previously completed study (O'Connor et al., in preparation), PMB has been newly established as a predictor of IPV perpetration. Further, the current study establishes both

PMB and the endorsement of masculinity ideologies as a predictor of IPV perpetration in a sample of men with a history of abuse. Therefore, it could be of potential interest to practitioners who work with men who have a history of abuse to address the role that masculinity ideologies have in perpetuating messages about men's entitlement to using aggression and violence to resolve conflict. Further, utilizing additional curriculum focused on the idea that masculinity is considered unstable, subject to threat, and in need of defense and the role that perpetrating IPV, or any form of interpersonal aggression could have in "proving" masculinity could also be effective in reducing perpetration of IPV.

The men in the present sample attended a BIP where the curriculum did include information about masculinity ideologies, and the impacts that these ideologies have on abusive behavior. However, length of time of enrollment in the BIP group did not significantly predict a reduction in adherence to masculinity ideologies or beliefs about masculinity being unstable. While preliminary, in the present sample, the curriculum does not seem to be effective in reducing these beliefs. As previously described, male role norm socialization begins at a very young age and is extremely pervasive. In order to combat years of socialization and continual exposure to these norms, it could be advantageous for BIPs to centralize and emphasize the importance of this education within their curriculum.

Currently, a widely implemented model within BIPs is the Duluth Power and Control Model, a feminist developed model highlighting the idea that violence toward women is not an occasional, episodic occurrence, but is instead a function of systemic

male dominance, where violence is used to subjugate and intimidate women (Pence & Paymar, 1993; Mankowski, Haaken, & Silvergleid, 2002). However, the Duluth Model uses punishment as a means of holding men accountable through the criminal justice system, which is a system itself that perpetuates the ideals of hegemonic masculinity, making it a potentially problematic model for challenging beliefs surrounding masculinity. Thus, it is possible that when paired with the Duluth Model, curriculum that informs men about the role of masculinity ideologies and masculinity threat in their abuse, especially as it relates to perceptions of power and acts of attempting to gain or maintain power (i.e., abusive actions), could potentially more effectively hold men accountable for their actions, while also raising awareness of the problematic belief systems they potentially hold about what it means to be a man within relationships.

Lastly, considering that DARP fully mediated the relationship between masculinity ideologies and frequency of both IPV perpetration and coercive control, it could be advantageous for practitioners who work with men in BIPs to consider a curriculum that educates further about men's socialization and entitlement to power, and how this desire for power can lead to men using IPV as a means to establish that power in their relationships, particularly when they feel like they deserve more power in their relationship than they currently have. Again, in the present sample, length of time in the BIP group did not impact scores on the DARP measure, which demonstrates that at least within this specific sample, curriculum that specifically targets ideologies surrounding men's entitlement to power, particularly within the context of their relationships, may benefit men as they aim to reduce their abusive behaviors.

Limitations

There are important limitations that should be taken into consideration when interpreting the results of the present research and the methodological design. The participants of the study are, in many cases, involved in the criminal legal system, which makes disclosing history of past or current IPV perpetration potentially perceived as an action that could result in a multitude of consequences. While the researchers, along with the Portland State University's institutional review board, have made every effort to emphasize the confidential and voluntary nature of the present study, there is still a possibility that participants did not provide honest responses to a variety of the measures, as past research has provided evidence that men tend to underreport their frequency of IPV perpetration (Edleson & Brygger, 1986).

Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, BIP groups were held virtually, which is novel and potentially impacts men's participation in the study within the context of the group. On one hand, some of the men may have potentially lacked access to a private setting to complete the study, which could have led to different levels of comfort in disclosing honest responses to some of the survey questionnaires. On the other hand, it is possible that the virtual setting may have allowed for even more privacy than the in person setting, resulting in even more honest responding.

Further, the presence of the COVID-19 pandemic also created a multitude of social issues in the United States related to numerous lockdowns and quarantines to prevent the spread of the virus. Some of these impacts include, but are not limited to, economic instability, job loss, and isolation with close others, including intimate partners.

During this time, rates of IPV increased internationally, as well as the risk-factors most commonly associated with IPV, such as stressful situations due to economic instability and survivors of IPV becoming increasingly isolated and more easily controlled and manipulated by their abuser (Moreira & da Costa, 2020). Thus, a limitation of the present study is that the data collection took place during a period of time where stressors and risk-factors related to the pandemic were present, which could have impacted both the frequency of IPV and coercive control perpetration and the study participants' experiences of power within their relationship. The context created by the COVID-19 pandemic should be taken into account when interpreting the findings of the present study.

An additional limitation to the study methodology is that all of the study measures are self-report in nature. While using self-report in general is not without criticisms when it comes to procuring honest responses, the nature of the self-report scales used in the present study are even more potentially at risk for unintended biases. Due to the ongoing social awareness around "toxic masculinity" and the prevalence of men abusing women, both physically and sexually, coming to light due to the #MeToo movement, it is arguable that self-report scales intending to measure masculinity ideologies, variables of masculinity instability, and IPV perpetration garner the same level of reliability and validity as they once did when they were initially developed. It is possible that moving forward, some of the concern over measuring these constructs reliably and validly could be ameliorated by shifting away from explicit self-report measures and toward more cover, implicit measures of masculinity ideology adherence.

Further, the data structure being used in this study in actuality is multilevel (i.e., individuals nested within groups, groups nested within an agency, agencies nested within county). Thus, it is possible that the data may violate the assumption of independence of observations, as it cannot be assumed with certainty that individuals' responses from within the same group and within the same agency are completely independent. Typically, in this instance, statistical procedures are used to account for the possible nonindependence of the observations (i.e., multilevel modeling). However, in practice, the sample is relatively small and the model tests are without sufficient powered (i.e., not enough groups) to run a multilevel analysis, and the mediational analysis used in the present study is unable to account for the nested structure of the study data. In the future, multilevel research questions arising from the findings of this study should be answered using a sample comprised of a larger number of groups in order to test any multilevel hypotheses.

Additionally, while mediational analyses, particularly when using bootstrap estimation, is a powerful methodological technique that can elucidate potential causal pathways between variables, the present study is cross-sectional and non-experimental, preventing the ability to make causal inferences about the possible relationships among the variables. While the present research can inform theories about potential causes of IPV perpetration, it lacks controls necessary to determine whether measured variables cause IPV perpetration.

Lastly, the generalizability of these findings to populations of BIPOC men who perpetrate IPV should be made with caution due to the potentially limited validity that the

present study measures have in samples of BIPOC men. While the sample in this study was moderately diverse, with over 45% of the sample identifying as men of color and post-hoc t-tests examining differences in mean scores on the main variables of study revealed there were there were no statistically significant differences between White and BIPOC men, it is important to note that the measures used in the present study were developed and validated on men from predominantly white, educated backgrounds. For example, the precarious manhood beliefs scale was developed and validated on a sample of predominantly White students from a university sample (Vandello et al., 2008) and the MRNI-SF was developed on a university sample that was 82% white (Levant et al., 2013). Thus, it is possible that important considerations related to how BIPOC men construct their masculinity differently than White men and how these factors could differently predict or buffer against the perpetration of IPV are not fully considered within the measures used in the present study.

Future Research Directions and Conclusions

Modeling Causality. Future research intending to demonstrate a causal relationship between masculinity ideologies, masculinity instability, and IPV perpetration ideally should use longitudinal designs where temporal precedence can be established. While previous research has experimentally manipulated masculinity threat and observed the outcomes of experiencing these threats, when studying potential violent outcomes, such as IPV perpetration, ethical considerations should be made that uphold the principle of beneficence and minimize harm to participants and those with whom they are in relationships. In brief, if masculinity threats do lead to violence in actual relationships, it

is unethical to induce those in research participants and instead, alternative methods of longitudinal study should be used to examine these variables in men who have a history of IPV perpetration.

Due to the challenges associated with ethically testing for causality among the variables in the present study, more powerful statistical techniques intended to model causality, such as Structural Equation Modeling (SEM) may be of use to researchers intending to establish that masculinity instability or masculinity ideologies are potential causes of IPV perpetration. While this will still not provide the definitive test of causality like studying the phenomena experimentally or longitudinally, it can provide a more powerful, statistical technique to model the clusters of measured variables of masculinity instability and ideologies as a) being factors that actually load on to these hypothesized overarching constructs and b) are predictive of IPV perpetration in a more definitive way than mediation.

Future Variables of Interest. While DARP fully mediated the relationship between masculinity ideologies and IPV perpetration, there are additional mediating variables that researchers may take interest in for further inquiry within the context of the present model. DARP measures the extent to which respondents view themselves as deserving of or desiring more power in their intimate partner relationship. It does not inquire about how much power they perceive themselves to have generally within their relationship. Measures of general relationship power may be of interest within the present study's model. For example, future research questions may aim to understand if men who perceive themselves as having low relationship power, ultimately have higher DARP

scores, and if these men specifically are more likely to perpetrate IPV. Further,

examining power within other contexts, such as a general sense of power or power within

society may also be of interest to researchers aiming to extend the present study's model.

Since power has been established in previous research, and within the present research, as

a predictive and motivating factor of men's violence (Johnson & Ferrero, 2000; Jewkes,

Levin, & Penn-Kekana, 2002; Connell & Jamieson, 2017), the inclusion of power general

measures of power as mediating variable between masculinity ideologies and instability

and IPV perpetration could further extend what is known about which type of power best

explains the relationship that exists between these two variables.

Race, Power, and IPV Perpetration. As previously discussed, the concept of

hegemonic masculinity describes how in western culture, gender norms serve to maintain

white men's subordination of and power over non-hegemonic men, including those from

subordinate groups, such as BIPOC men (Connell, 1987, 1995; Messerschmidt, 2019).

Thus, researchers should consider how power and specifically social power related

variables may mediate the relationship between masculinity ideologies, masculinity

instability, and IPV perpetration differently for men of color. Further, hegemonic norms

inform entitlement to and perceptions of power differently for BIPOC men and in

comparison to White men, with BIPOC men not being socially entitled to power in the

same way that White men are.

As explained by the social dominance theory (SDT), in Western cultures, there

exists a social system, where White men have disproportionate power across multiple

domains (e.g., social, political, military) compared to women and other individuals who

are socially low in power (e.g., people of color, people with disabilities, people who are not heterosexual (Pratto, 1999; Sidanius, 1993). Thus, when considering how to best extend the current model to inform motivations for perpetrating IPV for BIPOC men who perpetrate IPV, future research should consider how BIPOC men are impacted by systemically oppressive systems that empower White men, while simultaneously disenfranchising men of color and should consider BIPOC men's experiences of chronic powerlessness due to systemic oppression and ongoing experiences of racism and discrimination, and the influences these experiences have on sense of power within their relationships, and their motivations for perpetrating IPV.

Further, since the masculinity ideology and instability measures that were used in this study, and other commonly used measures of masculinity do not take into consideration culture in the conceptualization of masculinity, researchers who are interested in extending this model to more ethnically, and racially diverse samples should consider using qualitative methods, such as semi-structured interviews, to better understand how masculinity varies cross culturally, and the impact that this may have on IPV perpetration for BIPOC men. The use of qualitative methods can provide a more nuanced understanding to how masculinity is constructed differently for men of color. Further, the development of scales that consider the influence that diverse cultures have on the construction of masculinity for BIPOC men are also important to fully understand the role that masculinity may, or may not have in influencing violent behaviors, such as IPV perpetration among men of color. Researchers should prioritize developing scales that are aimed toward understanding the multiple masculinities that exist across Western

culture as a way to better predict potential outcomes, such as violence perpetration, among men from a multitude of diverse cultural backgrounds.

Additional expansions of theoretical model. The area of research exploring masculinity instability, and specifically PMB, as a predictor of IPV is still relatively new and could benefit from a qualitative exploration of the experiences of men with a history of abuse as they relate to perceptions of masculinity within a relationship. This qualitative research could help to a) identify other potential predictor and mediator variables that could be the focus of future intervention efforts and b) identify how experiences of power imbalance led to self-perceptions of not being "man enough", as well as being a motivating factor of men's IPV perpetration.

It would also be helpful for researchers to study the endorsement of PMB as a moderator variable in the relationship between power and IPV perpetration. This study, as well as many others have identified power as a motivating factor of IPV perpetration (Johnson & Ferrero, 2000; Jewkes, Levin, & Penn-Kekana, 2002; Connell & Jamieson, 2017). However, the relationship between PMB and both power and IPV perpetration still remains relatively underexplored, besides PMB being established as a predictor of IPV perpetration. Future research could inquire if high (vs. low) endorsement of PMB interacts with variables of power to predict IPV perpetration.

Researchers may also consider developing, implementing, and testing the efficacy of a BIP curriculum that more fully addresses beliefs as they relate to masculinity, masculinity instability, and IPV as a mechanism of demonstrating masculinity. While masculinity is far from the only factor that predicts IPV, it is one that may benefit from

being included, and perhaps even made central, to prevention and intervention programs geared toward men with a history of abuse. Specifically, ideas about masculinity being threatened and needing to be defended seem to be relatively novel in the study of IPV perpetration and based upon the findings of the current study, future BIP curricula could benefit from including education specifically about this aspect of masculinity.

Conclusion. This dissertation study contributes to the extant literature and theoretical understanding of the relationship between masculinity and IPV perpetration in a variety of ways. First, precarious manhood beliefs (PMB) and masculinity ideologies are demonstrated as significant predictors of both frequency of IPV perpetration and coercive control behaviors among men with a history of abuse perpetration. Second, desire for additional relationship power (DARP) also was found to be significantly predictive of IPV perpetration, across a variety of models, contributing to the extant literature that has established power as a motivating factor of men's IPV perpetration. Additionally, precarious manhood beliefs, masculine gender role stress and strain, and masculinity ideologies were found to predict DARP, which also is a novel contribution of the present study. DARP was found to mediate the relationship between masculinity ideologies and IPV perpetration, meaning that the desire for more relationship power and/or the perception of being deserving of additional relationship power provides a plausible explanation for why men who endorse masculinity ideologies perpetrate IPV. And lastly, the present study is the first to study the relationships among these variables within a study of men who have a history of IPV perpetration, contributing the external validity of PMB and masculinity ideologies as being predictors men's actual IPV perpetration. The

findings from the present research provide a novel expansion of how masculinity ideologies and experiences of masculinity as being unstable can lead to IPV perpetration, and also highlight the important role that the desire for additional relationship power has as a mediating mechanism of this relationship. Furthermore, the present study highlights the importance of including curricula in BIPs that focuses on ideas about masculinity as being unstable, informing men's entitlement to power both within society and within their relationships, and how these ideologies about masculinity and power can lead to violent behaviors, such as IPV perpetration.

Tables

Table 1.

Descriptive frequencies for sample demographic variables

Age
M ±   39.85
SD   ±12.24

Race	Freq.	%	Yearly Income	Freq	%	Edu. Level	Freq.	%
White	62	65.2	< $20,000	17	17.9	Some HS/diploma/GED	30	31
Spanish, Hispanic, Latinx	17	18	$21-$40,000	13	13.7	Some college, assoc./certificate	37	38
Mixed Race	7	7.3	$41-$60,000	19	20.0	Bachelor's Degree	16	16.8
Black or African American	6	6.3	$61-$80,000	12	12.6	Master's Degree	7	7.4
Native American, American Indian, or Native Alaskan	3	3.1	$81-$100,000	12	12.6	Professional Degree	5	5.2
			$100,000 +	21	22.1			

n = 95

Table 2.

Means, standard deviations, and correlations between focal variables

Variable	Mean	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. PMB	3.74	1.34	--	-.04	.22*	.22**	.21*	.26*	.27**	.02
2. MGRSS	1.84	.76	--	--	.31**	.35**	.30**	.20	.14	-.12
3. MRNI-SF	2.71	1.12	--	--	--	.68**	.48**	.09	.21*	.05
4. CMNI-30	2.83	.63	--	--	--	--	.59**	.28**	.30**	-.04
5. DARP	2.48	1.16	--	--	--	--	--	.31**	.43**	-.04
6. CTS2-SF	2.82	2.18	--	--	--	--	--	--	.59**	.01
7. CCS	4.89	3.56	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.04
8. Group Start Date	8.15	7.49	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

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

Table 3. Results of mediational analyses predicting DARP mediates the relationship between PMB and IPV (H1a).

DARP (M)				*IPV (Y)*		
	B	SE	95% CI	B	SE	95% CI
Constant	1.85	.37	1.10, 2.59	.32	.78	-1.19, 1.82
PMB (X)	.18	.09	.002, .36	.33	.16	.00, .65
DARP(M)	--	--	--	.51	.19	.13, .88
R^2	.22			.37		
F-ratio	(2,90) 2.09			(2,90) 4.68*		

Test of Mediation					
	B	β	SE	Boot SE	95% CI
Direct effect	.33	--	.16	--	.00, .65
Indirect effect	.09	.06	--	.06	-.01, .23

Note: X – predictor variable, M – mediator variable, Y – outcome variable.
Effects are significant when the upper and lower bound of the bias corrected 95% confidence intervals (CI) does not contain zero. * $p < .05$.

Table 4. Results of mediational analyses predicting DARP mediates the relationship between MGRSS and IPV (H1b).

DARP (M)				*IPV (Y)*		
	B	SE	95% CI	B	SE	95% CI
Constant	1.62	.34	.94, 2.31	.86	.72	-.57, 2.29
MGRSS (X)	.46	.15	.15, .76	.33	.31	-.27, .92
DARP(M)	--	--	--	.52	.20	.13, .91
R^2	.09			.11		
F-ratio	(2,90) 4.50*			(3,89) 3.63*		

Test of Mediation					
	B	β	SE	Boot SE	95% CI
Direct effect	.33	--	.31	--	-.27, .92
Indirect effect	.24	.08	--	.15	-.01, .55

Note: X – predictor variable, M – mediator variable, Y – outcome variable.
Effects are significant when the upper and lower bound of the bias corrected 95% confidence intervals (CI) does not contain zero. * $p < .05$.

Table 5. Results of mediational analyses predicting DARP mediates the relationship between MRNI-SF and IPV (H2a).

DARP (M)				*IPV (Y)*		
	B	SE	95% CI	B	SE	95% CI
Constant	1.20	.30	.61, 1.80	1.57	.66	.26, 2.89
MRNI-SF (X)	.50	.10	.31, .69	-.16	.22	-.61, .28
DARP(M)	--	--	--	.66	.03	-.05, .06
R^2	.24			.11		
F-ratio	(1,92)			(3,89)		
	13.57**			3.40*		

Test of Mediation					
	B	β	SE	Boot SE	95% CI
Direct effect	-.16	--	.22	--	-.61, .28
Indirect effect	.33	.17	--	.16	.07, .68

Note: X – predictor variable, M – mediator variable, Y – outcome variable.
Effects are significant when the upper and lower bound of the bias corrected 95% CI does not contain zero.
*p <.05,**p<.01.

Table 6. Results of mediational analyses predicting DARP mediates the relationship between CMNI-30 and IPV (H2b).

DARP (M)				*IPV (Y)*		
	B	SE	95% CI	B	SE	95% CI
Constant	-.57	.48	-1.51, .37	.28	1.05	-1.80, 2.36
CMNI-30 (X)	1.08	.16	.77, 1.40	.51	.43	-.34, 1.37
DARP(M)	--	--	--	.42	.23	-.04, .88
R^2	.34			.11		
F-ratio	(2,90)			(3,89)		
	23.49**			3.73**		

Test of Mediation					
	B	β	SE	Boot SE	95% CI
Direct effect	.51	--	.43	--	-.34, 1.37
Indirect effect	.46	.13	--	.27	-.03, 1.02

Note: X – predictor variable, M – mediator variable, Y – outcome variable. Effects are significant when the upper and lower bound of the bias corrected 95% confidence intervals (CI) does not contain zero. *p <.05,**p<.01.

Table 7. Results of mediational analyses predicting DARP mediates the relationship between PMB and Coercive Control (H3a).

DARP (M)				Coercive Control (Y)		
	B	SE	95% CI	B	SE	95% CI
Constant	1.86	.37	1.12, 2.60	-.10	1.18	-2.44, 2.24
PMB (X)	.18	.09	.00, .36	.49	.25	-.01, .10
DARP(M)	--	--	--	1.19	.29	.61, 1.77
R²	.05			.22		
F-ratio	(2,91) 2.15			(3,90) 4.87**		

Test of Mediation					
	B	β	SE	Boot SE	95% CI
Direct effect	.49	--	1.18	--	-.01, .10
Indirect effect	.21	.08	--	.13	-.01, .18

Note: X – predictor variable, M – mediator variable, Y – outcome variable. Effects are significant when the upper and lower bound of the bias corrected 95% CI does not contain zero.
*p <.05,**p<.01.

Table 8. Results of mediational analyses predicting DARP mediates the relationship between MGRSS and Coercive Control (H3b).

DARP (M)				Coercive Control (Y)		
	B	SE	95% CI	B	SE	95% CI
Constant	1.66	.88	.98, 2.35	1.26	1.12	-.97, 3.49
MGRSS (X)	.45	.15	.14, .75	.12	.47	-.81, 1.05
DARP(M)	--	--	--	1.28	.31	-.06, .12
R²	.09			.18		
F-ratio	(2,91) 4.34*			(3,90) 6.77**		

Test of Mediation					
	B	β	SE	Boot SE	95% CI
Direct effect	.12	--	.47	--	-.81, 1.05
Indirect effect	.58	.12	--	.30	-.02, 1.11

Note: X – predictor variable, M – mediator variable, Y – outcome variable.
Effects are significant when the upper and lower bound of the bias corrected 95% CI does not contain zero.
*p <.05,**p<.01.

Table 9. Results of mediational analyses predicting DARP mediates the relationship between MRNI-SF and Coercive Control (H4a).

	DARP (M)			*Coercive Control (Y)*		
	B	SE	95% CI	B	SE	95% CI
Constant	1.20	.30	.61, 1.79	1.43	1.02	-.61, 3.47
MRNI-SF (X)	.50	.10	.31, .69	.00	.35	-.69, .69
DARP(M)	--	--	--	1.31	.33	.64, 1.97
R^2	.24			.18		
F-ratio	(2,91) 13.99**			(3,90) 6.75**		

Test of Mediation	B	β	SE	Boot SE	95% CI
Direct effect	.00	--	.35	--	-.69, .69
Indirect effect	.67	.21	--	.25	.24, 1.21

Note: X – predictor variable, M – mediator variable, Y – outcome variable.
Effects are significant when the upper and lower bound of the bias corrected 95% confidence intervals CI does not contain zero. *p <.05,**p<.01.

Table 10. Results of mediational analyses predicting DARP mediates the relationship between CMNI-30 and Coercive Control (H4b).

	DARP (M)			*Coercive Control (Y)*		
	B	SE	95% CI	B	SE	95% CI
Constant	-.57	.47	-1.50, .36	.53	1.62	-2.69, 3.76
CMNI-30 (X)	1.09	.16	.78, .75	.44	.66	-.88, 1.76
DARP(M)	--	--	--	1.17	.36	.45, 1.88
R^2	.35			.19		
F-ratio	(2,91) 24.59**			(3,90) 6.93**		

Test of Mediation	B	β	SE	Boot SE	95% CI
Direct effect	.44	--	.66	--	-.88, 1.76
Indirect effect	1.27	.23	--	.43	.51, 2.18

Note: X – predictor variable, M – mediator variable, Y – outcome variable.
Effects are significant when the upper and lower bound of the bias corrected 95% CI does not contain zero. *p <.05,**p<.01

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APPENDIX. SURVEY MEASURE ITEMS

The Male Role Norms Inventory-SF (MRNI-SF; Levant et al., 2013)

Response scale ranges from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7(strongly agree)

1. Homosexuals should never marry.

2. The President of the US should always be a man.

3. Men should be the leader in any group.

4. Men should watch football games instead of soap operas.

5. All homosexual bars should be closed down

6. Men should have home improvement skills.

7. Men should be able to fix most things around the house.

8. A man should prefer watching action movies to reading romantic novels.

9. Men should always like to have sex.

10. Boys should prefer to play with trucks rather than dolls.

11. A man should not turn down sex

12. A man should always be the boss.

13. Homosexuals should never kiss in public.

14. A man should know how to repair his car if it should break down.

15. A man should never admit when others hurt his feelings.

16. Men should be detached in emotionally charged situations.

17. It is important for a man to take risks, even if he might get hurt.

18. A man should always be ready for sex.

19. When the going gets tough, men should get tough.

20. I think a young man should try to be physically tough, even if he's not big.

21. Men should not be too quick to tell others that they care about them.

Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory-30 Item (Levant et al., 2020)

Response scale ranges from 0 (strongly disagree) to 5(strongly agree)

1. I tend to share my feelings.

2. I like to talk about my feelings.

3. I bring up my feelings when talking to others.

4. For me, the best feeling in the world comes from winning.

5. I will do anything to win.

6. In general, I must get my way.

7. I would feel good if I had many sexual partners.

8. I would change sexual partners often if I could.

9. I would find it enjoyable to date more than one person at a time.

10. It is never ok for me to be violent.

11. I think that violence is sometimes necessary.

12. I dislike any kind of violence.

13. It would be awful if people thought I was gay.

14. I would get any if people thought I was gay.

15. I would be furious if someone thought I was gay.

16. Having status is not important to me.

17. I think that trying to be important is a waste of time.

18. I would hate to be important.

19. Work comes first for me.

20. I feel good when work is my first priority.

21. I need to prioritize my work over other things.

22. I love it when men are in charge of women.

23. The women in my life should obey me.

24. Things tend to be better when men are in charge.

25. It bothers me when I have to ask for help.

26. I am not ashamed to ask for help.

27. I never ask for help.

28. I enjoy taking risks.

29. I take risks.

30. I put myself in risky situations.

The Precarious Manhood Beliefs Scale (PMB; Vandello et al., 2008)

Response scale ranges from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7(strongly agree)

1. It is fairly easy for a man to lose his status as a man.

2. A male's status as a 'real man' sometimes depends on how other people view him.

3. Some boys do not become men, no matter how old they get.

4. Other people often question whether a man is a 'real man'.

5. Manhood is something that can be taken away.

6. Manhood is not assured – it can be lost.

7. Manhood is not a permanent state, because a man might do something that suggests that he is really just a 'boy'

Abbreviated Masculine Gender Role Stress Scale (A-MGRSS; Swartout et al., 2015)

Response scale ranges from 0 (not at all stressful) to 5(extremely stressful)

1. Being outperformed at work by a woman

2. Letting a woman control the situation

3. Being perceived by someone as "gay"

4. Being married to someone who makes more money than you

5. Losing in a sports competition

6. Admitting that you are afraid of something

7. Being with a woman who is more successful than you

8. Being perceived as having feminine traits

9. Having your children see you cry

10. Being outperformed in a game by a woman

11. Having people say that you are indecisive

12. Appearing less athletic than a friend

13. Having others say that you are too emotional

14. Being compared unfavorably to other men

15. Getting passed over for a promotion

Modified Version of the Desired Power Scale/Desire for Additional Power (DARP; Traeder & Zeigler-Hill, 2020)

Response scale ranges from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7(strongly agree)

1. I deserve to be a more powerful and influential person than I am now in my romantic relationship.

2. In a fairer world, I would have more control over my partner than I do now.

3. I don't have as much power in my romantic relationship as I deserve.

4. I'm OK with how much influence I have in my romantic relationship these days.

Conflict-Tactic Scale 2-Short Form- Perpetration Items Only (CTS2-SF; Straus & Douglas, 2004)

Response scale ranges from 1 (once in the past year) to 8 (this has never happened)

How often did this happen within the last 12 months?

1. I explained my side or suggested a compromise for a disagreement with my partner

2. I insulted or swore or shouted or yelled at my partner

3. My partner had a sprain, bruise, or small cut or felt pain the next day because of a fight with me.

4. I showed respect for, or showed that I cared about my partner's feelings about an issue we disagreed on.

5. I pushed, shoved, or slapped my partner

6. I punched or kicked or beat-up my partner

7. I destroyed something belonging to my partner or threatened to hit my partner.

8. My partner went to see a doctor (M.D.) or needed to see a doctor because of a fight with me.

9. I used force (like hitting, holding down, or using a weapon) to make my partner have sex.

10. I insisted on sex when my partner did not want to or insisted on sex without a condom (but did not use physical force).

Coercive Control Scale (Modified for use in this dissertation study) (CCS; Terrazas-Carrillo & McWhirter, 2015)

Response scale ranges from 1 (once in the past year) to 8 (this has never happened)

How often in the last 12 months did you get mad at your partner because…

1. They don't work?

2. They make more money than you do?

3. They dedicate too much time to their job or because of their schedule?

4. They visit or are visited by their friends and family?

5. You don't like the way your partner dresses?

6. A family member intervenes in the way they are raising your children?

7. Because you agree on something and you do not respect your word?

8. They are not obedient?

9. They make their own decisions in matters that you believe are your responsibility?

10. They have a different opinion and disagree with you?

11. They remind you or tell you about your responsibilities?

12. They go out without asking your permission?

13. They do not want to have sexual intercourse