

MASCULINE IDEOLOGIES AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS VIOLENCE AGAINST
WOMEN



Masculine Ideologies and Attitudes Towards Violence Against Women

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MASCULINE IDEOLOGIES AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

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Abstract

Aims: This research aimed to explore hegemonic masculine ideals held by Pakistani men, and their relationship to attitudes of domestic violence against women. The relationship of masculine ideals with attitudes towards violence against women, operationalized as attitudes of physical wife abuse, was calculated, and analyzed.

Methodology: The sample included male respondents was taken from Private and Public undergraduate educational institutions in Lahore, using convenience sampling. Questionnaire survey method was administered using google forms and 120 responses were collected.

Data Analysis: SPSS software was used for data analysis. Tests were run for descriptive statistics of socio-demographic variables and dependent and independent variable, factor analysis, reliability, and correlation and linear regression between masculine ideology and physical wife-abuse attitudes.

Results: Pearson's correlation coefficient shows a significant moderate positive correlation between masculine ideologies and attitudes towards domestic violence against women (0.360). Linear regression showed that endorsement of traditional masculine ideologies predicted non-objectionable attitudes towards physical wife-abuse. The coefficients indicate that wife-abuse attitudes increase by 0.214 unit (95% CI- 0.115; 0.312) with every one unit increase of traditional masculine ideology.

Conclusion: Findings from the data confirmed the research hypothesis by showing a moderate positive correlation between endorsement of traditional masculine ideologies and non-objectionable attitudes towards domestic violence against wives.

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Introduction

Masculinity is a product of social construction; it is a learned ideology that translates into attitudes and behavior. Masculine ideals consist of beliefs about the traits and characteristics that define a man, and those of the male gender. Violence against women, specifically domestic violence is a prevalent societal evil in Pakistan. The patriarchal culture of Pakistan is culpable for justifying and sustaining men's use of violence against women. Reasons behind committing physical violence against women, wives in particular, range from suspicions and assumptions of sexual infidelity, not performing household chores efficiently, not catering to husband's and in law's needs properly, any tiny indication of out of the ordinary behavior, to just existing as a female, in binary contrast to a male. In order to understand and analyze wife abuse in a sociological context, it is important to uncover the implicit narratives behind it that facilitate the perpetuation of such abuse. Measuring and analyzing attitudes towards violence against women is useful because attitudes play a role in the perpetration of such violence, determines responses towards it on the institutional and societal level, and women's own response to being a victim (Flood and Pease, 2009).

Moreover, an ecological framework for understanding the workings of violence against women, proposed by Heise (1998), says that there are multifaceted layers behind the etiology of men's violence; It should not all be accounted to one factor of a holistic structure of male dominance and patriarchy. According to research, traditional masculine ideology is a narrative that is correlated to rigid sex-role attitudes, as well as ingraining personality traits of apathy, aggression, and dominance in men. Such an ideology is a part of the system of patriarchy and can be and has been shown to be adopted by many people in Pakistan. This forms a system of hegemonic masculinity that is related to the legitimization of female oppression. Indicator

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variables of adherence to certain hegemonic masculine ideals have been shown to include misogynistic views about women, adverse attitudes in intimate relationships with women, physical aggression, and violence in relationships. The purpose of this research is to single out and evaluate the ideals of masculinity held by Pakistani men, and their association with attitudes about men's use of violence against women, particularly a physical form of domestic violence against wives.

Literature Review

Importance of studies of men and masculinities

It is commonly acknowledged that women have been left out as subjects of interest and research in scholarly work and men have been the central focus of it. This has created an environment where man is the default in all settings; consequently, masculinity becomes the universal norm, manifested in explicit as well as implicit forms. Unlike women studies, studies of men and masculinities cannot claim to be significant and contributive in looking at uncovered important narratives that were systematically excluded and discriminated against for so long. However, men's studies are deemed important because they look beyond the unjust generalization that assumes male as the norm. Man, as the objectivity of human experience obscures the subjective experience of masculinity and what it means to be a man. Kimmel (1990) has noted that the absence of the male body and its unique experience, from academia, obscures things that serve the interests of men and their dominant position in power relations. By delineating man with masculinity, it helps negate the normativity of it being mistaken as an objective human experience and specifies masculinity as a subjective man experience, parallel to

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a woman one (Brod, 2018). Many philosophers have put forward the idea of uncovered things being hidden in plain sight. Therefore, it is important to isolate masculinity as an analytical variable for study with an empirical approach. Furthermore, it is important to be careful to not read into it with the perspective of masculine objectivity as a bias. Masculinity in men studies should be seen as a specific male experience, varying with socio-historical cultural narratives.

Functionalist approaches towards the male sex role, and its criticism

The concept of masculinity is associated with a polarity and reciprocal relationship between sex roles of men and women. The semiotic approach, which seeks to explain how meaning is created, towards defining masculinity takes it in polarity with femininity as well; masculine is non-feminine. For masculinity to exist as a distinct ideology, it is validated in its opposition with femininity. It is associated with a system of symbolic differences as in structural linguistics, where concepts are understood by contrast and comparison. In this understanding of masculine through comparison, it is placed on a level marked by the phallus, while femininity is branded as the lack; an empty space (Connell, 1995).

When studying men and masculinity, it is important to pay heed to the concept of a male sex role, and male sex role identity paradigm. The term originated in mid-nineteenth century from research studies on sex differences. Male sex role is the mold of a set of expectations that men being of the male sex have an inherent need to fulfill (Connell, 1995). In the early academic research, sex roles were thought of as a prescribed set of traits, attitudes, and interests, which men and women should ideally have. Their psychological well-being was related with the extent to which they performed the normative sex roles which were presented as a core aspect of an individual's personality (Pleck, 1984). Failure to have a secure sense of masculinity was

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correlated with problems of psychological and interpersonal disturbances. In the field of psychology, many measures of Male-Female sex-linked differences were developed, which were administered to assess the degree to which women and men differ on the basis of sex.

Gradually, opposition to this assumption of personality types associated with sex and psychological health, began to emerge. Focus also shifted towards sex role hypotheses and research specific to the male gender. With the rise of academic feminism in the 1970s came a plethora of sex role analysis, with the intent of deep analysis and criticism of the conventional social acceptance of the Male-Female polarity of sex roles. Accompanying this feminist research narrative was the common postulation that the female sex role is oppressive to women and deterrent to their flourishing in public spaces. After the bloom in feminist studies and its take on sex roles, men and masculinity studies followed. There was an initial irresolution about the place of feminism in masculinity studies; a hesitation to criticize the male sex role and its involvement in the gender power dynamics that sideline and repress women. After all, the sex role paradigm had been looked at as something inherent that balances and nourishes the psychological environment for both sexes. It is rooted in the functionalist perspective, as in the writings of Talcott Parsons that read into the sex role narrative by equating femininity with expressiveness and masculinity as an instrumental orientation. Moreover, Due to the reductionist polar nature of sex role theory, its attempts to explain things based on sex differentiation is unhelpful in uncovering deeper issues of power and privilege. It underplays issues of discriminatory power relations and violence by assuming general consent to the sex role narrative (Connell, 1995).

Pleck's writings in 1980s effectively negated the normative sex role paradigm as it produces and obscures power dynamics between genders and within genders. Moreover, the

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presupposition that sex roles work in harmonious conformity falsely assumes that role identity and good psychological health are synonymous with each other. Psychological research by Money and Earnhardt studied the distinguishable nature of gender identity (the satisfaction of individuals being male or female) and sex role (the extent to which men and women conform to the traditional traits); they found out that they have no association once a solid gender identity is established (Pleck, 1984). Due to these theoretical and practical shortcomings of using male sex role theory as a grounded variable, its academic usage declined.

Sex-role socialization and Social Constructionist approach

Pleck (1981) introduced a sex role strain paradigm to theorize manhood more inclusively and operationally than the sex role identity paradigm. This theory anointed the role of generating a culturally defined set of masculine-specific ideals, to society and its expectations, in contrast to an individual's innate need. According to this approach, the conflict between the normative sex role and the male individual, along with the harmful implications, could be attributed to the male sex role itself. Both approaches were similar in their acknowledgement of psychological and social dysfunctions of not being able to fit in a prescribed gender ideal; they were different in their implications of the source of these dysfunctions. Men's experience of manhood ought not to be based on the extent to which they possess and embody the culturally endorsed traits of masculinity, but rather their views and beliefs about the masculine social construct, and to the extent they internalize it. The definition of masculine ideology given by Pleck et al. (1993) is "the endorsement and internalization of cultural belief systems about masculinity and-male gender, rooted in the structural relationship between the two sexes".

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After 1970s, study of men and masculinities begin to evolve from an essentialist sex-role paradigm to a more social constructionist approach. Masculine ideology defined masculinity as a perception of culturally constructed views about what it means to be man, not as something that is inherent in biology or psychology. Masculinity was studied to be a constellation of traits that are more frequently observed in males than females. Scholars have postulated these traits as somethings that navigates traditional male sex-role norms and base the notion of masculine ideology on it. These features are characteristics of personality that dictate how men should think, feel, and act. Some of the main dimensions of the societal norms that determine the extent of a man's masculinity, in the eyes of others, are achievement and action, dominance in relationships, and level-headedness (Cicone & Ruble, 1978). Constructs such as these have been included in the operationalization of masculinity, its measures, and scales. Also included are certain norms regarding the male sex role that are believed by men. Brannon and Juni (1984) identified four such norms; achievement of status, avoidance of femininity, developing confidence and independence, and being aggressive.

Building on this, Thompson and Pleck (1986) proposed a scale as a multi-dimensional measure of assessing masculine ideology, the Male Role Norms Scale. Subscales of this measure entailed three masculine constructs: status, toughness, and anti-femininity. The MRNI scale was revised by the authors after conducting research to include more dimensions, and its subscales. These scales defined standards of traditional masculinity and measured the extent to which men internalized them.

As the construct of masculinity arises from sex-role socialization, the problematic aspects of traditional masculine ideals can be ascribed to it. This phenomenon can be observed in a male dominated society such as Pakistan. In a research study by Shivji et al. (2021), on the pubescent

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experiences of young Pakistani men, emotional conflicts and identity formation was explored. It was found that the male participants felt pressured to fit in the masculine identity as prescribed by Pakistani cultural norms around gender. Their perception of masculinity, conditioned through their experiences included facial hair growth, voice changes, aggression, and risk-taking behavior. Their apprehension about living up to the set gender norms also led to overcompensating delinquent behavior, such as consumption of cigarettes, drugs, and alcohol. They were also aware of the breadwinning role of men, and their responsibility to work hard to earn money for his family in contrast with the domestic duties of women (Shivji et al., 2021).

Multiple masculinities: variance across groups

The study of masculinities also aims to negate the taken-for granted notions of traditional masculinity internalized by the masses. Such assumptions arise from the dangers of reductionist approach to the male sex role (Hearn & Morgan, 2014). It is important to incorporate pluralities when theorizing masculinity studies so as to be inclusive of the variance in nature of the experience of manhood of different male individuals. The ideal of manhood differs for men across religions, geographic regions, ethnicities, age, and social classes (Fischer & Good, 1998). Ideologies come into existence when they are actively manifested from a cognitive structure to everyday actions (Hopkins, 2006; Connell, 2000). The socio-cultural factors behind the cognitive element of masculinity and the individual and collective actions that follow vary across race, gender, geography, nations, and religion, etc. Research has provided evidence for this, which proves the point that masculinity is culturally constructed and not universally uniform.

Scholars have posited that considering masculinity only from the worldview of men can be considered reductionist as it should be studied from the experiences of both men and women,

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in order to understand it effectively (Levant et al., 2013). Variance in endorsements of masculine ideology have been investigated by Levant and Richmond (2008) by summarizing four studies on U.S college students of African, Latino, and European descent; they found out that across all race/ethnicities, men endorsed traditional masculine ideologies more than women. Variance in total scores was higher across gender, than it was across ethnicity/race. Moreover, meta-analysis of a set of cross-national studies showed that men and women from China, Russia, and Pakistan endorsed traditional masculine ideology more than American men and women; the effect size of gender in these countries was much smaller than that of U.S. This may allude to the difference in gender empowerment among these countries; women from low gender empowerment countries might feel like they have little power and choice, so they subscribe to the ideas of traditional gender roles (Levant et al., 2013).

In a qualitative study to understand Muslim masculinities, conducted on young Muslim boys in Scotland, most of them who were Pakistani; Hopkins (2006) considered religion, heritage, class, generation, sexuality, and gendered relations in the formation of their masculinity. In terms of gender relations, it was found that the young men promoted a form of “sexist equality”, where they referenced the high status of women in Islam, at the same time, adopting sexist notions of men and women. Women were perceived to be central to the domestic environment and its activities, while men were expected to work and earn. Religion and Pakistani cultural heritage were associated with the relationship of women with the home. These findings show that these men practiced a form of Muslim masculinity by asserting gender equality in Islam, and simultaneously holding discriminatory gender ideals.

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Hegemonic Masculinity: a system of control and power

The hierarchical relationships between multiple masculinities were identified and analyzed, with the most glorified and influential type of masculinity, termed hegemonic masculinity, residing atop of the hierarchy. The term “hegemony”, initially introduced by Antonio Gramsci to describe class relations in 19th century Italy, attempted to explain how one class in society maintains social and ideological control over others. He concluded hegemony as the system through which a social class manufactures and secures consent of other classes to uphold the status quo (Connell, 1995). Derived from this concept, Connell used the term hegemonic masculinity to untangle gender relations and its power dynamic, and to demonstrate that one form of masculinity sustains ideological and practical power over other forms of masculinity, at a given time in a society. Furthermore, the commonly observed set of traits and norms that are found in traditional masculine ideology are the ones which constitute hegemonic masculinity. (Levant et al., 2007).

Hegemonic masculinity is closely linked with patriarchy, which is the system that anoints power in the hands of men and excludes women from it (Connell, 1995). It can be defined as the system of practices and ideologies that legitimize the power of the most appropriate type of masculinity over women and over other men. This form of dominant masculinity is synonymous with hegemonic masculinity. It is manifested in institutionalized practices, and these practices embody a cultural ideal that sanctions control over subordinated forms of masculinities and all forms of femininities. This perpetuates the legitimacy of gender-based power structures that are involved in the systemic oppression of women (Levant et al., 2007). Hegemonic masculinity is a macro level phenomenon, rather than an individual one, that is employed by governments and other institutions. Many men in their individual life do not embody hegemonic masculinity;

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rather, they are mostly in a personal internal conflict with it. Nevertheless, they are complicit players in this system of control as they reap the "patriarchal dividend" in their everyday lives (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). It is in this general compliance that the power of hegemonic masculinity lies.

In a paper reviewing Malala's biography "I am Malala"; the author (Garini, 2017) explores the concept of hegemonic masculinity and how it applied to women's oppression in Pakistan. She states that as hegemonic masculinity contributes to patriarchy and puts men on a higher pedestal above women, women are socialized into enduring discrimination and submission at all stages of their lives.

Correlations of traditional masculinity with dysfunctional attitudes and relations

Masculine ideology has been studied in correlation to variables of negative attitudes towards women in general, which includes violence against women in relationships, physical as well as emotional. High endorsement of traditional masculine ideology has been shown to be associated with dysfunctional attitudes and behaviors which have the potential to harm oneself and others around one. Some of the problematic behaviors that have been studied to be correlates of masculine ideology are homophobia, Type A behavior, hostility, glorification of frequent sexual activity (Sinn, 1997), aggressive sexual behavior, supportive date rape attitudes (Truman et al., 1996). Pleck et al. (1993) studied the impact of having traditional views of masculinity with adolescent males' intimate relationships with women. A higher endorsement of masculine ideology was found to be linked with adverse attitudes about intimate relationships with women. These adverse attitudes entailed reporting higher number of casual sexual partners, and less emotional intimacy and trust with a serious partner.

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According to this approach, higher endorsement of traditional masculine ideals, is culturally indoctrinated. It stems from a stricter sex-role socialization, which cultivates the concept of intimacy as threatening, to one's very identity as a man (Levant, 1992). Fischer and Good (1998) used cluster analysis of traditional masculine ideal endorsements and formed five clusters of men holding varying beliefs about different dimensions of masculinity. Out of all these, the cluster of men scoring high on all dimensions (Anti-femininity, Toughness, Status, and Violent Toughness) held the least gender egalitarian attitudes. While the cluster of men having total lower score were more likely to endorse equality and indiscriminate for the binary genders, their sex-roles, and perceptions. The hypothesis that the degree to which men endorse certain dimensions of traditionally masculine beliefs would predict variance in their beliefs of how men and women should behave based solely on their gender, was confirmed in this study.

Masculinity and men's use of violence

All of these outcome variables which are found to be correlated with the measure of masculine ideology, are problematic in nature and can be viewed as related to men's aggression and violence. In a counseling psychology research, Betz and Fitzgerald (1993) stated that while the effects of male sex role socialization and its strain, has been studied with variables such as restrictive emotionality and poor-quality relationships, the pressing variable of men's violence against women has been neglected and should be addressed properly. Mosher and Shirkin (1984) developed an inventory labeled macho personality constellation, a derivative of the problematic aspects of masculinity. The concept of a macho man originated in Latin American cultures, where it denoted aloof confidence, sexual potency, and a vigilance to defend himself against any attack on his masculine status. The macho personality construct seeped into American culture,

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where it was criticized by feminists as being a manifestation of toxic masculinity, and a key player in patriarchal oppression. Included were three components as subscales: calloused sex attitudes towards women, perception of danger as exciting, and a view of violence as being manly. The “violence as manly” factor entailed the belief that violent behavior is an acceptable, even preferable, method of dealing with situations of conflict and disruption. In research on American college students, the macho personality measure was significantly correlated with self-reported drug and alcohol use, with violence as a manly subscale accounting for significant variance in delinquent behaviors in high school. The authors concluded that the macho personality constellation is a reliable measure of dysfunctional masculine aspects and its prediction in translating to harmful behavior and will be relevant in studies of men’s sexual and physical aggression, and male violence against women and children.

Jakupcak et al. (2002), conducted a study to measure the relationship of masculine ideology and masculine gender role strain, as predictors of men’s perpetration of verbal and physical violence against their partners. The participants were 165 male students from an American University; with a mean age of 25.83 years; only 13.5 percent of the participants were married, and 39.7 percent were not in a relationship; the rest were in a dating relationship. Derived from Pleck’s gender role strain paradigm, the variable of masculine gender role stress means the extent of a man’s stress in retaliation to the restrictive standards of masculine behavior, which is due to the sex role socialization which conditions the failure to meet prescribed masculine ideals with threat of danger or humiliation. This experiential dimension of masculinity, combined with the cognitive factor of masculine ideology significantly accounted for predicting aggression and violence. Surprisingly, however, masculine ideology alone was not correlated with the variation in men’s self-reports of violence. The reasoning behind the lack of

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strong correlation between self-reports of committing physical aggression and cognitive beliefs about masculinity were given by the author as such: the concept of multiple masculinities applied in this context suggest that different men can score higher on the masculine ideology scale by endorsing different masculine items; and differ in their inclination to use violence against their female partners. Moreover, physical manifestations of traditional masculine ideology have been shown to vary with situational demands; a man might act in a conventionally masculine way in one situation but not some other.

The current study is related to this one but not entirely, as the Pakistani context of masculinity would probably fall in a different place on the multiple masculinities' spectrum, due to the cultural construction of evident patriarchal practices specific to Pakistani context. And it measures the relationship between the cognitive aspect of masculinity with attitudes about domestic violence, rather than self-disclosure of committing acts of it. Moreover, there would be a difference between reporting attitudes on an attitudinal measure scale and reporting one's acts of sexually aggressive behavior.

Constructs of problematic aspects, and effects of traditional masculine ideologies

Malumuth et al. (1991) developed a construct labeled "hostile masculinity", a component of traditional masculinity that includes a desire to be dominant, especially in relation to women, and defensive and distrustful inclination towards women. Hostile masculinity was operationalized by a combination of measures of, hostility towards women, acceptance towards violence against women, and dominance in sexual relationships. This construct, combined with a measure of sexual promiscuity, predicted men's accounts of sexually coercive and aggressive behavior towards women. Feminist theorists have posited that societal scripts of sex roles teach

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men to be aggressive, dominant, and controlling, while lacking in empathy, and tenderness, the latter being traits associated exclusively to women. Men's fear and anxiety towards their "feminine side" and not living up to the masculine standards set up for them leads to belittling of women, aggressiveness for them, and a drive to control them. The variance in the need to subordinate women has been linked to high levels of adherence to traditional masculine ideology (Malamuth & Thornhill, 1994). The components of dominance in sex, and supportive attitudes of violence against women, of the hostile masculinity construct was shown by Malamuth and Thornhill (1994) to be significantly positively correlated to domineeringness in conversations with females, but not with males.

It is important to delineate the aspects of masculinity that are responsible for deteriorative attitudes from those that are not. For instance, the conventionally held social norms of men as sacrificing providers for their families, being rational in dangerous situations, usually do not have repercussions (Fischer & Good, 1998). Other norms, however, such as aggressiveness and restrictive emotionality do cause undesirable consequences. The masculine ideology perspective does not say that the masculine identity is altogether dysfunctional; it merely analyzes certain constructs of it that have the potential to lead to destructive behaviors (Sinn, 1997). Levant (1992) has proposed a need for reconstructing masculinity, by developing its concept in a positive light. This reconstruction should be a balance between a non-defensive acknowledgement of the dysfunctional aspects of masculinity, and highlighting the positive aspects of the male role, with the attempt to foster and adapt it to rectify the essentialist harmful parts. This is important for the reformation of masculine sex-role and its socialization, to better navigate its manifestation in everyday life, with healthy progressive outcomes for men and the people around them.

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Violence against women

Violence against women is a worldwide public health and social crisis, which varies in nature and extent from culture to culture. The United Nations general assembly in 1993 has defined violence against women as “any act of gender- based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public and private life.” Violence takes many forms, mainly domestic violence which occurs inside the household. Statistics from data around the globe show that intimate partner violence is the most common form of violence against women. WHO statistics show that one out of every three women has been physically abused by an intimate partner in her lifetime (Ali & Gavino, 2008). Abuse is manifested and classified into types such as physical, psychological, verbal, and economic violence. The most overt type of violence considered is physical violence which includes punching, kicking, strangulation, throwing acid in the face, cutting off nose, ear and other body parts, burning, stabbing, etc. Occasionally, the severity of such violence can escalate to cause death. Psychological and emotional violence involves verbal abuse, harming of pets, manipulation, and other acts of humiliation and isolation. Economic Violence includes restraining control over a woman’s personal money, withholding essential finances, etc. Sexual violence is any act of forceful coercive sexual contact; this mainly involves molestation and rape. However, all of these types of violence cause emotional trauma and accompanies mental violence as victims of VAW have reported that the worst part of their abuse was not the physical pain, but rather, the psychological and emotional trauma, which includes severe damage to self-esteem (Khan & Hussain, 2008), sense of identity, as well as the living in constant fear and apprehension of another occurrence of violence.

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Violence against women in Pakistan

Pakistan is a highly patriarchal country; where patriarchal values are deeply internalized and contribute to the oppression of women; of which violence is a main part. International NGOs like Amnesty International have declared that violence is one of the main, if not the main, threat to Pakistani women's health and security (Khan & Hussain, 2008). Pakistan ranks the fourth worst country for women; 164 out of 167 countries, on the Women, Peace and Security Index by Georgetown Institute, which measured women's well-being, equality, and empowerment. This was based off on indicators of women's inclusion in workplaces, academia and other public spaces, and discrimination and violence against women in a variety of social spheres. Despite there being laws in place that protect victims of violence and prosecute the perpetrator, the legal system is highly inefficient in dealing with VAW. The accurate number of domestic violence incidents, and VAW in public spheres is almost impossible to calculate and record. However, statistics still show an alarming rate of explicit as well as uncovered incidents of violence against women. Furthermore, according to the data on violence against women by OECD (2021), Pakistan ranked number one out of all the countries in terms of prevalence of violence, with the most alarming, highest percentage of women (85 percent) who have personally experienced physical and/or sexual violence from intimate partners in their lifetime. According to Amnesty International (2002), Pakistan is among the countries where women are the worst victims of various types of violence. Intimate Partner Violence is a serious and hazardous issue in Pakistan (Fikree et al., 2005). International NGOs and the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan states that domestic violence against women is one of the greatest threats to feminine health, security, and overall well-being (Khan & Hussain, 2008).

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Domestic violence against wives in Pakistani Society: cultural values and practices

In Pakistan, wife abuse at the hands of the husband is considered a private family matter, and not taken seriously by society's standards of misinterpreted and twisted cultural norms. It is not even considered a crime and only garners attention when it leads to the death of the wife. This attitude stems from a view of the domestic sphere as something sacred that is meant to be sectioned off from the outside world for privacy and security; this leads to similar attitudes towards violence against women in the domain of the household (Dobash & Dobash, 1979). The myth of family bliss also underplays the seriousness of the abusive situation. In interview research by Khan and Hussain (2008), about Pakistani women's perceptions of domestic violence, all the participants acknowledged that domestic violence, specifically wife abuse is a pressing issue in the country, and that victims are reluctant to leave their abusive husbands because of lack of support and encouragement from their family, and because of the disapproving and scrutinizing attitudes of society in general. They also said that women fear reporting because of the social stigma that such an incident tarnishes the honor of the family, and society's implications that abuse should be dealt with privately in order to preserve the reputation of not just the abuser, but the whole family. In interview research on pregnant women in Lahore who were victims of domestic violence, the participants adopted coping strategies for dealing with violence such as involvement in religious activities, placating attitudes, and even seeking help from in-laws and families. However, it was concluded that although victimized wives actively sought coping methods against spousal abuse, there was a lack of social as well as institutional support for them (Zakar et al., 2012). Indeed, honor is seen as a recurring theme when it comes to perceptions about wife abuse. One of the main reasons given behind domestic violence is to protect the "honor" of the family, which is assigned to be upheld by women of the

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house. One of the main risk factors of wife abuse given by Pakistani women in their interviews was jealousy and paranoia of husbands about the possibility of sexual infidelity. Such attitudes tended to cause suspicions about extra-marital affairs, merely by witnessing a polite exchange between wives and a male relative.

The institution of family has a huge significance in Pakistani culture; traditional patriarchal values are seen to be manifested in the domestic sphere (Masood, 2014). The diminished autonomy and status of women, and the dominant status of men is evident in the family unit. Many women have no say in their choice of spouse; the practice of dowry is exercised to subjugate and humiliate women; various tyrannical tribal practices such as *watta satta* and *karo kari* are marital in nature. According to Ayyub (2000), the collectivist culture of south Asian societies defines identities and worth of individuals based on their familial associations. The South Asian woman's identity is based on her domestic sphere; it is validated when she fits into the prescribed roles of daughter, wife, and mother. The high value placed on family and women's role in the family structure obfuscates domestic abuse and socializes women to be compromising and submissive. Since family holds such an importance in South Asian culture, it is an appropriate setting to explore practices of masculinity and gender relations (Chopra, 2003; Garini, 2017)

Male perceptions of domestic violence in Pakistan

An in-depth interview study conducted by Zakar et al. (2013) of married Pakistani males, looked at beliefs and attitudes towards gender roles and Intimate Partner Violence. The interviews attributed the responsibility of sustaining honor of the society, its integrity and morality, to women. Wives should uphold traditional values and norms by not straying away

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from the prescribed “right path”. Most men endorsed hegemonic masculine ideals, especially in relation to husbands’ relationship with their wives; men being tough, and commanding is a desirable cultural norm. They reported that females have a different “nature” than men, which should justify patriarchal practices of male domination. Attitudes about the female gender role were rigid, in the context of wives and their responsibilities and duties to cater efficiently to their husbands’ needs. Even in the cases of working wives, their social mobility should not affect the power their husbands have over them. The supremacy of the husbands in the domestic sphere should not be compromised as it is their role to keep their wives in check. Wives honorable and obedient behavior should be monitored by husbands by any means. In terms of physical acts of violence against wives, participants attempted to justify it by blaming women and claiming it to be a situational necessity created by wives. The authors concluded that these cultural beliefs about gender stereotypes and domestic wife abuse were not merely cognitive but also “guidelines for action” in the real world. In a research study, data from married men from Karachi, Pakistan was collected; the majority of men (94 percent) admitted engaging in verbal abuse. Almost half (49.4) reported perpetrating some form of marital physical abuse (Fikree, et al., 2005). These men also held adverse attitudes of domestic violence and justified it by endorsing the dominance and rights of husbands over wives, as well as wives’ attitudes being the primary cause of abuse. Wives are strongly linked with honor and are anointed with the responsibility to guard it; in research on Pakistani men accompanying patients in hospitals, 58.7 percent of husbands agreed that in case of illicit affairs, their wives would prompt them to kill her (Shaikh, 2000). It has been suggested that to effectively tackle domestic violence issues, measures should be taken to alter traditional gender ideology (Zakar et al., 2013). Dobash and Dobash (1979), stated that men’s violence against wives is an enforcement of the cultural prescriptions of male authority, and

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dominance; wife abuse is a means to establish male supremacy. Violence against wives is legitimized and justified in Pakistan through patriarchal norms, traditional gender roles, and religion (Masood, 2014).

Variables related to violence against women: patriarchal beliefs and traditional gender roles

A study by Haj-Yahia (1998) on Palestinian men's attitudes towards wife abuse, indicated that variance in the justification and supportive attitude of wife abuse, and support for unaccountability of abusive husbands is related to traditional gender ideologies, patriarchal belief systems, and non-egalitarian attitudes in marriages. Analysis of cross-cultural research has shown that societies with high degree of male dominance has more frequency of violence against women (Heise, 1998). Sanday's research (1981) hypothesized cultural variations in incidents of rape and suggests that societies where notions of manhood are strongly linked with honor and dominance, there is a higher frequency of rape and sexually coercive acts. Moreover, it has been suggested to group sexual and non-sexual violence together, when conceptualizing theories to study male abuse (Heise, 1998). Patriarchal ideology exaggerates the biological differences between men and women, thus legitimizing dominant and subordinate roles to men and women respectively. It has also been found that a consistent predictor of men's supportive attitudes towards VAW is endorsement of rigid sex roles, and gender stereotypes regarding men and women (Flood and Pease, 2009). The perpetuation of gender role stereotypes in such societies occurs because of anointing traits of warmth, empathy, and emotional connection, while socializing men as practicing personality traits of assertion, dominance and higher agency, especially over female subordinates (Haj-Yahia, 1998).

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In Pakistan, the socialization of gender roles is deeply rooted in disparity and unequal status between girls and boys. Gender inequality linked with gender differences and strong binary sex role socialization was hypothesized, in research on Pakistani women living in Karachi belonging to different socio-economic backgrounds, to be correlated with oppression against women (Ali et al., 2011). The participants were aware of the prescribed roles that girls and boys were socialized into, to behave in an appropriate way as husbands, wives, mothers, and daughters. They also mentioned the power dynamics that the sexes hold and exercised; education and financial independence was perceived as giving more power to women. While the perception of a man's power according to societal acceptance, meant exercising strong egos and aggression in marital relationships, including wife beating, with no fear of reprisal. Strict sex role socialization and male domination leading to harmful and violent implications for women is a recurring theme that can be observed in Pakistani society. Pakistani Muslim men living in Bradford, UK, have been shown to practice harmful patriarchal ideologies that jeopardizes the rights and autonomy of Pakistani Muslim women (Macey, 1999). Data collected from a wide range of sources have revealed that Pakistani men, in the form of mobs, scrutinize women's actions and use invasive and violent means to restrict their basic freedoms. Women have to face domestic violence, cyber threats, and strict surveillance on their mobility. Moreover, religious interpretations and Pakistani cultural values are used by such men to justify their actions. This is also a way for them to combat western influences, preserve their religious and cultural integrity, and establish a strong masculine identity.

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Theoretical approaches for male violence against women: An Ecological Framework

Patriarchy alone does not have a direct correlation with physical violence against women. It is simplistic and reductive to classify all men as violent because of their involvement in a patriarchal system of male dominance. Dutton (1994) has posited that patriarchal systems are filtered through individual male ideologies, and personal life circumstances, to manifest men's violence towards women. Male supremacy, as a single factor, is not a sufficient factor to explain the practice of violence against women; other variables and their interplay have to be accounted for as well. Heise (1998) proposed a multidimensional ecological framework for analysis of men's abuse against women, which factors in various systems of one's social environmental and psychological dispositions, in order to understand male violence towards women. Heise posited an ecological framework for the etiology of physical and sexual abuse towards women; it consists of four levels of conceptual analysis: personal history, microsystem, exosystemic, and macrosystem. Many theorists have used this framework to explain the causes of gender-based violence, inspired by Bronfenbrenner's theory of ecological development, which suggests that perpetration and victimization of abuse results from an interaction between individual and social environment at the personal, social, and cultural level (Ali & Gavino, 2008). Research findings support this framework as it has been found that at the personal, micro, and exosystemic level, an individual's childhood experience of abuse, male's decision-making, and economic authority, being raised in a patriarchal household, all contribute to greater likelihood of committing abuse. At the macro level, it has been seen in cross-cultural research that cultures which have a definition of tough, dominant, and honorable manhood is a factor that promotes violence against women (Counts et al., 1992; Sanday, 1981).

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The current study: Masculinity and domestic violence in a Pakistani context

From the above readings, it has been suggested that in cultures like Pakistan where patriarchal ideologies and practices are common, hegemonic, or traditional masculine beliefs are also prevalent. Moreover, it has also been implied that men are more likely than women to endorse and internalize such beliefs about their masculinity, especially when they are involved in a system that serves them. Due to these implications, this study theorizes traditional masculine beliefs of Pakistani men to be higher in scales that measure traditional masculine ideology. Violence against women in the form of physical wife abuse has been shown by statistics to be widespread. Various cultural and societal factors have been found to play a role in perpetrating wife abuse. The institutions of religion and family are an integral part of Pakistani Muslim culture, and they play a huge role in dictating the lives of women. Cultural examinations of Pakistani norms and values, show prevalent ideologies and practices based on rigid gender roles, which have a supporting effect on violence against women in the domestic sphere. Non-egalitarian gender roles, and strict sex-role socialization has been shown to be strongly associated with measures of traditional masculine ideology as well. A cultural prescription of manhood in Pakistan, especially in the context of domestic relationships is that of dominance, toughness, and honor. Considering these research findings, this study looks at the relationship between traditional masculinity and attitudes that endorse and justify domestic violence against women.

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Methodology

Variables

Independent Variable: Beliefs about traditional masculine role ideologies

Dependent Variable: Attitudes and hypothetical behavior towards domestic violence against wife.

Research question

Is there a relationship between Pakistani traditional masculine ideologies and attitudes towards domestic violence against women?

Hypothesis

Higher endorsement of Pakistani traditional masculine ideologies is associated with greater acceptance of physical domestic violence against wives.

Research design

The research is quantitative in nature and will collect data using a questionnaire survey method.

Participant sample

Non-probability convenience sampling method was used to recruit participants. Data from a sample of 100-120 adult Pakistani males, studying in undergraduate programs in public and private universities in Lahore, Pakistan, was collected. The age range of the participants was

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19-24. Participants are mostly unmarried, have the same level of education, and belong to the same age group.

Instrumentation

An informed consent form will be given before the survey, informing the participants on the nature of the research, briefing their rights, and asking for their consent to participate in the study. This will be followed by a demographic section asking them their gender, age group, socioeconomic status, and year of undergraduate study. This is done to ensure that the control variables are established. Two questionnaires will follow, measuring traditional masculine ideologies, and attitudes towards domestic wife abuse.

Masculine Ideology

The scale used for measuring conformity to traditional masculine ideals is the Male Role Norms Inventory-Revised Scale (MRNI-R). This scale was developed by Levant, et al. (2007), derived from the original Male Role Norms Inventory scale by Levant et al. (1992), which was designed to measure traditional as well as non-traditional attitudes towards masculinity. The MRNI revised scale has updated the language used in the original MRNI in the instrument and is aimed at achieving greater reliability. Normative statements regarding the traditional behavior of men were stated in the items. As per previous recommendations, it also did not compare the attitudes towards binary sex roles of men and women, to measure masculine ideology exclusive to men. Participants designated their level of agreement or disagreement with items on a 7-point Likert scale, with higher scores indicating greater belief and internalization of traditional masculinity ideology. This contains seven subscales: Avoidance of Femininity, Fear and Hatred

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of Homosexuals, Extreme Self-Reliance, Aggression, Dominance, Non-relational Attitudes toward Sexuality, and Restrictive Emotionality. 107 items were initially formed and by analyzing correlations between items and their respective subscales, were filtered to be finalized to a 53 item-scale.

Research to study initial validation of the MRNI-R analyzed data from 170 students as participants, and computed correlations of the subscales with each other and with the total score of the scale. Correlations between each subscale and the total scale (.70 to .87) were stronger than the subscales correlated with each other (.38 to .72), which indicated that the subscales are different measures of the same masculine construct. Results showed that the subscales of the revised 53-item MRNI-R have more reliability than those in the original MRNI scale. Cronbach's alpha value for reliability was strong (.95) for male respondents in the total MRNI-R scale. Due to the improved reliability, the revised MRNI form has been recommended to be used in future research instead of the original MRNI scale. Levant and Richmond (2007) reviewed studies about masculine ideologies, which used the MRNI- revised scale. They found significant correlation of masculine ideologies, as measured by MRNI-R, with various problematic variables, such as fear of intimacy, lower acceptance of racial and sexual diversity, and lesser satisfaction in relationships. It also showed variations of masculine ideologies in demographic variables of gender, race, and nationality, further confirming the social construction and multiple masculinities theory, and thus increasing the scale's validity. For the purpose of this research, three out of the seven subscales in the MRNI-R that are relevant to this study will be used: namely, Avoidance of femininity, Aggression, and Dominance. The review of literature has suggested these aspects of traditional masculine ideology to be correlated with the other variable.

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Attitudes towards domestic violence

For the dependent variable, the Inventory of Beliefs about wife beating (IBWB) scale, the short form, will be used. The scale was developed by Saunders, et al., (1987) to measure attitudes of wife beating. Initial construct validity was verified by conducting studies that showed significant correlation of wife beating attitudes with stereotyping sex-role beliefs, as well as sympathetic attitudes towards rape. Five subscales were generated according to factor analysis of dimensions included in the construct; Wife Beating Is Justified, Wives Gain from Beatings, Help should be Given, Offender Is Responsible, and Offender Should Be Punished. Variance in the scores of males and females, as well as victim advocates and abusers, was also analyzed. Validity was established by significant differences that were seen in the scores of the scale in men and women, and in advocates and perpetrators. Reliability was established with a coefficient of .77 for the total score of the scale. Thirty out of the 31 items on the scale are scored according to a seven-point Likert-type scale. Higher scores on three subscales; Wife Beating is Justified, Wives gain from beatings, and Help should be given, translates to greater acceptance of domestic violence against wives. The two other subscales, Offender is responsible, and Offender should be punished, were designed so that higher scores indicated lesser acceptance of wife beating by husbands. The short form of the scale has been reduced to 11 items and contains two subscales out of the original five; Wife beating is justified, and Help should be given.

Data Analysis

The data will be analyzed using SPSS. Descriptive statistics, Pearson correlation, and regression analysis tests will be applied.

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Results

Table 1

Descriptive statistics for Age in Years

Age in years	f	%
18 – 20 years	23	19.2
21 – 22 years	55	45.8
23 – 25 years	42	35.0

Table 2

Descriptive statistics for Year of Study

Year of Study	f	%
First	15	12.5
Second	21	17.5
Third	31	25.8
Fourth	53	44.2

Table 3

Factor analysis of the scale for Masculine Ideology

Item no.	Item Statement	Alpha Value
1	The President of the US should always be a man.	0.749
2	Men should be the leader in any group.	0.784
3	Men should not wear make-up, cover-up or bronzer.	0.471
4	Men should watch football games instead of soap operas.	0.626
5	Men should not be interested in talk shows such as Oprah.	0.552
6	Men should excel at contact sports.	0.598
7	Boys should play with action figures, not dolls.	0.720
8	A man should prefer watching action movies to reading romantic novels.	0.597
9	Boys should prefer to play with trucks rather than dolls.	0.645
10	A man should always be the boss.	0.725
11	A man should provide the discipline in the family.	0.676
12	A man should avoid holding his wife's purse at all times.	0.646
13	Boys should not throw baseballs like girls.	0.657
14	If another man flirts with the women accompanying a man, this is a serious provocation, and the man should respond with aggression.	0.619
15	Boys should be encouraged to find a means of demonstrating physical prowess.	0.397
16	Men should get up to investigate if there is a strange noise in the house at night.	0.601
17	It is important for a man to take risks, even if he might get hurt.	0.516
18	A man should always be the major provider in his family.	0.621
19	When the going gets tough, men should get tough.	0.689
20	I think a young man should try to be physically tough, even if he's not big.	0.618
21	In a group, it is up to the men to get things organized and moving ahead.	0.518
22	Men should make the final decision involving money.	0.685

Factor analysis for one item was found to be significantly less than 0.5, so it was excluded from analysis, when run again.

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Table 4

Revised Factor analysis of the scale for Masculine Ideology

Item no.	Item Statement	Alpha value
1	The President of the US should always be a man.	0.731
2	Men should be the leader in any group.	0.782
3	Men should not wear make-up, cover-up or bronzer.	0.472
4	Men should watch football games instead of soap operas.	0.624
5	Men should not be interested in talk shows such as Oprah.	0.556
6	Men should excel at contact sports.	0.602
7	Boys should play with action figures, not dolls.	0.723
8	A man should prefer watching action movies to reading romantic novels.	0.599
9	Boys should prefer to play with trucks rather than dolls.	0.654
10	A man should always be the boss.	0.729
11	A man should provide the discipline in the family.	0.681
12	A man should avoid holding his wife's purse at all times.	0.716
13	Boys should not throw baseballs like girls.	0.672
14	If another man flirts with the women accompanying a man, this is a serious provocation, and the man should respond with aggression.	0.640
15	Men should get up to investigate if there is a strange noise in the house at night.	0.613
16	It is important for a man to take risks, even if he might get hurt.	0.515
17	A man should always be the major provider in his family.	0.639
18	When the going gets tough, men should get tough.	0.702
19	I think a young man should try to be physically tough, even if he's not big.	0.611
20	In a group, it is up to the men to get things organized and moving ahead.	0.514
21	Men should make the final decision involving money.	0.664

Internal Validity was found for masculine ideology as all alpha values of items were greater and closer to 0.5.

Table 5

Factor analysis of the scale for Violence against Women

Item no.	Item Statement	Alpha value
1	Wives could avoid being battered by their husbands if they knew when to stop talking.	0.435
2	A wife doesn't deserve a beating even if she keeps reminding her husband of his weak points.	0.326
3	A woman who constantly refuses to have sex with her husband is asking to be beaten	0.593
4	Episodes of a man beating his wife are the wife's fault.	0.679
5	A sexually unfaithful wife deserves to be beaten.	0.711
6	A husband has no right to beat his wife even if she breaks agreements, she has made with him.	0.404
7	Occasional violence by a husband toward his wife can help maintain the marriage.	0.711
8	Even if a wife's behavior challenges her husband's manhood, he's not justified in beating her	0.436
9	Social agencies should do more to help battered women.	0.647
10	Women should be protected by law if their husbands beat them.	0.617
11	Wife-beating should be given a high priority as a social problem by government	0.439

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agencies.

Factor analysis for one item was significantly less than 0.5, which was then excluded from further analysis.

Table 6
Revised factor analysis of the scale for Violence against Women

Item no.	Item Statement	Alpha value
1	Wives could avoid being battered by their husbands if they knew when to stop talking.	0.438
2	A woman who constantly refuses to have sex with her husband is asking to be beaten	0.595
3	Episodes of a man beating his wife are the wife's fault.	0.685
4	A sexually unfaithful wife deserves to be beaten.	0.714
5	A husband has no right to beat his wife even if she breaks agreements, she has made with him.	0.404
6	Occasional violence by a husband toward his wife can help maintain the marriage.	0.718
7	Even if a wife's behavior challenges her husband's manhood, he's not justified in beating her	0.439
8	Social agencies should do more to help battered women.	0.677
9	Women should be protected by law if their husbands beat them.	0.632
10	Wife-beating should be given a high priority as a social problem by government agencies.	0.445

Internal Validity for IBWB was found as after excluding an item, alpha values for factor loadings were found to be greater and close to 0.5.

Reliability

Both scales of masculinity and wife-beating attitudes have reliability with a Cronbach's alpha of 0.935 and 0.569 respectively.

Normality

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The scores for masculine ideology are normally distributed with an alpha value of 0.200.

The variable of wife-beating attitudes has an alpha value of 0.008 and is not normally distributed.

Table 7

Descriptive Statistics of Masculine ideologies and Wife-beating attitudes

Descriptive	MRNI-R (Masculine ideologies)	IBWB (Wife-beating attitudes)
Mean	3.856	3.502
Median	3.955	3.545
Standard deviation	1.245	0.741
Variance	1.557	0.549
Skewness	-0.064	0.578
Kurtosis	3.116	3.24
Minimum	1	2.090
Maximum	7	6

Correlation

Pearson correlation was found significant and there was a moderate positive correlation between traditional masculine ideology and supportive attitudes towards violence against women, with a correlation coefficient of 0.360.

Table 8

Linear Regression values

	Values
R square	0.1295
Beta value	0.214
P value	0.000
95 % CI	0.115 - 0.312

Linear regression values show that the endorsement of traditional masculine ideologies predict supportive attitudes towards physical wife-abuse. One-unit increased change in masculine ideology score results in 0.214 units increase in wife-beating attitudes.

Discussion (Limitations and implications)

The results indicate a positive correlation between the two variables, which thereby confirms this study's hypothesis that highly traditional masculine ideals account for significant variance in condoning attitudes towards physical violence against wives.

A limitation of this study is that due to the application of non-probability convenience sampling, its results may not be generalizable to the broader Pakistani population or a specific sub-population. Apart from that, the study also does not capture the range of socio-demographic variables that could help us understand the trends in the population along the two scores under study. Ethnic background was one such variable as the respondents belonged to a variety of ethnic groups across Pakistan, out of which most have been brought up in a different region of the country and have relocated to Lahore for studying. The range of intervening factors that could also be at play here would include liberal or conservative family upbringing, level of one's religiosity, urban or rural background, socio-economic status of family, and parents' education and religiosity level. Dynamics of geographic boundaries, entailing migration and urbanization is another factor that can affect the trends in masculine ideologies among various groups. Studies measuring masculine ideology and its internalization have shown variance on the basis of race, and geographic regions. Multicultural studies of masculinity such as that of Levant et al. (2003) conducted in four separate geographic regions of U.S territory found differences in endorsement of traditional masculine norms across cultures and ethnicities; African American adults endorsed traditional masculine ideology to a greater extent than European Americans. Moreover, according to Levant et al. (1998), geographic residency mediates the association of race on masculine ideology. It was found that differences in endorsement of masculine ideologies were

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present for men belonging to the same racial group (African American) but living in different geographical regions (Southern region and Northeast-Mid-Atlantic region) in the US (Levant, Majors, and Kelley, 1998). Therefore, it was suggested by the authors that geographic location introduces a factor of subculture within the same ethnicity or race.

This builds on the social constructionist approach as masculine ideologies and their internalization varies across cultures. Further implication could be to analyze this in more detail and attempt to demarcate the multiplicity of masculinities in Pakistan on the basis of socio-demographic variables of ethnicity, geography, social status, education, etc. In order to further expand our understanding of masculinity in South Asia and Pakistan, such subcultural variations need to be taken into consideration when looking for masculine ideologies.

Studies focusing on masculine and sex-role attitudes should apply probability sampling techniques that conveniently assess groups of people of different socio-demographic variables and draw inference based on their varying characteristics. Cluster sampling can be applied to delineate geographic boundaries in Pakistan and groups of people sharing a common subculture and identity. Quantitative methods can be utilized to compare the levels of traditional masculine ideology against comparative cultural and subcultural backdrops. This could provide a more comprehensive picture of the distinguishability of sex-role stereotypes found across communities and would be useful in further exploring the underlying sociological factors.

Perhaps mixed method studies could be utilized that combines quantitative survey method with in-depth qualitative research work, drawing on anthropological and ethnographic framework, would work to better uncover the complex narratives surrounding the very serious issue of domestic violence against women, in a specific Pakistani cultural framework. A more culturally sensitive and inclusive approach needs to be executed to analyze and generate a

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framework model for domestic violence against women, specifically wife abuse. Violence against women has been shown to be associated with traditional patriarchal beliefs and practices, including rigid sex-role beliefs about masculinity and femininity. The results of this study build on this existing correlation by confirming the alternative hypothesis that correlates masculinity with wife-abuse attitudes. According to this research, since we can deduce that domestic wife abuse is correlated with traditional notions of masculinity, future studies should also focus on concrete manifestations of such traditional and conservative ideologies. Factors contributing to domestic wife abuse would go beyond cognitive factors and would appear to be embedded in oppressive cultural realities; the same ones that contribute to producing gender traditional ideologies. The direct implication of traditional sex role ideologies on cultural values and norms should be studied. Such cultural realities that are manifested towards overt practices and rituals, should be analyzed, in studies aimed at understanding domestic violence and designing interventions for it.

This would in-turn facilitate policymakers, NGOs, and civil society groups that are working to alleviate the issue of domestic wife-abuse. By having a better comprehension of the underlying ideologies that manifest themselves in surrounding domestic violence against women, stakeholders would be able to identify the problem from a grassroot level, and approach its mitigation, accordingly. Awareness campaigns and policies about domestic violence against women should also indoctrinate the cultural narrative of strict sex-role attitudes. Attempts should be made to make citizens more cognizant of such culturally constructed ideals of masculinity and femininity, along with their harmful implications for society and its members. More specifically, educational policies and campaigns intended towards young men should inculcate keen perceptions about social constructions of masculine ideologies. Efforts by governmental bodies,

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NGOs and other stakeholders should be channeled towards fostering awareness regarding masculine identity in young men. This should include a reformulation of masculinity and its internalization as well as an unlearning about what it means to be a man. Curriculum and teaching methods in educational institutions should focus on a reformulated socialization of young people, specifically boys, with respect to their masculine ideology and identity and how it has a significant role in their relationships with women. Levant's concept (1992) of a proposal of a reconstruction of masculinity should be instilled in this context, which entails an articulate learning of the problematic aspects of masculinity and how it manifests into dysfunctional social and individual processes. As well as acknowledgments of the non-dysfunctional and noble aspects of masculinity and the ways to internalize and exercise them in a considerate and healthy form of masculine identity expression. As behavioral and psychological factors such as aggressive sexual behavior towards women (Truman, Toker and Fischer, 1996), Type A behavior (Sinn, 1997), and restrictive emotionality, have been linked to conservative masculine ideology, it is worth looking into how the internalization of such traits and endorsing them as "masculine", affects men's attitudes towards their female partner. This can help design intervention strategies and programs for the grooming of men, with regards to constructively shaping their behaviors with their wives. In a way that minimizes the risk of men committing verbal, emotional, financial, and physical abuse against their female partners.

An intervention study based on this concept, in 2018, titled *The Modern Man Challenge*, was developed, and administered in Monrovia, Liberia (Annan et al., 2018-2019). The intervention program was conducted by Innovations for Poverty Action (IPA), in partnership with the Airbel Center at the International Rescue Committee and the Behavioral Insights Team, to construct a text-message based behavioral intervention. The program aimed at reducing

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Intimate Partner Violence, through focusing on behavioral pattern shifts in men. The study notes how most Intimate Partner Violence interventions focus on women and their experience, and fail to include strategies intended for men, who are most likely to be the perpetrators of such violence. In the study summary report, men's use of violence was associated with views about their roles in relationships with their partner. These views, in turn, were linked with, and hypothesized to be affected by their existing ideas and aspirations about their masculine identities. The program first applied quantitative and qualitative methods, such as informal conversations with men, quiz surveys and its discussion, etc., to formulate tools and methodologies for the intervention research objective. Then, it provided information through text messages, to guide men about how to approach household management, sexual communication, and psychological regulation skills, in their marital relationships.

Conclusion

The above literature review has suggested that the cognitive aspect of masculinity alone is not sufficiently enough to articulate attitudes surrounding violence against women. However, there have been attempts to deconstruct and generate masculine constructs that entail problematic attitudes and behaviors. These inventories have been shown to be associated with defensive and aggressive inclinations towards women, as well as towards men. The social construction and multiple masculinity aspects of internalizing masculine notions can be contextualized in Pakistani society. The results of this study confirmed this hypothesis with a positive correlation between the two variables. The fact that the correlation between the variables was moderate, and that there was a large variance in the endorsement of traditional masculinity, invokes the limitation of flawed generalizability of the findings. Future research on masculine ideologies in

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Pakistan should be apprehensive of variance according to socio-demographic variables and their subcultural contexts.

The positive, however moderate association of traditional masculinity with condoning attitudes towards wife abuse implies that the justification of committing physical violence against wives is upheld by rigid sex role stereotypes. Particularly those of men that socialize men's personality traits to be dominant, and in constant defense against anything that challenges their superior masculine status. In the patriarchal mindset found to be widespread in the specific cultural context of Pakistan, strict masculine ideals were theorized to have a role in wife-abuse. It can be deduced from the aforementioned literature review and research findings that masculine identity and its ideologies, are linked to perceptions of gender roles, emotional expressiveness and maturity, and displays of dominance. This determines how men behave and view themselves, in relation to the women in their life, with whom they have an intimate relationship. Therefore, programs and interventions aimed towards the mitigation of domestic abuse against wives should inculcate objectives of enlightening men and reformulating their masculine identity, and its role in their relationships with female partners.

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Appendices

Appendix-A: Informed consent form

MASCULINE IDEOLOGIES AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

Informed Consent Form

You have been invited to participate in research titled “Masculine ideologies and attitudes towards domestic violence against women”. This study aims to measure the traditional masculine beliefs held by men in Pakistan, and their relationship with attitudes towards domestic violence. The survey will require approximately 7-10 minutes to answer. There is no reward to participate. There is no risk to the respondents. The information obtained will be kept confidential and will not be released to any third party. Your participation is completely voluntary, and you have the right to withdraw from the study at any point.

Researcher: Rabeeah Maryam Malik. BS. Honors, Department of Sociology, Forman Christian College University, Lahore. Email: 21-10546@formanite.fccollege.edu.pk

Research Supervisor: Dr. Julie Flowerday. Email: julieflowerday@fccollege.edu.pk

By consenting to proceed ahead, you are agreeing that you have read the information mentioned above and have consented to take part in this survey.

Appendix-B: Questionnaire

Inventory of beliefs about wife-beating- Short Form

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Instructions: Below are a number of statements about violence toward wives that some people agree with and others disagree with. Please show how much you agree or disagree with each statement by placing a check after one of the levels of agreement. There are no right or wrong answers. "Beating" is used to mean repeated hitting intended to inflict pain.

- 1) Wives could avoid being battered by their husbands if they knew when to stop talking.**

Strongly Agree__ Agree__ Slightly Agree__ Neither Agree nor Disagree__

Slightly disagree__ Disagree__ Strongly Disagree__

- 2) A wife doesn't deserve a beating even if she keeps reminding her husband of his weak points.**

Strongly Agree__ Agree__ Slightly Agree__ Neither Agree nor Disagree__

Slightly disagree__ Disagree__ Strongly Disagree__

- 3) A woman who constantly refuses to have sex with her husband is asking to be beaten.**

Strongly Agree__ Agree__ Slightly Agree__ Neither Agree nor Disagree__

Slightly disagree__ Disagree__ Strongly Disagree__

- 4) Episodes of a man beating his wife are the wife's fault.**

Strongly Agree__ Agree__ Slightly Agree__ Neither Agree nor Disagree__

Slightly disagree__ Disagree__ Strongly Disagree__

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5) A sexually unfaithful wife deserves to be beaten.

Strongly Agree__ Agree__ Slightly Agree__ Neither Agree nor Disagree__

Slightly disagree__ Disagree__ Strongly Disagree__

6) A husband has no right to beat his wife even if she breaks agreements, she has made with him.

Strongly Agree__ Agree__ Slightly Agree__ Neither Agree Nor Disagree__

Slightly disagree__ Disagree__ Strongly Disagree__

7) Occasional violence by a husband toward his wife can help maintain the marriage.

Strongly Agree__ Agree__ Slightly Agree__ Neither Agree Nor Disagree__

Slightly disagree__ Disagree__ Strongly Disagree__

8) Even if a wife's behavior challenges her husband's manhood, he's not justified in beating her.

Strongly Agree__ Agree__ Slightly Agree__ Neither Agree Nor Disagree__

Slightly disagree__ Disagree__ Strongly Disagree__

9) Social agencies should do more to help battered women.

Strongly Agree__ Agree__ Slightly Agree__ Neither Agree Nor Disagree__

Slightly disagree__ Disagree__ Strongly Disagree__

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10) Women should be protected by law if their husbands beat them.

Strongly Agree__ Agree__ Slightly Agree__ Neither Agree Nor Disagree__

Slightly disagree__ Disagree__ Strongly Disagree__

11) Wife-beating should be given a high priority as a social problem by government agencies.

Strongly Agree__ Agree__ Slightly Agree__ Neither Agree Nor Disagree__

Slightly disagree__ Disagree__ Strongly Disagree__

Note: Items 1-8 form the subscale: Wife-beating Is Justified; items 9-11 form the subscale: Help Should be Given.

Scoring Instructions: The Inventory of Beliefs About Wife-Beating

To derive a score from each sub-scale:

1) Assign the following values for the items below which do NOT have an 'R':

Strongly agree = 1, Agree = 2, slightly agree = 3, Neither agree nor disagree = 4, Slightly disagree = 5, Disagree = 6, Strongly disagree = 7

2) For items marked with an 'R', use reverse scoring as follows:

Strongly agree = 7, Agree = 6, slightly agree = 5, Neither agree nor disagree = 4, Slightly disagree = 3, Disagree = 2, Strongly disagree = 1

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3) Add the values of each of the subscales show below.

Wife-beating is Justified: 1R 2 3R 4R 5R 6 7R 8

Help Should Be Given: 9R 10R 11R

The Male Role Norms Inventory-Revised

Please complete the questionnaire by circling the number which indicates your level of agreement or disagreement with each statement. Give only one answer for each statement.

1) The President of the US should always be a man.

1)Strongly Disagree 2) Disagree 3) Slightly Disagree 4) No opinion 5) Slightly Agree 6) Agree 7) Strongly Agree

2) Men should be the leader in any group.

1)Strongly Disagree 2) Disagree 3) Slightly Disagree 4) No opinion 5) Slightly Agree 6) Agree 7) Strongly Agree

3) Men should not wear make-up, cover-up, or bronzer.

1)Strongly Disagree 2) Disagree 3) Slightly Disagree 4) No opinion 5) Slightly Agree 6) Agree 7) Strongly Agree

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

1) Strongly Disagree 2) Disagree 3) Slightly Disagree 4) No opinion 5) Slightly Agree 6) Agree 7) Strongly Agree

5) Men should not be interested in talk shows such as Oprah.

1) Strongly Disagree 2) Disagree 3) Slightly Disagree 4) No opinion 5) Slightly Agree 6) Agree 7) Strongly Agree

6) Men should excel at contact sports.

1) Strongly Disagree 2) Disagree 3) Slightly Disagree 4) No opinion 5) Slightly Agree 6) Agree 7) Strongly Agree

7) Boys should play with action figures not dolls.

1) Strongly Disagree 2) Disagree 3) Slightly Disagree 4) No opinion 5) Slightly Agree 6) Agree 7) Strongly Agree

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

1) Strongly Disagree 2) Disagree 3) Slightly Disagree 4) No opinion 5) Slightly Agree 6) Agree 7) Strongly Agree

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9) Boys should prefer to play with trucks rather than dolls.

1)Strongly Disagree 2) Disagree 3) Slightly Disagree 4) No opinion 5) Slightly Agree 6) Agree 7) Strongly Agree

10) A man should always be the boss.

1)Strongly Disagree 2) Disagree 3) Slightly Disagree 4) No opinion 5) Slightly Agree 6) Agree 7) Strongly Agree

11) A man should provide the discipline in the family.

1)Strongly Disagree 2) Disagree 3) Slightly Disagree 4) No opinion 5) Slightly Agree 6) Agree 7) Strongly Agree

12) A man should avoid holding his wife's purse at all times.

1)Strongly Disagree 2) Disagree 3) Slightly Disagree 4) No opinion 5) Slightly Agree 6) Agree 7) Strongly Agree

13) Boys should not throw baseballs like girls.

1)Strongly Disagree 2) Disagree 3) Slightly Disagree 4) No opinion 5) Slightly Agree 6) Agree 7) Strongly Agree

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14) If another man flirts with the women accompanying a man, this is a serious provocation and the man should respond with aggression.

1) Strongly Disagree 2) Disagree 3) Slightly Disagree 4) No opinion 5) Slightly Agree 6) Agree 7) Strongly Agree

15) Boys should be encouraged to find a means of demonstrating physical prowess.

1) Strongly Disagree 2) Disagree 3) Slightly Disagree 4) No opinion 5) Slightly Agree 6) Agree 7) Strongly Agree

16) Men should get up to investigate if there is a strange noise in the house at night.

1) Strongly Disagree 2) Disagree 3) Slightly Disagree 4) No opinion 5) Slightly Agree 6) Agree 7) Strongly Agree

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

1) Strongly Disagree 2) Disagree 3) Slightly Disagree 4) No opinion 5) Slightly Agree 6) Agree 7) Strongly Agree

18) A man should always be the major provider in his family.

1) Strongly Disagree 2) Disagree 3) Slightly Disagree 4) No opinion 5) Slightly Agree 6) Agree 7) Strongly Agree

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

1) Strongly Disagree 2) Disagree 3) Slightly Disagree 4) No opinion 5) Slightly Agree 6) Agree 7) Strongly Agree

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

1) Strongly Disagree 2) Disagree 3) Slightly Disagree 4) No opinion 5) Slightly Agree 6) Agree 7) Strongly Agree

21) In a group, it is up to the men to get things organized and moving ahead.

1) Strongly Disagree 2) Disagree 3) Slightly Disagree 4) No opinion 5) Slightly Agree 6) Agree 7) Strongly Agree

22) Men should make the final decision involving money.

1) Strongly Disagree 2) Disagree 3) Slightly Disagree 4) No opinion 5) Slightly Agree 6) Agree 7) Strongly Agree

Scoring Instructions:

1) To derive a score from each subscale:

Strongly agree = 7, Agree = 6, Slightly agree = 5, Neither agree nor disagree = 4, Slightly disagree = 3, Disagree = 2, Strongly disagree = 1

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2) To obtain total score, take mean of all items

Avoidance of Femininity: $3+4+5+7+8+9+12+13/8$

Dominance: $1+2+10+11+18+22+21/7$

Aggression: $6+14+15+16+17+19+20/7$