

VIOLENCE AS A WAY OF RECONSTRUCTING MANHOOD: THE ROLE OF
THREATENED MANHOOD AND MASCULINE IDEOLOGY ON VIOLENCE
AGAINST WOMEN

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ABSTRACT

VIOLENCE AS A WAY OF RECONSTRUCTING MANHOOD: THE ROLE OF THREATENED MANHOOD AND MASCULINE IDEOLOGY ON VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

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The current thesis investigates the relationship between constructions of manhood and violence against women around the notion of threat. In doing so, it employs the perspective of “precarious manhood”. Although threat to masculinity and its relationship to violence against women have been discussed in the literature, little research has been undertaken in uncovering the conceptualization of threats to manhood and the ways in which threats may be related to violence. This study fills this gap by examining the threat-prone structure of manhood. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with 21 Turkish men from Ankara, Çankaya. Many sources of threat for manhood were common, which were mostly related to power relations between men and women, and the public reputation of manhood. Based on these interviews, a Perceived Threat to Manhood Scale (PTMS) was developed and

data were collected from 307 men. The results show that men who perceive greater threat from subordination to women and to their household accountability depending on the patriarchal reputation, and men who endorse traditional male role norms regarding anti-femininity had more favorable attitudes towards wife abuse. These men viewed violence as a functional and justifiable way of controlling women while minimizing the importance of its negative consequences. They also perpetrated physical and psychological violence more frequently depending on their level of justification for violence against women. The findings indicate that threat to manhood may come from different sources that reflect the patriarchal power relations between genders and that violence against women becomes normal and functional for men.

Keywords: Precarious Manhood, Hegemonic Masculinity, Threat, Violence, Gender

ÖZ

ERKEKLİĞİN YENİDEN İNŞASI OLARAK ŞİDDET: ERKEKLİĞE TEHDİT VE ERKEKLİK İDEOLOJİSİNİN KADINA YÖNELİK ŞİDDET ÜZERİNDEKİ ROLÜ

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Bu çalışma, erkekliğin sosyal inşası ve kadına yönelik şiddet arasındaki ilişkiyi erkekliğe yönelik tehdit bağlamında, “kırılgan erkeklik” perspektifinden incelemektedir. Erkekliğe yönelik tehdit ve bunun kadına yönelik şiddet ile ilişkisi yazında gerek deneysel çalışmalarla, gerekse de daha geniş bir kuramsal perspektiften tartışılmıştır. Ancak, erkekliğe yönelik tehdidin boyutlarını, erkek rollerini kabullenmeyi ve bunların şiddet ile nasıl ilişkilendirilebileceğini beraberce ortaya koyan pek az çalışma bulunmaktadır. Bu çalışma, erkekliklerine yönelik daha çok tehdit algılayan erkeklerin kadına yönelik şiddeti daha fazla destekleyip, daha fazla uyguladıklarını ortaya çıkararak yazındaki bu boşluğu doldurmaktadır. Bahsedilen olası tehdit kaynaklarını saptayabilmek ve erkekliğin sosyal ve toplumsal inşasını anlayabilmek adına, Ankara ili Çankaya ilçesinden 21 erkek ile yarı

yapılandırılmış görüşmeler yapılmıştır. Bu görüşmelere göre, genellikle kadın-erkek arası güç ilişkisi ve erkeğin toplumun gözündeki şerefiyle ilişkilendirilen sosyal tehdit kaynakları genel ve ortak bir örüntü sergilemiştir. Bu görüşmelere dayanarak bir Erkekliğe Yönelik Algılanan Tehdit ölçeği geliştirilmiş ve diğer anketlerle beraber 307 erkek katılımcıdan veri toplanmıştır. Sonuçlara göre, kadınlardan daha aşağı hissettiği ve ataerkil toplumdaki aile reisi mesuliyeti zedelendiği için fazlaca tehdit algılayan ve özellikle feminenlikten uzak durma normunu fazlaca içselleştirmiş erkeklerin, kadına yönelik şiddeti daha olumlu karşıladıkları görülmüştür. Bu erkekler kadına yönelik şiddeti mazur ve işlevsel gördükleri kadar, şiddetin yarattığı olumsuz sonuçları da önemsiz görmüşlerdir. Ayrıca, yine bu kişiler kadına yönelik şiddete karşı tutumlarına bağlı olarak, eşlerine veya sevgililerine daha sık fiziksel ve psikolojik şiddet uygulamışlardır. Çalışmanın sonuçları, erkekliğe yönelik tehdidin toplumsal cinsiyetler arası ataerkil güç ilişkilerini yansıtan farklı kaynaklardan gelebileceğini ve bu bağlamda şiddetin erkekler için normal ve işlevsel olabileceğinin altını çizmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kırılgan Erkeklik, Hegemonik Erkeklik, Tehdit, Şiddet, Toplumsal Cinsiyet

*To Emre,
&
To a Peaceful Country*

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

1.1. General Introduction

Violence against women is treated as it is an essential tradition of gender system. People perceive it as it have existed for thousands of years and will continue to exist in the future. Practices and structures of the cultures make people blind to see the actual reasons behind victimization of women. Their endorsement of gender ideologies helps to normalize violent practices in everyday life (Sakallı-Uğurlu, 2003; Ercan, 2009; Yigzaw, Berhane, Deyessa & Kaba, 2010). Searching the dynamics of violence and women killings in women's behavior does not help to improve the situation. The studies show the patriarchal gender system to be responsible from unequal power relations and violence. Patriarchy is a social structure which privileges men and gives them an innate right to control women through systematized suppression. Regarding the role of patriarchy, it is urgent to take point of view which centers structure of manhood into the problem of violence together with focusing on the costs for women and society.

The characteristics attributed to manhood are antifemininity, toughness, status (Thompson & Pleck, 1986), aggression, violence, breadwinning, self-reliance and honor (Mahalik et al., 2003). These examples may change in different cultural and situational contexts.. Investigating the social construction of masculinities, therefore, is important in order to understand its concomitant relationship with violence against women in patriarchal societies. Within this patriarchal structure, masculinities are highly dependent upon the certain proofs in the eyes of others. Masculine power is

promised by patriarchy only if they can achieve the higher status of manhood with certain practices.

This socially constructed and proof-based structure of manhood is defined as Precarious Manhood in social psychology literature (Vandello, Bosson, Cohen, Burnaford & Weaver, 2008). As the other achieved things in life, attaining a status with continuous effort creates an anxiety to lose it. Therefore, manhood can be lost when it is threatened by external sources. Violence, for that reason, serves as a tool for reconstructing manhood by taking the reputable position back. Using violence against women, on the other hand, relieved their tension about losing a status because patriarchy attributed women under male supremacy, especially in family relations (Johnson, 1995; Macmillan & Kruttschnick, 2005). On the other hand, their effort to be a man is supported by hegemonic masculinity, which is the ideal way of being a man harboring all the sources of power (Connel, 1995). Every man perceives and practices masculinity differently around the hegemonic ideals because the hegemonic masculinity can be held by only a few men in reality. Violence against women is regarded as power achievement tactics for the men who lack other resources of hegemonic masculinity (Straus, 1980; Gross-Green, 2009).

Manhood is a sophisticated social phenomenon for the sake of which men risk their lives as they do women's. The purpose of the current thesis is to investigate the relationship between manhood and violence against women. In order to do that, precariousness of manhood and its practices to get closer to hegemonic ideals are also examined in detail. Theoretical framework is first given to clarify the problem of violence and its dynamics from the perspective of manhood. Afterwards, method of the current study is detailed, followed by the results and their discussion.

1.2. Violence against Women: Definitions, Types, and Characteristics of Violence

We witness violence against women and even femicide with expanding visibility in the recent years. There is an enormous increase in the number and the visibility of women killings in the media. The numbers in Turkey, for example, give a pessimistic picture about the women's victimization. Abuse, rape or these kinds of assaults have risen in the amount of 38% between 2005 and 2011 and totally 4190 women were killed by men in the same years in Turkey (İnsan Hakları Derneği

[IHD], 2011). Another study finds that the number of women killed by their current or ex-husbands increased from 47 % to 69 % in the first 6 months of 2012 (Kadın Cinayetlerini Durduracağız Platformu Raporu, 2012). As the reports revealed, the reasons behind women killings need to be investigated more carefully. This study explores the role of patriarchal and masculinity culture on violence against women. Therefore, this section gives the definition and types of violence in order to follow the possible reasons more clearly and following this, different theoretical perspectives regarding violence against women are presented.

Violence was first defined as giving physical harm to another person intentionally or perceived as intentional act (Straus & Gelles, 1979). However the terms “intention” and “physical harm” confused the conceptualization of violence since intended act may not give physical harm or vice versa. More recent and comprehensive definition of violence against women is given by United Nations (UN) in Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (1993) as:

Any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in sexual or mental harm or suffering to women, including threats such acts as coercion or arbitrary deprivations of liberty, whether occurring in private and public life (Article 1).

However, suffering may result from different practices such as physical, psychological, or sexual violence as elaborated in Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW, 1981). Violence against women occurs everywhere when women are subordinated by men in general. It is practiced as beating, giving genital harm and rape in the family atmosphere; as sexual abuse, harassment or forcing prostitution in community; as not taking sufficient precautions to prevent violence against women, unequal power relations or state-based dissemination of information regarding women as subordinates. Beside the direct use of violence, indirect use of violence such as preventing the right to use education, using community tools or applying insufficient legal adjustments expand the negative effect of violence among women (United Nations Population Fund [UNFPA], 2005). This expanded network of violence creates risky situations, especially for women. Women who are victimized by a partner, had low education level, had observed violence in home settings or were exposed to childhood abuse in their personal history are under high risk of being victims of violence. Because they

internalize and normalize violence, they cannot refuse violent actions in their relationships. This results in growing number of victimization of women at home, in state or in society (UNFPA, 2005). As violence against women exist at all times or places in daily life, it is studied from very different perspectives such as the role of individual conflict tactics, as an interpersonal problem, as family violence or as a problem evoked by patriarchal social systems. In the scope of this study, different theoretical approaches to violence are presented but the problem of violence against women is mainly discussed from the framework of patriarchy and masculine ideology. Furthermore, it is also comprehended from the perspective of perceived threat to manhood as a means of reclaiming manhood status. It is also important to note that manhood and masculinity are used interchangeably, consistent with the manhood literature (Connell, 1995; Thompson & Pleck, 1987; Vandello et al., 2008). Both uses of the label aim to refer to it as a social construct rather than evoking biologically determined features.

1.2.1. Violence against Women from Different Perspectives in Social Sciences

Yes, all family violence is abhorrent, but not all family violence is the same. If there are different patterns that arise from different societal roots and interpersonal dynamics, we must make distinctions in order to maximize our effectiveness in moving toward the goal of peace in our private lives. (Johnson, 1995, p.293)

Different patterns of violence occur according to the type of the relationships. Macmillan and Kruttschnick (2005) indicate that it may be a tool for solving conflicts between intimate partners or systematized tool for controlling women as a result of frustrated particular gendered expectations. They also assert that the violence existing between couples and victimization of women with several controlling acts differ from each other. For example, the direction of violence is reciprocal between genders in the cases of common couple violence since it is a kind of reflection to control over the tension of everyday conflicts (Straus, Hamby, Boney-McCoy & Sugarman, 1996). However, the latter type of violence aims to subordinate women in every field of social life by using physical and other types of violence and aggrandizes male authority (Johnson, 1995).

All types of violence do not have the same practices or characteristics except for the general subordination and victimization of women. In that sense, violence against women is categorized as physical, emotional, economical, sexual or psychological violence by World Report on Violence and Health (2002). According to the report, the behaviors such as kicking, slapping or any act that gives physical harm is defined as physical abuse with moderate and severe forms (including using knife or weapons). Emotional violence includes acts which isolate, humiliate or threaten women causing continuous damage on psychological state. Economical violence takes place especially in business and households. Alienating women from business by oppression to leave the job, seizing her income or preventing their special expenses in the household can be accounted as economical violence against women. Sexual abuse, on the other hand, is the most invisible type of violence which includes any type of sexual act that is practiced forcibly and out of women's will. However, it is hard for women to reveal this type of violence because of her honor in the given society (Violence by intimate Partners, 2002; Yigzaw, et al., 2010).

Macmillan & Kruttschnick (2005) defined different categories of violence by calculating the risk of being exposed to violent actions such as pushing, hitting, beating, choking or kicking. According to severity and frequency of these events in partner relationships, they differentiated patterns of violence as no violence, interpersonal conflict, physical abuse and systematic abuse. In the spectrum of severity and frequency, the slight use of these violent behaviors lead to interpersonal conflict while the increased intensity lead to systematic violence woven through a woman's entire life. However, Johnson (1995) stated that the victimization of women deserves more attention that it cannot be evaluated as interpersonal violence rather it is a problem of patriarchy. He also claimed that motivations behind these approaches may converge at some point. Because both perspectives suggest that violence has a function of controlling women, practicing physical power while it also has a function of keeping women inside any kind of relationship (interpersonal or state relations) by using force. However, the socially-given right to control women excuses violence from the perspective of men and gives chance to practice patriarchy on women (Kimmel, 1987; Connell, 1987).

Patriarchy is defined as social system in which men are privileged in all institutions of the society with the right to rule and control women and children. In this system, men prescribe the rules of societal mechanism. Any practice of men using the male privilege serves the reconstruction and sustainability of the patriarchal system (Kandiyoti, 1995; Johnson, 1995). In other words, removing men from this mechanism leads to the collapse of patriarchal system. Patriarchy creates an idealized manhood that requires obedience and proof of what a man has gained from the society. Idealized manhood requires demonstrating violence and aggression to prove the power (Hearn, 1987). Moreover aggression and violence are accepted as a man's cultural script that defines the "manly action" in times of threat provoking situations (Nisbett & Cohen, 1996). The displays of male aggression can be observed in the forms of verbal, sexual or physical violence against women as well as towards whoever prescribed as subordinated and weak in a patriarchal society (Hearn, 1987).

According to patriarchal perspective, violence against women is not simply a result of conflict between partners. Rather it represents the systematic subordination of women in the given society. As highlighted in the definition of patriarchy, enactment of male superiority and female subordination in cultural and institutional practices let men enjoy the right of patriarchal power over women (Johnson, 1995). Therefore, the systematic use of violence exceeds the individual use of physical violence in interpersonal relations and also includes the risk of being exposed to stalking and sexual abuse in any institution of the society representing the patriarchal system. Because of its more comprehensive relationship with the patriarchal system, violence against women is evaluated as patriarchal terrorism (Macmillan & Kruttschnick, 2005). Johnson especially prefers the use of patriarchal terrorism against the terms of wife abuse, battered women, couple violence or partner violence since the violence is perpetrated by the social institutions and actors endorsing the idea of men's ownership of women. Although the violence against women will be covered as physical and psychological abuse in this study, the issue will be examined as a manifestation of patriarchy in close relations between men and women which also reflects masculine ideology. The following two sections investigate the numbers and risk factors of violence against women as a practice of patriarchal power.

1.2.2. Prevalence of Violence against Women

Violence against women is rarely studied until 1970s in the world and it is quite a new research area for Turkey. National Family Violence Survey which was conducted in 1975 in the USA was one of the first studies handling domestic violence paradigm. This study showed that the American family that was assumed to be loving, trustworthy and warm was full of violent actions (Gelles, 1980). A similar study using The National Violence against Women Survey (NVAWS) asked about violent victimization and its impact in the lives of 8 000 women and 8005 men. According to the results, 10 % of women were exposed to physical violence from parents, partners, dates, and acquaintances in the given order of frequency (Macmillan & Kruttschnick, 2005). Comparing the results of this 1975 national survey to its replication in 1985, Straus and Gelles (1986) found relatively high levels of wife abuse but with a decreasing fashion. For example, physical violence towards wives (kicking, throwing something, pulling hair, threatening with a gun or knife or directly using these weapons) dropped from 21% to 13%. The researchers of the study evaluated the decrease in the enactment of violence as a result of prevention strategies or newly-working women's involuntariness to report violence due to the possibility of harming their reputation in the workplace.

Although violent behaviors can vary in practice across cultures, the perception of violence is not very different. For example, a group of men and women including offenders, victims, regular people and professionals interviewed in Ethiopia accepted the severity and extensity of spousal violence with almost the same words. They express violence with beating, burning, forcing to have sex, forcing to give birth, holding money, shouting, and preventing them to enjoy their rights, having affairs with others, using knives or other weapons. This showed similar enactment of violence in different cultures (Yigzaw et al., 2010). Their conclusion was that although men were also victims of spousal violence, women were victimized more and this was taken as an expression of male dominant tradition. Most of the physical assaults were because of the belief of women's infidelity to her husband or due to jealousy. The psychological violence between husband and wife included insulting women by calling her a prostitute, preventing her to earn or spend money by reminding her that he is the breadwinner. Threatening their wives to

abandon was another type of psychological violence that men used in Ethiopian sample. As the authors suggested, having a right to control every action of women in this reciprocal relationship is the mirror of the social expectations and gender ideology.

Discussing violence with regard to masculinity highlights socially and culturally constructed relationship between masculinity and violence which takes place under the protection of patriarchy. Patriarchal men position themselves as superior to women and believe in their right of controlling women using violence (Johnson, 1995; Kandiyoti, 1995; Macmillan & Kruttschnick, 2005). For example, according to a report targeting working women with a university degree in Turkey, 1100 women out of 3100 report that they were subjects of violence at least once in their lifetimes (DORinsight Violence Report, 2012). Particularly, the report reveals that it appeared as psychological violence (65%) in the first order and is followed by physical violence (45%), oppression (45%), verbal abuse (32%), economical violence (26%), sexual abuse (9%) and rape (2%). It is worth to say that working-educated women exposed to psychological violence mostly by their non-cohabitating boyfriends as the same amount of supervisors in their workplace (78%). As these results reveal, violence against women is not specialized to proper places rather it is scattered through all areas of life such as home, workplace, street, school, state organs, or anywhere a woman stands representing the patriarchal subordination of women in an integrated picture. According to the results of this study, fathers and supervisors perpetrate violence in the first place while husbands follow them at the second place. Interestingly, 57 % of male perpetrators in this study had a graduate or a post graduate degree. The conclusion of the report indicated that the minor role that education played implies the existence of latent motivations behind violence rather than making it a naïve individual response. Although men are seen as the victims of general crime more frequently than women such as robbery or assault, the type of violent action indicates the motivations clearly. Women, for example, are victimized more in crimes such as rape, sexual assault or domestic violence than men. This shows the patriarchal power relations hidden in the society (Hunnicut, 2009).

Despite violence researchers show the problem with clear rates and possible solutions, violence against women continues to exist in the society. Altınay and Arat

(2007) conducted a comprehensive study about the prevalence of violence against women among Turkey which is a strictly patriarchal country (Kandiyoti, 1995). They interviewed 1800 married women from 56 cities. Their study revealed that 34 % of married women reported that they were exposed physical abuse from men at least once in their lifetimes. However, the rate inclines toward 39% for the Eastern Region of the country. One third of the women in this study experienced physical abuse together with psychological violence. For example, only one woman out of ten indicated that she can plan her actions without the permission of her husband (Altınay & Arat, 2007). Another study conducted in Turkey distinguished the patriarchal control of men over women in such behaviors as preventing her from visiting her family, censoring her relations with other men, intervening in the way she dresses, blaming her with infidelity and demanding to know every place she goes (Başbakanlık Kadının Statüsü Genel Müdürlüğü [KSGM], 2009).

Women Entrepreneurs Association of Turkey also conducted a study in metropolises of Turkey. According to their report, the definition of violence changes for men and women. For example, beating a sister who walks together with another man in the street is not perceived as violence by men, rather it is viewed as a kind of protection of women from harmful strangers while it is definitely defined as violence for women. However, both women and men justify husband's violence against his wife as more normal than any other men's violent actions (KAGİDER, 2008; KSGM, 2009). Apart from the legal definition of violence, the meaning of violence for lay people changes their perception so that their readiness to act against violence individually or in a group also changes (Altınay & Arat, 2007). As the studies show, different manifestations of violence are perpetrated by men with the right of using their given control over women (Jonson, 1995; Kandiyoti, 1995). Together with patriarchal power of men, the widespread use of violence against women is also normalized and increases under the specific individual risk factors. These risk factors, which are mostly based on internalization and practice of culturally defined expectations of manhood such as using power (Thompson & Pleck, 1987; Connell, 1995) are discussed in the following section.

1.2.3. Risk Factors of Violence against Women

Violence conceals some factors which make the perpetrators inclined to commit violent actions or attitudes. These factors could be societal and historical factors related to situational factors as well as one's social backgrounds that may ease the initiation of violence. Among these factors, being subjected to or witnessing physical violence during childhood doubles the risk of experiencing physical violence for women and perpetrating violence against women for men in the world (World Health Organization [WHO], 2013) which was particularly observed among men and women in Syria (Gharaibeh, Abu-Baker & Aji., 2012) and Turkey (KSGM, 2009). Although it becomes significant with education level or economic status of perpetrator, systematic violence experienced in childhood determines the way how these men will socially construct their relationship style and family life in the future (Altınay & Arat, 2007; Peralta, Tuttle & Steele, 2010). Systematic violence may be normalized in the patriarchal family tradition as an indication of father's authority at home. Assigning the head role to husbands or fathers, patriarchal beliefs give the role of household regulation to men so that men coming from more patriarchal families do not take the responsibility of their abusive actions towards their wives (Ulu, 2003).

In addition to patriarchal gender constructions, demographic factors are also important in patriarchal violence. For example, probability of using violence against women increases with age, lower socioeconomic status or unemployment and lower education level (Macmillan & Kruttschnick, 2005; WHO, 2013). Reminding that aggression and violence is an accepted and expected behaviors of men (Nisbett & Cohen, 2003; Connell, 1995; Thompson & Pleck, 1987), men who lack of both economic resources and social status use violence against their wives in low-income families as their last resort (Straus, 1980). Income deficiency strands men who are viewed as breadwinners. The increased number of children increases the likelihood of using violence (Allen & Straus, 1980; Straus, 1980). Furthermore, the use of alcohol makes it easier to use violence as an immediate response against daily stressors or increase the perception of provocation. Moreover, it serves as "Liquid Courage" disclosing hegemonic way of masculinity especially when men repress certain emotions or feel threatened (Peralta, Tuttle & Steele, 2010). Evaluating the

importance of income for the breadwinner man, earning more than husbands is another substantial risk factor for the married woman that doubles the risk of being beaten (Altınay & Arat, 2007; Gelles, 1974; O'Brien, 1971). Together with these factors, the masculinity codes in the patriarchal society excuses men's violence against women. Refraining from everything feminine, appearing tough, having a status in the eyes of others as a man, having the right to control women or hidden power relations between men and women have been constructing the body of masculinity systematically (Thompson & Pleck, 1987; Connell, 1987). In short, masculine ideology and social construction of manhood in patriarchal society creates violence-prone men (Connell, 1987, 1995), which in turn affect their attitudes and behaviors regarding women and violence (Vandello et al., 2008). Related to their beliefs about women, for example, sexism should also be examined as an insidious form of patriarchy that contributes to negative beliefs about women and favorable attitudes towards violence against women (Sakallı, 2001). The following title will expand the concept of sexism and attitudes towards violence.

1.2.4. Sexism and Ambivalent Sexism Theory

Patriarchy had previously been defined as a male control over different layers of the society such as political, legal, familial, economical or religious spheres including women's subordination within these structures (Johnson, 1005; Kandiyoti, 1995). Men, as patriarchs, are the rulers, decision-makers and breadwinners in the families take the responsibility of woman and the protection of her honor. Therefore, any act of women challenging male authority deserves punishment (Vandello & Cohen, 2003). Patriarchal ideology shelters some dynamics directing people's perceptions and beliefs about women and it nourishes the sexist ideology as well (Cameron, 1977). In Turkey, men who support patriarchal family structure attribute more blame to wives than husbands in the case of wife abuse (Ulu, 2003). According to men, the reasonable cause of wife abuse is mostly the idea of women's sexual which demonstrates the sexist attitudes towards women (Yigzaw et al., 2010; Haj-Yahia, 2000).

In social psychology, sexism is defined as "negative attitude or discriminatory behavior based on the presumed inferiority or difference of women as

a group” (Cameron, 1977 as cited in Sakallı-Uğurlu, 2001, p. 601.) Sexism could be detected in segregation of gender roles, job definitions, education, media or everyday life putting women into inferior status. One example of sexism could be depicting women as housewives in TV programs or books while men are depicted in leadership or higher status roles (Miedzian, 1991). Sexist attitudes, in this sense, reflect the very basic code of patriarchy: oppression of women. However, sexism is not a single-dimension phenomenon because not only it places women out of the power circle but it also keeps them around in the name of protection, love and intimacy (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Therefore, the term Ambivalent Sexism (AS) is introduced in relation to violence against women. Glick and Fiske define ambivalent sexism as the coexistence of male dominance and female intimacy. Cohabitation of ambivalent beliefs create hostility towards women in the times of disobedience to male authority (hostile sexism) while it leads benign attitudes towards women reflecting them as pure and need to be protected when they adhere to gender role stereotypes (benevolent sexism).

Hostile sexism covers prejudices and negative stereotyping about women endorsing the male authority; therefore it has negative consequences leading to violence. However, benevolent sexism covers men’s need for sexual and affective relation with women as well as helpful behaviors towards women since they are perceived as delicate and fragile. Therefore, it does not result in obvious negative attitudes and behaviors (Glick and Fiske, 1996). According to Sakallı (2001), hostile sexism can be accepted as a reflection of patriarchy because it assesses beliefs about unequal power relations between men and women. In the comparative study of Glick and his colleagues (2002) conducted in Turkey and Brazil, hostile sexism was found to be the predictor of favorable attitudes towards wife abuse while benevolent sexism was not. Moreover, men hold more hostile attitudes against women than do women but there is no difference in their benevolent attitudes. Particularly, the structure of Turkish society and culture is strictly based on patriarchal codes which dictate male authority over women in all institutions of the country (Kandiyoti, 1995). As Kandiyoti points, highly valued heterosexual family structure in Turkey and reputation of men are based on their success in dominating women and children at home which enables the practice of sexist ideology as well. In this culture, Sakallı-

Uğurlu (2001) found that men who support patriarchal social structure and endorse high levels of hostile attitudes towards women viewed physical wife abuse as more admissible. Another study that support the findings that hostile sexism of men predicted positive attitudes towards marital violence (Ulu, 2003). The studies reveal that hostile sexism, as a mirror image of patriarchy, has an important role in attitudes towards violence against women and its justifiability. However, this study will approach the issue of violence from the perspective of manhood constructions rather than sexism. Because the ideology of manhood nurtures patriarchy (Kandiyoti, 1995; Connell, 1995) and patriarchy nurtures sexism (Sakalli, 2001), this study examines manhood to understand the structure of power and violence. After investigating sexist ideology on the attitudes towards violence against women, the following title will explore people's beliefs and perception about violence in relation to masculine ideology which mostly appears as normalization of a man's right to use violence.

1.2.5. Attitudes towards Violence

Attitudes are seen as pathways on which one walks towards the action or behavior (Ajzen, 2001). So, the favorable attitudes towards violence can be accounted as risk for the perpetration of violence against women (hereafter VAW). The VAW has been seen as an expression of attitudes which are expanded and shared by the societal values in different groups (Malamuth, 1986; Nayak, Byrne, Martin & Abraham, 2003). Being separated for tiny differences from each other, almost all cultures and societies harbor the phenomena of VAW and witnessing of such cases lead to normalization of male violence it in everyday life of people (WHO, 2013; Gharaibeh et al., 2012).

Jigzaw and his colleagues (2010) conducted a study related to attitudes of Ethiopian men and women towards spousal violence. In their study, many of the participants accepted man's violence as his right in the family and as indication of his love. Both women and men shared the idea that beating is mostly a sign of love and it should be the husband who beat the wife not the other men. Besides, the violence was deserved if a woman is unfaithful and need to be disciplined. Otherwise, the men would be condemned by the society as unmanly. In the same way, both Arab men and women gave men the right to beat their wives in the case of women's infidelity (Haj-Yahia, 2000). The most important but the more general

result of these studies was that the man always has a reason for using violence because of the women's unaccepted behaviors.

Attitudes towards violence against women implies gender role expectations, masculine and social ideology of different societies. Trusting on this view, Nayak and his colleagues (2003) investigated the difference in the attitudes towards sexual assault and physical abuse of women in terms of gender in four different countries which have diverse political, cultural and social background: India, Japan, Kuwait and America. Accordingly, all of the four countries differed in their attitudes towards sexual assault and physical abuse of women regardless of the gender differences. Different beliefs about women, sociocultural and political aspects of these countries leaded different perceptions about VAW. For example, Indian and Japan did have very similar attitudes towards VAW because of parallel ideologies related to gender which justify the VAW and the blame the victim of violent events. Differences between men and women within the countries, on the other hand, reflected more negative attitudes of men than women except for Kuwait. Both women and men in Kuwait held the most negative attitudes towards VAW and the least negative attitudes were held in USA. According to the authors, it may be because of limited action and freedom of women in Kuwait resulted in internalized subordination of women by women as well as men (Nayak et al., 2003).

The studies of VAW in the Eastern countries draws attention since the religious and cultural background let men perpetrate VAW freely. The study conducted with Syrian nursing and medical students indicated the same pattern with the previous studies. Accordingly, men justified wife abuse more than women especially in some specific situations such as having a relationship with another man, self-protection or finding her drunk (Gharaibeh et al., 2012). Besides, witnessing violence between parents in the childhood increased the endorsement of violence-justifying attitudes for men followed by women in the given study. Gharaibeh and his colleagues highlighted that the masculine ideology in Syria and its normative expression enabled negative attitudes among both groups. They also added that having such attitudes towards wife beating can be an obstacle for the future health professionals who will care and direct abused women in the hospitals. Another study examining the attitudes of medical students in Turkey concluded with the similar

result that wife beating is justifiable in some cases. The candidates of health professions in this study supported wife abuse believing its function on controlling and disciplining women (Haj-Yahia & Uysal, 2008).

People began to neutralize their attitudes towards VAW as its saliency in media and everyday life increase according to nation-wide study of Taylor and Mouzos (2006) conducted in Australia. Both men and women in this sample thought that violence can be acceptable or excusable if women don't meet men's need for sex, a man apologize for his behavior or burnout situations where men cannot control themselves. Studies regarding attitudes towards wife abuse generally focused on specific reasons justifying violence. However, evaluating VAW from multiple perspectives such as attitudes regarding its functionality for men or consequences for both sides as well as justifiability of violence helps to understand the patriarchal nature of the phenomena. As revealed in the study conducted in Turkey, attitudes towards physical wife abuse were inspected under three titles: attitudes towards justifiability, functionality and consequences of physical wife abuse (Ercan, 2009). Parallel to findings of previous studies the results revealed that gender differences appeared in terms of having more favorable attitudes towards VAW in Turkish sample either. Considering the traditional role norms in Turkey, attitudes of men were more favorable than women in all dimensions of violence. Justification for wife abuse and blaming the battered woman were interpreted as an excuse for using defense against women. On the other hand, physical wife abuse had the function for men because controlling women with physical violence is a tool for preserving their socially accepted authority. Also, men did not give as much importance to negative results of violence as they cared for preserving the patriarchal domination. Age, income level and education level of the sample played the role on attitudes towards physical wife abuse that women with higher income levels did not justify violence and believe the function of violence to control women. The author evaluated this result as a return of economic freedom of women. Furthermore, favorable attitudes towards functionality and irreversible consequences of violence declined with the increased education level for men as well as women. These result indicated a parallel pattern with previous study of Sakallı-Uğurlu and Ulu (2003) in which income and

education level were found to predict attitudes towards physical wife abuse negatively.

Taking favorable attitudes towards VAW as keys of violent practices, this study will also assess the attitudes towards VAW. However, the importance of masculine ideology on the attitudes and behaviors of men should not be ignored while aiming to block the violent pathways. To illustrate, violence is a kind of performance that men perpetrate against women to control them and against other men to demonstrate his level of masculinity (Connell, 1995; Vandello et al., 2008). This performance keeps patriarchy alive and reconstructed through generations (Johnson, 1995). Therefore, the role of masculine ideology on violence and social construction of manhood will be discussed in following sections. However, in order to understand the way how masculinity is defined and accepted in the literature we need to focus on conceptual framework for gender in the following section.

1.3. Gender and Sex: Two Different Research Perspectives

In the previous chapter violence against women was covered under the frame of patriarchal structure of the societies rather than common couple violence. Patriarchal norms compel the members of the society, especially those who endorse and internalize its norms, to act in terms of separate gender roles. These norms also enable their domination over the system by expanding the patriarchal ideology with gender role norms (Johnson, 1995; Hunnicut, 2009). In this manner, the preference of the term “gender” reflects that it is a more socially constructed phenomena within the patriarchal society, while “sex” sounds as biological determinant of gender roles (Connell, 1987, 1995; Butler, 1999). The clear conceptualization of these terms within the given research structure is essential for the grounds of this study. This is because masculinity is a socially constructed gender practice rather than biologically prescribed set of characteristics (Connell, 1995). However, Connell also highlights the fact that the social aspect does not seem as real as the biological features because of its changeable and invisible structure compared to biology’s observable changes. Hence, people hardly understand the breathing nature of gender, and masculinity as a gender practice, which results in the dilemma of using sex versus gender as general labels. Therefore, in this section “gender” and “sex” will briefly be defined with

special emphasis on masculinity, the brief history of masculine studies will be presented and manhood will be discussed from different perspectives in detail.

The terms sex and gender have been heavily debated in the social sciences literature beginning with the 1930s. With the initiation of Sex Role Theory, societal classification of men and women were prescribed in terms of biological markers such as chromosomes, hormones and anatomy (Connell, 1995). In the content of Sex Role Theory, biologically defined and innate characteristics of human beings are accepted as the determinants of social roles and socialization process in the society. Based on this approach, opposite positioning of masculinity and femininity is resulted in sex difference researches which aims to show difference between men and women. However, these studies served as a tool that confirms and strengthens the power differences between men and women, and helped the reconstruction of the male-dominated system (Connell, 1995; Thompson & Pleck, 1987). Reducing the diversity in roles and identities of people to merely biological features created segregation between men and women. Being a woman was convicted to appear weaker than men while being a man gave natural authority over women and children, who in turn accepted as unchallengeable in social power (Butler, 1999; Connell, 1987).

Biological differences locked the maleness or femaleness into the bodies that neither men nor women was allowed to have the characteristics prescribed to their sexes of each other (Connell, 1995). However, in 1960s, sex difference researches have begun to be challenged by new studies revealing different manifestations of maleness and femaleness in different times and situations. In this way, the role of culture and society on masculinity and femininity was questioned rather than accepting it as a biological fingerprint (Pleck, 1983). Masculinity had been defined with adjectives like tough, ambitious, strong, analytical, assertive, dependent, and aggressive while femininity characterized with compassion, gentle, soft, affection, loving, caring, and cheerful. In brief, masculine characteristics appeared as more instrumental and agentic while feminine ones appeared as expressive and communal (Bem, 1974). Bem interpreted these features as requirements to optimal functioning of human which broke the perception of roles as biologically given. She also suggested that both men and women can integrate these characteristics in the term “androgyny” to function better in the society.

Different than biological perspective, gender was evaluated from the perspective of social constructionism. Social Constructionism is a theory of knowledge related to how social phenomena is constructed and improved in a particular context. It is principally interested in explaining the process in which people describe, explain, or account for the world including them (Gergen, 1985, 2003). Within the constructionist thought, a social construct is a concept or practice which may be seen as natural and obvious to those who accept it, but in reality is byproduct or artifact of a particular culture or society rather than results of pure nature. A major attention of social constructionism is to show the creation of their perceived social reality by individuals and groups who participate in it. Socially constructed reality is seen as an ongoing, dynamic process; reality is reproduced by people acting on their interpretations and their knowledge of it (Gergen, 1999).

Gender is more reflective and socially constructed view of how men and women attributed to some roles and certain characteristics. According to Kimmel (1987), the distinction between approaches of sex role and gender role perspective is that sex role theory missed the interactive, unstable and historical process of construction of gender roles as social constructionist view suggested. Similarly, Connell (1995) especially stated that gender is a social practice which is directed by social norms and contexts. In her previous study, Connell (1987) had defined gender as a social system in which men benefit from subordinating women. People attain their different gender roles within a dynamic relationship between men and women as well as with social institutions and their regional, political and historical requirements (Kimmel, 1987; Connell, 1995). Enacted gender roles are “situated” which are not the same for all societies such as being doctor, nurse or student (West & Zimmerman, 1987; p. 129). According to Gofmann (cited in West & Zimmerman, 1987), gender is defined as prototype or idealization of society in which people define and display themselves in a culturally and relationally expected way. Every culture has its own gestures and signs to reflect its norms within the interactions with others, so that the concept of gender breeds from the interactions of men, women and the higher institutions of the society. In other words, these interactions make gender breathe. In this case, performativity of gender in relation to others implies *doing* gender rather than taking it from a biological stance of being wither male or female.

In summary gender is a socially constructed performance which is deemed as fluid and changeable so do masculinity. It is worth to remind that the terms of masculinity (Kimmel, 1987; Connell, 1995; Hearn, 1987; Catano, 2004) and manhood (Vandello & Cohen, 2003; Vandello et al., 2008; West & Zimmerman, 1987) have been used interchangeably as it is used the literature. Both usages take it as social practice shaped within social processes and holding a dominant status in the given culture to be achieved rather than wearing it as a single object. Besides both words have the same meaning in Turkish language called as “erkeklik”. In the scope of this study, both of the terms will be used interchangeably as well. The following parts will briefly explain the history of masculinity studies and it will be followed by how masculinity is conceptualized in the literature.

1.3.1. Masculinity Studies

Conceptual framework of gender studies is very important to ground the studies discussed in the content of this study and for masculinity studies in general. This is because the research area of masculinity is younger compared to feminist studies, which mostly focuses on the problem from the perspective of women. Masculinity has been studied under different branches of social sciences such as sociology, women studies, psychology, philosophy, anthropology, economy, and law. However, a direct discipline that investigates masculinity with a profeminist perspective appeared in late 1970s and was on the rise in 1980s (Connell, 1995). Masculinity studies shed light on wide range of topics varying from subjective experiences of men and male identity, male socialization, sexuality to power relations with a critical perspective (Bozok, 2011).

In 1960s, feminist studies increasingly began to search for why and how women are subordinated in the institutions of the society by patriarchal codes and practices. Although this patriarchal problem points the construction process of manhood and patriarch, men were invisible in the solution of the problem (Demren, 2001). The social construction of gender and its relationship with subordination of women have been studied since 1970s. Masculinity research was fed by 70’s feminist liberation and gay movements, which had already begun to question the patriarchal male authority. Following this trend, Joseph Pleck and Jack Sawyer (1974)

flourished in the literature with their “Men and Masculinities” work criticizing masculinity and its costs for society. The studies following this groundbreaking work tried to understand the uncertain structure of manhood that always needed to be proven and manifested to others in order to gain respect as a man. These first generation manhood studies questions the power relations that were monopolized by masculinity. They were followed by a second generation of masculinity studies that tried to reconstruct the authority of manhood by emphasizing male power and its advantages. However, this second generation of studies failed to generate a wide support in the presence of more critical perspectives to manhood (Connell, 1995).

The perspective of masculinity research, as signaled above, differentiates in terms of the place where researchers position themselves in the research area. Basically, there are three approaches in the study of masculinity: Masculinism, male liberationism and profeminism. The first perspective favors patriarchy and male domination over women and queer individuals. Masculinism is aggrandized and the proponents of this view never fully enjoy being a man because of women and queer individuals fighting against them. The second view, male liberationism, is against the steamroller of patriarchy not only because of its oppression on women but also because of the responsibilities expected from men to fulfill. For example, they fight for the norms such as a man should fight, work, be sexually potent, be strong, and be unemotional, not cry or be adequately aggressive and violent depending on the context. The third approach, pro feminist approach, aims to criticize the patriarchy as a whole not differentiating women, men and queer individuals. Patriarchal men and the system, according to them, is the primary reason of subordination of women and queers so that this approach tries to uncover the mechanism behind patriarch and increase awareness of men against it (Bozok, 2011).

The vast majority of the masculinity studies follow the profeminist perspective and this view was strengthened by the unique work of Connell in 1995, a book of “Masculinities”. Connell questioned masculinity and its complex structure. She stated that the power of patriarchal male authority oppress men as well as women. According to Bozok (2011), this study was the benchmark of masculinity research especially because of two reasons. Firstly, Connell brought a social constructionist discourse into being with the term of “masculinities”. She believed in

the shaping effect of social and cultural forces on gender. Hence, she emphasized that multiple masculinities are possible or available. Different groups of men enact different types of masculinities, the marble of which is the socially desired, idealized type called hegemonic masculinity (this issue will be expanded under the following section). Secondly, the term “masculinities” implied the competition and the possible oppression between groups of men who aim to gain respect in society.

After masculinity studies probed the social dynamics of masculinity and its drawbacks for both men and women in 1990s, the studies in 2000s began to show how masculinity is dissolved under certain circumstances and they shield their masculinity by using aggressive and violent actions especially towards women (Vandello & Cohen, 2003, 2008; Sancar, 2009). Masculinity crisis researches focused on how men use masculine norms to protect their masculine identities from outside threats, especially by showing aggression or behaving violently (Schmitt & Branscombe, 2001; Franchina, Eisler & Moore, 2001; Glick, 2007). Violence is thought to be inherent to being a man while it is also the best and the easiest way of holding dominance. In patriarchal societies, for example, men are given several means of violence. These include arming men rather than women to endure their privileged status and proving their masculinity in the presence of other men (Connell, 1995; Cohen, 1995). Therefore, understanding the motivation behind protecting masculinity requires an understanding of the ways in which it is constructed and practiced in the society. The conceptual framework of masculinity is given in the next section and the role norms of masculinity are discussed with regard to the socialization processes.

1.3.2. Masculinity and Male Gender Roles

The concept of masculinity ages back to nineteenth century where Freudian inquiry of masculinity started with psychoanalysis. His curiosity about boys’ and girls’ socialization, beginning with Oedipus and Electra complex, was a cornerstone for discovering the complex structure of masculinity. Although later research paid little attention to his work, it was a starting point of the modern thought of masculinity (Connell, 1995). He saw the construction process of gender as not linked to nature (sex) but as depending upon a more conflicted and precarious process in

relation with the father. That of boys' castration anxiety and jealousy of mothers led them to generate masculine identity especially considering the requirements of super-ego. Super-ego is explained as the "unconscious agency that judges, censors, and presents ideals" so that boys appear to behave in line with society's expectations after the Oedipus complex (Connell, 1995; p.10). Under the roof of psychology, masculinity continued to be questioned by Alfred Adler, Karen Horney, Lacan and Chodorow especially within the psychoanalytical trend. These trends in psychology had an important place in criticizing the sex role approach in which men and women are attributed some kinds of socially functional roles in accordance with their biological differences. As Connell asserted, this difference served as a political tool to control women and the system by inoculating that conforming to gender roles increases psychological adjustment.

The concept of masculinity, after a critical period, was redefined by various researchers from the social constructionist view (Pleck, 1987; Connell, 1995; Sancar, 2009). Being a power holder in the patriarchal societal system was so normalized that it was difficult to make a proper definition of masculinity in the beginning of masculinity studies. Masculinity includes being accepted as a man by society, having masculine characteristics, male body, masculine identity or masculine role norms altogether. Therefore, it is a rag bag constituted by different parts and it is the patriarchy which braces all this different parts together (Bozok, 2011). In other words, it is not obvious whether the single word of "masculinity" refers to behavioral, discursive, relational, physical, or practical manner of masculinity so that this term appears as descriptive rather than being explanatory (Sancar, 2009). Furthermore, there are common characteristics and behavior types that are generalizable to all patriarchal societies. For example, exercising power, aggression, competitiveness, courage, intelligence, authoritativeness, sexually potency, and physical toughness are described as an indicators of masculinity (Pleck, 1976; Thompson & Pleck, 1987). Even the equivalents of the term in the dictionary were brevity, sexual virility, courage, sexual power. This shows that it has an inseparable relation with both the biological and the social aspects for the society (Ok, 2012).

Looking from the opposite side, Connell (1995) also defined masculinity as being away from unmasculine behaviors such as being conciliatory, not being able to

play football and being indifferent to sexuality. Besides staying away from unmasculine, it is not totally independent of biological features as it carries social meanings (Sancar, 2009). Sometimes, biological features become intertwined with social ones, such that a man proves his manhood by having a strong and hairy body, growing a mustache, or through extreme sexual performance in a particular culture or time. On the other hand, norms such as protecting women, leading a group of people, and dressing in a particular way have social values apart from biology (Bozok, 2011).

All adjectives, names, characteristics or the appropriate ways of being a man constitute the “do’s and don’t’s” for men, called male role norms. Male role norms are the socially prescribed codes that tell men how to behave, dress, feel or do to be respected as a man and load a man with special expectations. The masculine roles are the appropriate expression and type of labor that enables the masculine way of being (Pleck, 1976). For example, Gilmore (1990) pointed to four moral requirements for Mediterranean men basing his thesis to the works of worldwide anthropologists. Accordingly, if a man could fertilize his woman, care for his dependents, protect his family and keep his individual independence at all costs, these qualities certify him as a man in the eyes of others. Traditional masculine ideology, as asserted by Brannon (1976), requires support for and internalization of cultural belief systems regarding opposite gender roles (as cited in Fitcher, Tokar, Good & Snell, 2006). It posits some expectations under the shadow of male roles. These roles are firstly categorized by Brannon as being away from all kind of feminine thought and action (“no sissy stuff”), having a status and achievement in the eyes of others (“the big wheel”), relying on masculine self, being confident and appearing tough (“the sturdy oak”) and displaying aggressive, violent and courage style of behaviors (“give’em hell”) (as cited in Thompson & Pleck, 1986).

Following Brannon’s conceptualizations of male roles Thompson and Pleck (1986) summarized masculine ideology and categorized its requirements for male norms into three. Thus they constructed a new scale tapping the endorsement of masculine ideology and roles: the Masculine Role Norms Scale. The three themes of the scale are: status, toughness (physical, emotional and mental) and anti-femininity, similar to the explanation of Brannon. Because it aimed to measure the beliefs and

internalization of roles, it permitted to know both men's and women's degree of endorsement of the masculine ideology (Fitcher et al., 2006). Together with endorsement, the degree of conformity is important to understand how the masculinity is recirculated in society. Following this idea, Mahalik and his colleagues (2003) developed a new instrument assessing the level of conformity to masculine roles. The narrower structure of Thompson and Pleck was extended with 11 different values in their study as follows: Winning, Emotional control, risk-taking, violence, dominance, playboy, self-reliance, primacy of work, power over women, disdain for homosexuals and pursuit of status. Getting the degree of endorsement or conformity to such norms find meaning when they associated with the problems arising from the traditional masculine ideology and its performance such as violence against women, male violence, rape, male stress or depression and well-being (Thompson & Pleck, 1986; Mahalik et al., 2003). From these male roles, enactment of violence and aggressiveness enable the expression and enactment other norms such as risk-taking, dominance, status, and control. In that manner, being violent saves the face of a man and protects his status over women. More importantly, the expression of violence against women is practiced as a man's basic right in the times of challenge (Connell, 1995). Studies showed that endorsement of masculine ideology and strict conformity to male role norms was related to psychologically violent thoughts and aggressive behaviors (Vandello et al., 2008) and violence against women (Vandello & Cohen, 2003). Although these male roles and masculine ideology are endorsed to some degree, the practice of masculinity may not be same for all men. These practices may come from different backgrounds even in the same major culture. In this manner, the perception, meaning and practices of masculinity changes in terms of where a man positions himself in the society. Hence, this leads to the new concept into the literature: hegemonic masculinity and masculinities (Connell, 1995).

1.3.3. Hegemonic Masculinity and Masculinities

It is very difficult to talk about a universal masculinity definition. However, it seems plausible to define a hegemonic type of masculinity which is not stable-fixed, but as reflecting the predominant characteristics of masculinity in a given pattern of

gender relations. When Connell (1995) suggested the term “hegemonic masculinity”, she pointed out the hegemony of patriarchal relationships guaranteeing male authority while degrading women. At the same time, it is only possible under the conditions where cultural ideals are intertwined with the power of societal institutions (such as governmental implications: military). It is also historically grounded because the favorably dominant figure of men can change according to historical and societal milestones. In very general terms, hegemonic masculinity visualizes the men who hold the power in a society. In the western culture, these men can be defined as rational, English speaking, authoritative and internationally active business men (Kimmel, 2010) while it can also be defined as a young, urbanite, white, heterosexual, having full-time job, optimally religious and active in sport (Sancar, 2009, p. 30). In short, it is regarded as “the most honorable way of being a man” in a given society. Moreover, this term tries to explain the way how power is held and reproduced by only minority of men but it is supported by large numbers of men (Connell, 1995).

Connell preferred to use the term “masculinities” in order to refer the existence of multiple and contestable masculinities. From the perspective of one’s historical, geographical, economical or societal position in a given culture, different experiences of masculinities exist. These range from the authority-supporting to more critical types. Hegemonic masculinity, therefore, points only to one type of masculinity out of three other types. From other masculinities, complicit masculinity supports hegemonic practices of power and try to benefit from it; marginalized masculinity which are already subordinated within the male territory because of their race or ethnicity. Therefore, both hegemonic masculinity and cultural discrimination affect their gender practices. Lastly, subordinated masculinity refers to the men who are excluded from the male territory because of their non-heterosexual orientations (Connell, 1995). Engagement of more than one type of masculinities may be possible which would, in turn, trigger a need for multiple levels of struggle with the hegemonic masculinity (Bozok, 2011).

At that point, Kimmel highlighted that it is impossible for a man to fulfill all the requirements of hegemonic masculinity. But it is rather being aware of the collectively held power over women and other masculinities (Kimmel, 1987).

Referring to multiple masculinities is important for reflecting different manhood construction strategies among different groups as well as showing the practical malleability of masculinity (Connell, 1995; Bozok, 2011). Because the performance and the value of masculinity change in terms of cultural and historical backgrounds, socialization of different groups of men gains importance (Bora, 2005). The economy, political trends, social interaction of individuals with each other, ways of perception, education, language, media and the other tools expanding the social doctrines in the society bring different representations to masculinity and endorsement of violence as a norm of masculinity. Therefore the historical background, culture, the function of gender separation in macro and micro levels have impact on different styles of socialization process towards highly valued hegemonic masculinity (Demren, 2008).

1.3.4. Socialization of Masculinities

Masculinity is not stable or ascribed. Rather it is a product of cultural and societal circumstances. A baby boy starts the masculinity training in the heterosexual family structure, and then the process continues with the exposure to media tools, the long educational period, homosocial activities, having a job and forming new heterosexual families. The ones who are out of this circle are subordinated by the dominant male groups as well as women (Bozok, 2011; Connell, 1995; Atay, 2004). A man becomes a real man after he internalizes the prescribed norms, roles and characteristics through socialization process. It is a process of learning and internalizing societal norms, traditions and ideologies. A man is not born but becomes one by learning how he should behave, think, dress, talk, or act in line with the gender roles (Onur & Koyuncu, 2004; Sancar, 2009). For example, socialization teaches men not to cry, to protect his honor, not to dress pink, to be sexually active and to be violent by different means (Bozok, 2011).

Miedzian (1991) gave special examples of male socialization and claimed that process of being a man starts in the home imposed with blue clothes and parental expectations and it continues to be reinforced at school, sport, work or social institutions where gender roles are reflected systematically. For example, parents teach their boys to be tough, aggressive, independent, certain, unemotional,

competitive and authoritative. This is what hegemonic masculinity dictates. Detachment from femininity needs to be accomplished to gain respect. Furthermore, education materials and division of labor at schools are also matter of the gendered perspective. To illustrate, men are depicted as having more separate selves, earning money, leading others, protecting women and children in heroic manner, while women are shown as victimized, second-gender, being protected, caring for children at home, cooking, passive and invisible in work arena. On the other hand, toys chosen for play at schools and home orient boys to be more aggressive, violent, competitive, leader or take the breadwinner role. Media tools such as magazines, newspapers, television are full of sexist ads and views showing men as more agentic, constructive, powerful, clever and as the ruler of women's sexuality (Miedzian, 1991). Accordingly, exposure to such kinds of gendered strategies at home, in school, in games or the media accelerates the normalization and internalization of male domination both by men and women (Kimmel, 1987; Miedzian, 1991; Butler, 1999). The construction of Turkish masculinity, for example, starts with the acquisition of patriarchal language, is followed by circumcision, first sexual experience, military duty, starting to work and earn money, marrying, being a father and ends with being an old wise man (Selek, 2008; Sancar, 2009; Bozok, 2011).

The role of socialization in the construction of masculinity is vital especially in their homosocial spaces. Homosocial spaces are known as same-sex groups in which men justify their way of being and express themselves more confidently. These spaces include sports (especially football), army, and the economic sphere and hooligan groups. These spaces enable them to act manly and approved by other men as well as force them to be competitive in the way of being more masculine. This, in turn, helps the reconstruction of masculinities (Demren, 2001; Onur & Koyuncu, 2004; Cengiz, Tol & Küçükkural, 2004; Sancar, 2009). Taking this socialization tools and process into account, we should carefully look into instable and proof-based structure of masculinities, as are examined in detail. However, as previously stated, idealized masculinity status as Connell described (1995) is also used as manhood status in social psychology literature as well.

1.3.5. Precarious Structure of Masculinities and its Relationship to Violence

Real men do not simply emerge naturally over time like butterflies from boyish cocoons; they must be assiduously coaxed from their juvenescent shells, shaped and nurtured, counseled and prodded into manhood (Gilmore, 1990, p. 106).

As an anthropologist searching for the cultural instability and different social constructionist roots of masculinities, Gilmore displayed the unstable and proof-based structure of masculinity exemplifying many different rituals and responsibilities from separate countries. A man, as supported by many other researchers is not born as wired with masculine characteristics but he should make an effort for and achieve the status of manhood by several societal means (Thompson & Pleck, 1986; Gilmore, 1990; Connell, 1995; Vandello & Cohen, 2008; Sancar, 2009). Hence, manhood is an ideal that is difficult to attain and preserve from childhood to death (Connell, 1995; Kimmel, 1996; Vandello, Bosson, Cohen, Burnaford, & Wasti, 2009).

Manhood is hardly achieved status and it is always in the danger of being lost (Kandiyoti, 1995). Because of the changing circumstances of patriarchal society in the flow of historical events, there is a perdurable uncertainty and an effort for proving manhood (Kandiyoti, 1995; Kimmel, 1996; Vandello et al., 2009). This elusive situation of manhood is titled as “precarious manhood” which especially highlights that it as an acquired status and prone to being lost under any threat condition. Although womanhood includes some transitions through life as well, these periods are mostly perceived to be physical breakpoints such as menstruation, pregnancy, or giving birth. These biological periods, if and only if, are supported as social when anchored in weddings, motherhood and caring. Therefore, being a woman does not require a proof in the societal arena (Bosson, Cohen, Burnaford & Weaver, 2008). Contrary to this, men are expected to show their power potential of manhood with certain rituals and activities. These can be killing an animal to be allowed to marry or father a child in tribal cultures (Saitoti, as cited in Vandello et al., 2008) while it can be dueling for a woman in southern cultures (Nisbett & Cohen, 1996). In Turkey, we can see its manifestations as being circumcised with pride, serving for military duty, getting a job, marrying and being a father. These rituals change the status and the reputation of men in the eyes of others (Selek, 2008; Sancar, 2009).

Vandello and his colleagues (2008) showed the existence of precarious manhood in industrialized cultures like America as well as tribal cultures. In their study, people accepted the idea that being a man requires social achievements and is more difficult than being a woman. Belief about the elusive nature of manhood led the participants of this study to perceive manhood as easy to lose when its requirements are not fulfilled. For example, they attributed “no longer being a man” to losing social status in the eyes of society while being “no longer a woman” meant changing biological sex or losing a breast by medical operation.

Manhood status, just like any other social status, is under the risk of being lost and so it requires continuous fight to keep the status alive. Regarding the cultural codes related to manhood, violence and aggression are said to be a reconstruction tool of manhood in threatening situations (Buss, 1987; Bosson et al., 2009). With this manner, the precarious nature of manhood is the primary suspect of the violent actions of men especially against women (Vandello et al., 2008; Vandello & Cohen, 2008; McDonald, 2010). This is important for the perspective of current study since it will be intricately tied to endorsement of masculine role norms and perceived threat to manhood. Signifying the importance and evaluations of others, proving impaired manhood with physical violence or aggression is the best and direct way of saving a face as a man (Bosson et al., 2009; Schmitt & Branscombe, 2001). Further, the manifestations of aggression and violence are accepted to be the “cultural scripts” of the manhood regarding its construction process (Thompson & Pleck 1987; Mahalik et al., 2003; Messerschmit, 2003). Different perspectives question the reason of violent and aggressive attitudes and behaviors when they feel threatened. The following section will expand this point giving various perspectives related to manhood threat.

1.4. Threatened Manhood and its Relationship with Violence and Aggression

Projecting aggression has a function for men that they feel in power to control over their surroundings especially after facing a threat to their gender identity. Gender identity perspective looks into manhood under the frame of intragroup and intergroup relations. As social identity theory suggests, people tend to evaluate their own social groups more positively compared to other groups. The degree of one’s

belongingness to the group governs the degree of threat they will perceive to their in-group. Hence, highly identified group members both see themselves as prototype of in-group and protect it as if they are the last member of that community (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). In this manner, being a man, as a gender identity in-group, can be a reason of overacting and negative feelings towards out group members (women or homosexuals) in the condition of manhood threat reflected as being a non-prototypical member of the group (Schmitt & Branscombe, 2001). This study showed that high identifiers of masculine identity evoked negative feelings after being said that they were not seen masculine in their previously-filled masculinity questionnaire. The same group of men also extremely disliked a gay man displaying feminine characteristics and excommunicated them from their in-group. Another study concluded with negative attitudes towards homosexuals and gay marriage after giving masculinity threat. The threatened participants of this study showed greater support for ongoing Iraq war which is seen as performing ground of manhood (Willer, 2005). Because feminine characteristics attributed to homosexuals and the emotional displays, they also attain masculine control over situations by degrading gays and being away from any kind of emotions except for the aggressive emotions (Ezzel, 2012). All these studies suggested that men can feel threatened about being away from traditional masculine codes especially when they are strict followers. This makes them incline towards aggressiveness with the feelings of revenge.

The vitality of others' approvals or disapprovals in the construction of manhood can also be major source of threat to masculine identity. Bosson and her colleagues (2009) asked a group of men to perform a hairstyling activity which is assumed as feminine while another group was asked to perform a gender neutral task. After their activity was recorded by a video type, they were asked to do boxing on the punching pad. The intensity of their punches showed their level of aggression. Accordingly, feminine-stereotyped threat increased their readiness to act aggressively as indicated by their alleviated intensity of punches compared to other groups. The study also added the functionality of publicly-shown aggression after a manhood threat. Taking aggression as a cultural script of a man, showing their aggression in a public sphere gave the chance to repair threatened gender identity in the eyes of others. According to their results, displaying aggression lowered the

anxiety of men after public displays of aggression. Even though the experimental conditions do not reflect the real life interpersonal male violence, the study was useful for understanding the readiness to act violent from the perspective of men and the tenuous structure of social manhood (Bosson et al., 2009). In other words, aggression or violence enacted by men can be seen as a compensatory reaction in the name of threatened manhood. Findings of the study conducted with American College students revealed a similar pattern (Babl, 1979). Highly masculine-identified men showed aggressive and antisocial behaviors after being told that American men no longer seem as manly compared to previous years. Perceiving this result as a threatening situation, hyper masculine men tried to compensate this threat with the culturally given “right” of showing aggression.

The relationship between threatened manhood and violence has also been viewed as the result of culturally prouder sense of male superiority. Baumaister and his colleagues (1996) approached the issue from the perspective of threatened self which is already based on unstable and unrealistically positive appraisals. The self-construction of men, in their view, is flattered with unrealistically positive feedback from childhood to adulthood. Resultantly, men build high self-esteem on the basis of unstable superior masculine identity. In the cases of unfavorable responses to these flattered egos, aggression is the primary response given to perceived threat situations. Straus and Gelles (1988), on the other hand, explained the problem particular to violence against women. According to them, the very important cause of violence is the status inconsistency men feel. Men who are used to and expected to be superior and dominant fall short especially if they have insufficient social and economic resources compared their close environment or their working wives. The gap between ideal of hegemonic masculinity and the reality creates an inconsistency resulting in violence against women intended to show who the boss is (Straus & Gelles, 1988; Connell, 1995).

Men may feel threatened from a variety of situations that evoke the stress of failing to fulfill anticipated superiority. Male authority and control are visible especially in their relationship with women, their girlfriends or sisters. Any threat or stressful situation evoked by a woman, who is seen as inferior and need to be controlled, annihilates the power of men and causes aggression (Franchina et al.,

2001; Vandello et al., 2008). As one of the requirements of being a man, exerting control on decision mechanism is the potential motivation for compensatory actions especially in stressful gender-related situations. For example, if a man feels threatened by a woman when he thinks she challenges his power, the situation may turn to be a reason for violence or negative attitudes towards women in general (Eisler & Skidmore, 1987). One study questioned this relationship by giving two vignettes where women disagrees with the dinner plan of her boyfriend by refusing his strict control on herself and talking with another man in the party while her boyfriend was present. Afterwards, men who felt high levels of masculine gender role stress were provoked by these gender-role threatening vignettes more than men who felt low levels of gender role stress. One of the situations was targeting the idea of “a man says the last word” while the other one challenged their honor bringing protector role. Importantly, female threat to their protector role and decision maker authority reflected as increased negative attitudes towards women and increased the possibility of using verbal and physical aggression (Franchina et al., 2001). According to authors’ evaluation, challenges to previously coded expectancy of male power by a woman reflects how men construe their manhood in their intimate relationship and hold masculine ideology as a fire ready to boost.

Meeting the requirements of masculine ideology, especially over women, is important for the public reputation of men. This situation becomes salient in honor cultures such as Latin America, Middle East or South America (Nisbett & Cohen, 1996; Vandello & Cohen, 2003). Honor is said to be an achieved social value that is both taken and given by others as in the case of manhood. Earning and protecting the male honor over women’s sexual and relational protection makes it vulnerable to any kind of threat and result in intimate violence (Vandello & Cohen, 2008). To illustrate, women in honor cultures are required to be loyal, pure and have fidelity to their intimate relationships. People in Brazil, for example, tend to tolerate a man who yells and hits his wife after learning about her affair with a neighbor. They also saw his action as manly in the aim of punishing women because of ruining his reputation. On the other hand, people in America trusted a beating man less because of lowly-valued honor culture in the country (Vandello & Cohen, 2003). Turkey is a country where male honor is valued so that honor killings are justified. The daily practices,

behaviors, relations and even thoughts are controlled by higher entity which is forcing women to be worthy of their families with several sanctions (UNDP, 2005). Therefore, any kind of free behavior of women might be perceived as a threat and results in beating or killing of women (Altınay & Arat, 2007).

Situations posing a threat to manhood are also studied from the perspective of individual stress resources with the initiation of Eisler and Skidmore (1988). In the cases of challenges to these approved roles especially by women increases the stress level of men and results in increased anger against women especially for men endorsing high levels of hegemonic masculine roles (Copenhaver, Lash & Eisler, 2000; Gallagher & Parrott, 2011). In particular, masculine norms related to men's higher status and being away from femininity played an important role in appraising some situations as stressful (Gallagher & Parrott, 2011). For example, when seemingly masculine situations such as being more educated than women, earning more than women, appearing physically strong and masculine or being more intelligent than women are challenged with the opposites, it creates tension on men with the anxiety of meeting these requirements. Feeling of subordination to women when he sees a woman superior than himself is a vital factor leading increased levels of gender role stress from an individual man's health perspective while it transforms the issue to more comprehensive frame of manhood crisis (Connell, 1987; 1995). Circumstances become more critical when intimate partners or wives are more educated, powerful or economically resourceful from the threat perspective. The reason could be increase in women's challenging economic power and their increased salience in work area with the proliferation of capitalist economy (Sancar, 2009). Previous studies showed that violence perpetrated by men against their female partners were condoned if women were more educated or earning more than men especially in the low income families (Anderson, 1997).

In order to understand the dynamics of threat coming from highly educated working women, the vitality of work for men should be investigated historically. Simultaneous existence of the capitalist system and along with the modern gender roles is not a coincidence. With the rise of capitalism, working class men held man-handling jobs in industries, while the upper class men were holding the ruling status with intellectual and management skills (Collinson & Hearn, 2005). After industrial

capitalism, the dominant work arena had been constructed on the physical power of men excluding women. Therefore, it contributed the segregation of house and work in terms of gender, at the same time limiting women's working area within households. Meanwhile, men came to view themselves as breadwinners of the house. They continuously fought for a better job to attain a respect in the eyes of others (Catano, 2000; Sancar, 2009). It is a legitimate way of gaining reputation as the provider of the family and obtaining social status especially in cultural framework of Turkey (Sirman, 1998). In the same way, Caribbean men also defined their masculinity as "ability to earn" (Sukhu, 2012, p. 80). The ability of making money gives them a right of abusing women who break her gender role expectations in the house. This, in return, results in blaming the wife for falling short of her duties rather than accepting the responsibility of his violence (Sukhu, 2012). However, the respected breadwinners of the home are sometimes inadequate in economic or social areas outside the home and compensate this threat by using violence (Gelles & Straus, 1988). Conceptualizing employment as an authorization code (Melzer, 2002), losing a job or stable unemployment evokes a threat of exclusion from male habitus which in turn leads to violence as a reconstruction strategy (Messerschmidt, 1993:81; Orme, Dominelli & Mullender, 2000).

Threat of unemployment and its relationship with violence against women were revealed by many studies. A study conducted in Africa indicated that unemployed men perpetrated more sexual violence than employed men. The participants had outspokenly explained the reason as gaining their respect back by using physical power on women (Groes-Green, 2009). The transition to violence was observed in a comparative research done in America. Accordingly, the level of victimization of women by their husbands increased when they became unemployed compared to their employed times (Kruttschnitt & Macmillan, 2005). Because traditional view of manhood supports the breadwinner role of men and housewife role of women, the justification of violence for men becomes easier for unemployed or relatively low-income men (Atkinson, Greenstein & Lack, 2005; Melzer, 2002). The picture doesn't seem different in Turkey as well. According to the statistics of a report (İnsanca Yaşam Projesi Raporu, 2010), 69 % of women out of those who experience violence from their husbands reported increased level of verbal,

psychological and physical violence when their husbands were unemployed. In the construction of masculinities in Turkey, breadwinner role is depended upon a full time employment and not being in need of women to maintain a family. Therefore, violence against women is mostly seen as normal reaction of unemployed men and is tolerated by the society including the women who are subjected to that violence (Sancar, 2009; Ok, 2011).

Approaching threat situations as potential reasons of men's violence is vital in understanding the precarious nature of manhood and it's strive for attaining hegemonic ideal of masculinity. As research in the threat literature clearly indicates, violence and aggressive behaviors and attitudes are accepted as a reconstructive tool for threatened manhood. In this manner, this study will explore the different sources of manhood threats and their relationships with traditional masculine ideology and violence against women. Violence against women will be evaluated as a patriarchal problem rather than interpersonal conflict. Moreover, the social constructionist perspective of gender and manhood in particular will be followed with the sensibility of importance given to multiple masculinities and their precarious structure in the Turkish culture.

1.5. The Current Study

Drawing on these theoretical perspectives, this study investigates the role of perceived manhood threats and traditional masculine ideologies on the attitudes towards physical violence and behavioral aggression. In order to measure perceived threat to manhood, which is the cornerstone of this study, the second aim was to develop a new scale that targets the basic situations in which men may perceive threat to their traditional masculine roles from the social constructionist perspective.

In other words, traditional masculine ideology and different resources of threat to manhood are expected to predict attitudes towards physical abuse of women and the frequency of violent behaviors of the participants in the real life. For the fulfillment of peripheral purposes for constructing validity of newly developed scale, the predictive power of perceived threat to manhood on violence will be investigated as well.

In the light of these study purposes, the hypotheses of the study are as follows:

Hypothesis 1: Endorsement of traditional masculine role norms will predict greater perceived threats to manhood. Specifically, men who strongly endorse masculine role norms will perceive greater threat to their manhood.

Hypothesis 2: Greater perceived threat to manhood will positively predict attitudes towards physical violence against women.

Hypothesis 3: Greater perceived threat to manhood will predict more frequent real-life perpetration of physical and psychological violence.

Hypothesis 4: Demographic factors such as age, income, working status, and the city of and their history of exposure to systematic violence in the family will be related to the attitudes towards physical violence against women and actual aggressive behaviors.

CHAPTER 2

METHOD

2.1. Participants

Totally, eight hundred ninety-four participants (389 men and 502 women) filled the questionnaire battery. However, the main analysis of the study was run only with 389 male participants since the target of the newly constructed scale was only men. After inspecting 98 missing variable at the last subscale, 82 male participants who did not answer the questions of all subscales were eliminated and the rest of the variables were subjected to mean replacement. Finally, 307 male participants were included in the main analysis. Age of the participants ranged from 17 to 66 with a mean of 27.9 (SD = 8.08) and a mode of 24. The largest part of the sample, namely 68.7% were between 20-29 years old. The entire sample participated in the study on through a web-based survey tool (surveymonkey). Although the cities they born vary, cities that the large part of their lives spent were mostly metropolis. 62.5% of the participants (N = 192) lived in metropolis, 20.2% in cities, 14% in towns, 1.3% in districts and 2% in villages. A large part of the sample (N = 266, % 86, 6) grew up in nuclear families and the rest of the sample grew up in extended families (N = 38, 12.4%) and with relatives (N = 3, 1%).

The education level of the entire sample was mostly at university level (N = 200, 65%) which is followed by postgraduate level (N = 73, 23.8%), high school (N = 31, 10.1%), secondary and primary school level (N = 3, 1%). When looked at the relationship status, 42% of the participants reported that they don't have any emotional relationship, 31.6% have a relationship, 4.2% were engaged and 2.9% were married while the rest 2.9% indicated "other" type of relationship (that they

only engage in sexual relationships with several partners). The participants who defined themselves as having a relationship, engaged and married accumulated between 1-6 months (68%) and 1-4 year (55.6%). The working status of the participants reveals that a large part of them are working (N = 182, 59.3%). Among the rest of the participants, 28% stated that they don't actively seek for a job because they are students, 6.5% were not working nor looking for a job, and 5.5% stated that both they don't have job and are searching for a job. The range of duration for those who have not been working ranged between 1 to 30 months. The income level of the participants was mostly revealed as less than 1000 TL (31.6%) followed by those who have income above 3000 TL (22.5%), between 1000 and 1999 TL (16.6%) and between 2000-2999 TL. The reason behind the accumulation on the lowest level of income may be the existence of university students in the sample since they can make a living with relatively small amount of money. Finally, 96.7% of the participants indicated that they have never been exposed to systematic violence from mother or father while the rest indicated they have. More detailed information about demographics of the current sample is shown in Table 1.

2.2. Procedure

First, the approval of the Ethical Committee in METU was taken. The entire questionnaire was administered through web-based survey application and all of the participants took the questionnaire from an online address <https://www.surveymonkey.com/s/HG8KL6Z> (see Appendix A). The survey link is disseminated by constructing an event on Facebook in which everyone can see the explanation and a request for participation. Reminding the survey systematically on Facebook, the survey link was disseminated through very different groups. Besides, it was also send to different mail groups such as METU Computer Engineering, METU Mechanical Engineering, Celal Bayar University Department of Mechanical Engineering, different mail groups of hobby groups (e.g., photography). Furthermore, it was filled by students taking an elective course from METU Psychology Department in return of bonus point after asking for approval of their instructors. The language of the questionnaire was Turkish and the informed consent explaining the purpose of the study was given to the participants for them to consent

their voluntary participation before they began. If they accepted to be part of the study, they proceeded by demographic questions and the 4 different scales in the order presented below. Otherwise, they were thanked for their interest for the study and the session expired. For those, who completed the entire questionnaire ended up with a page, a debriefing form, explaining the detailed purposes of the study and information address for their questions and ideas.

2.3. Instruments

Four different scales with several subscales were presented after the demographic questions. The participants filled the 18-page questionnaire battery in the same order online. These scales in the given order are: Male Role Norms Scale (MRNS) (Thompson & Pleck, 1986) adapted to Turkish by Lease, Çiftçi, Demir & Boyraz (2009); Perceived Threat to Manhood Scale (PTMS) developed within this study; Attitudes towards Physical Wife Abuse Scale (ATPWAS) developed by Ercan and Sakallı-Uğurlu (2009); Conflict Tactics Scale (CTS) (Straus, Hamby, Boney-McBoy & Sugarman, 1996) which was adapted to Turkish by Aba (2008).

2.3.1. Male Role Norms Scale (MRNS)

In order to assess the masculine ideology of the participants in the study, originally 26-item MRNS was used. The scale was constructed by Thompson and Pleck (1986). It was adapted to Turkish by Lease, Çiftçi, Demir & Boyraz (2009). The “Status” subscale of male role norms concern gaining and maintaining respect through status. An example item for “Status” subscale would be “A man should always think everything out coolly and logically have rational reasons for everything he does” and it consisted of 11 questions. The “Antifemininity” subscale consists of items related to being away from all kinds of stereotypically feminine behaviors. An example item for “Antifemininity” subscale would be “If I heard about a man who was a hairdresser and a gourmet cook, I might wonder how masculine he was” and the subscale consisted of 7 such items. Finally, the “Toughness” subscale concern appearing emotionally and physically tough in the eyes of themselves and others, with an example item such as “Fists are sometimes the only way to get out of a bad situation”. This subscale had 8 items. Respondents rated these 26 items on a scale ranging from 1 (Totally disagree) to 7 (Totally agree). The higher the participant’s score on this scale the more they endorse and internalize masculine ideology and

Table 1. Frequencies and Percentages of Demographic Characteristics of the Participants

	Frequency (N)	Percent (%)
Gender		
Male	307	100
City		
Metropolis	192	62.5
City	62	20.2
Town	43	14
District	4	1.3
Village	6	2
Family Type		
Nuclear family	266	86.6
Extended family	3	1
With relatives	38	12.4
Education		
Primary school	1	0.3
Secondary school	2	0.7
High school	31	10.1
University	200	65.1
Post-graduate	73	23.8
Relationship status		
No relationship	129	42
Have a relationship	97	31.6
Engaged	13	4.2
Married	59	19.2
Other	9	2.9
Working status		
Employed	182	59.3
Unemployed –looking for a job	20	6.5
Unemployed-student	88	28.7
Unemployed-not looking for a job	17	5.5
Income		
0-999 TL	97	31.6
1000-1999 TL	51	16.6
2000-2999 TL	61	19.9
3000 and above	69	22.5
Systematic violence		
Yes	10	3.3
No	297	96.7

male role norms in their culture. However, two of the items (item 8 and 19) were reverse coded in order to be analyzed in the same continuum. They scores on the scales were averaged in order to get the composite score of the each participants.

The internal consistencies for the original English version of MRNS ranged from .74 to .81 while it ranged from .73 to .81 for the Turkish version of MRNS. Also, the Cronbach's alphas for the current sample were .82 for "Status", .73 for "Antifemininity" and .72 for "Toughness". Also the original three factor solution accounted for 35% of the variance in the current sample.

2.3.2. Perceived Threat to Manhood Scale (PTMS)

2.3.2.1. Pilot study: Qualitative Study for Perceived Threat to Manhood

One of the main purposes of this study was to construct a new scale in order to measure perceived threat to manhood. Because the appropriate measurement tool does not exist to get a one shot measurement of manhood threat. In order to develop a scale measuring threat to manhood, interviews with 21 men were conducted between February and May, 2012. They were selected through convenience sampling from Ankara, and the voice recordings from 19 participants were used for the analysis. The ages of the participants ranged between 20 and 68 (M= 33.94). The participants of these interviews were from different places, employment and socio-economic groups in Ankara in order to catch the similarities between their way of defining themselves as a man and how they perceived manhood within the given Turkish culture. The interview questions were clustered under the headings of patterns of manhood, the importance of working for men and perceived threat against manhood. Although the scope of the interviews were broader, the results were inspected especially for sources of threat, when and why these men feel threatened and which kinds of situations make them feel like their manhood is damaged.

After transcription of all the interviews, the data were subjected to a thematic analysis. Six themes emerged: threat to breadwinner role, decision maker role, protector role, physical adequacy of men, though image and threat from subordination to women. After another judge controlled these themes, scale items were constructed employing these themes, sometimes including participants' own sentences. Totally 116 items were written and deduced into 82 items in the final form

after converging similar items and eliminating irrelevant items (see Appendix A for the 82-item version). 82-item scale was named as “Perceived Threat to Manhood Scale” (PTMS) and it was employed for further quantitative analysis.

2.3.2.2. Construction of Perceived Threat to Manhood Scale (PTMS)

After several proof reading for the structure and the wording of the items by my supervisor and myself, the 82-item Perceived Threat to Manhood Scale was constructed in Turkish. PTMS was entered into factor analysis with the data of 389 male participants (the current sample). In PTMS, The participants were asked to state how uncomfortable they would feel if they experience the situations given in 82 items on a scale ranging from 1 (extremely uncomfortable) to 7 (extremely comfortable). Lower scores on this continuum indicate higher threat perception of men while higher scores indicate lower threat perception. According to the factor analysis, five factors were determined as threat from subordination to women, threat to protector role, decision maker status, breadwinner role and though image. The factor structure, subscales, example items, reliability and validity issues are further discussed in the Results section.

2.3.3. Attitudes towards Physical Wife Abuse Scale (APWAS)

As one of the dependent variables of the current study “attitudes towards physical violence against women” were measured by APWAS which was constructed by Ercan and Sakallı-Uğurlu (2009). It is a twenty-two item scale with dimensions related to physical wife abuse and consists of three subscales: justifiability of violence, perceived functionality of violence and attitudes towards consequences of violence. The first subscale, justifiability, includes 10 items and reflects the legitimization of violence against women by attributing responsibility to women. An example item is “Some actions of women deserve violence.” The second subscale, functionality, includes 6 items and indicates the utility of violence over controlling women. An example item is “Sometimes, men should be able to engage in physical violence against their wives.” The third subscale, consequences, reflects attitudes that normalize violence. In other words, this subscale measures the attitudes that do not see violence as destructive for the relationship or for the individuals. An

example item is “A man should be arrested if he engages in violence against women.” (reverse item). Except for one, all items in this subscale were reverse coded, with a total of 6 items. The items were rated on a scale ranging from 1 (Totally disagree) to 7 (Totally agree). In general, the higher the scores, the more one accepts the use of violence against women.

Regarding the reliability of the scales, the internal consistency scores were high both for the original study of APWAS and for the current sample. Cronbach’s alpha scores for original scale for justifiability of violence, perceived functionality of violence and attitudes towards consequences of violence were .92, .79 and .72, respectively. For the current sample, internal consistencies were close to original one with Cronbach’s alpha scores of .90, .87 and .65 in the same order.. After Principal Axis Factoring was run with direct oblimin rotation, the three factor structure explained 50 % of the variance in the current sample.

2.3.4. The Revised Conflict Tactics Scale (CTS2)

One of the dependent variables was attitudes towards violence while another was behavioral antecedents of violence. In order to measure behavioral violence Revised Conflict Tactics Scale was used. It was developed by Murray Straus in 1979 and revised by Straus, Hamby, Boney-McBoy and Sugarman in 1996. It is a widely used scale in the studies of intimate partner violence. CTS2 was adapted to Turkish by Aba in 2008. This scale measures both “victimization” and “perpetration” of different kinds of violence. Specifically, it measures the frequency with which intimate partners perpetrate and being a victim of "Physical Assault," "Injury," "Psychological Aggression," "Sexual Coercion," and how many times they tried "Negotiation” in their relationship after conflicts. It originally consists of 78 items (39 for perpetration, 39 for victimization) and five subscales as mentioned above.

In the scope of the current study, only the perpetration of Physical Assault and Psychological Aggression dimensions are included. The 20-item scale includes the 12-item Physical Assault and the 8-item Psychological Aggression subscales. The items related to injury and sexual coercion was not included since they were indicating extreme behaviors of which the participants might have been reluctant to answer. Also, the negotiation scale was not used because it was not related to

conceptual expectations of this study. An example item from Psychological Aggression subscale could be "I shouted or yelled at my partner" and one from Physical Assault subscale could be "I punched or hit my partner with something that could hurt." The given items were rated in terms of the frequency of given behavior in the last year. The participants answered on a scale including 8 options: 0 (never) , 1 (once), 2 (twice), 3 (3or 5 times), 4 (6-10 times), 5 (11-20 times), 6 (more than 20), 7 (before the last one year). The higher scores on this scale indicate more frequent physical and psychological violence perpetrated against the intimate partner. The internal consistencies of the Turkish version of CTS2 were .85 for Psychological Aggression and .89 for Physical Assault while the reliability coefficient was .92 for the composite scale. For the current sample, the Cronbach's alpha for Physical Violence was .92 and for Psychological violence was .73.

CHAPTER 3

RESULTS

3.1. Scale Development: Perceived Threat to Manhood Scale (PTMS)

3.1.1. Exploratory Factor Analysis of PTMS: Factor Structure

Prior to running factor analysis, data of participants who did not indicate their gender were eliminated since the initial data collection was held with both men and women. From the rest of the data, 183 cases of men were deleted because they did not answer any of the questionnaires. After eliminating them, factor analysis was run with the remaining 389 male participants.

In order to discover the factor structure of PTMS, several Principal Component Analyses (PCAs) were conducted by IBM SPSS Statistics Data Editor Version 20. The PCA was preferred rather than Principal Axis Factoring (PAF) with the aim of reducing the number of items in the scale. PCA uses all the variance observed in the variables and differentiates components based on this cumulative variance rather than using shared variance (Tabachnik & Fidell, 2007). However, the components will be named as “factors” throughout this section for ease of reference. Related to sample size needed for factor analysis, 389 male participants were included in the analysis with the number of 82 items (82 items of PTMS), this met the minimum number of cases needed to conduct factor analysis.

Factor analysis was conducted with a promax rotation. The Kaiser criterion of eigenvalues over 1.0, Cattell’s scree plot test, the variance of each factor explained and reading of items’ suitability for factors were used as criteria to determine the number of components. Additionally, items with loadings below $|.25|$ and with cross loadings greater than $|.30|$ were eliminated.

After conducting PCA with promax rotation on 82 items, KMO and Bartlett’s statistics showed that Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of sampling adequacy was

significant with the value of .88. Hence, the correlations between variables were strong enough to conduct factor analysis. The initial extraction indicated 19 factors with eigenvalues greater than 1. Yet, most of them consisted of single or double items. However, Cattell's scree plot suggested possible number of factors as 5 or 6. The 6-factor solution was compatible with previous theme categorization, based on the interview study. Initially, the 6-factor solution was applied and it explained 45.62% of the total variance. The analysis was repeated several times after eliminating 1) cross loading and non-loading items 2) items with loadings smaller than .25. After elimination of these items, the final analysis with promax rotation indicated a 5-factor, a 45-item solution and it explained 53.10% of the total variance. Factors were evaluated by examining the pattern matrix correlations which showed their unique contribution to the related factors (Tabachnick & Fidel, 2006). Their eigenvalues, unique variances and items are given in Table 2.

Table 2. Factor Structure of Perceived Threat to Manhood Scale

	Loadings
Factor 1 (Threat of Subordination to women)	
Eigenvalue= 12.768, Explained variance= 28.373, α= .92	
Eşinizin/sevgilinizin sizden daha eğitimli olması	.90
Eşinizin/sevgilinizin sizden fazla kazanıyor olması	.86
Sizden daha başarılı biriyle beraber olmak	.82
İş yerinde, bir kadının sizden daha başarılı olması	.79
Eşinizin/sevgilinizin sizden daha iyi bir statüde çalışıyor olması	.79
Yakın çevrenizden bir kadının sizden daha zeki olduğunu göstermesi	.72
Oyunda bir kadına mağlup olmak	.61
Karşı cinsten birinin durumu kontrol altına almasına izin vermek	.61
Bir konuda başarısız olunca yardım istemek	.57
Hesabı eşinizin/sevgilinizin ödemesi	.54
Ailenizi geçindirmek için eşinizin de çalışmasına ihtiyaç duymak	.53
Eşiniz çalışırken çocuklara bakmak	.53
Bir şeylerden korktuğunuzu dile getirmek durumunda kalmak	.52
Eve sizden sonra gelen eşinize yemeği hazırlamak	.52
Dikiş dikmek	.50
Factor 2 (Threat to protector role)	
Eigenvalue= 4.779, Explained variance= 10.621, α= .92	
Eşinizin/sevgilinizin geç saatte yalnız başına dışarıda olması	.91

Table 2 (cont'd).

	Loadings
Eşinizin/ sevgilinizin tanımadığımız kişilerle beraber dışarıda olması	.91
Eşinizin/sevgilinizin eve geç saatte dönmesi	.88
Eşinizi/sevgilinizi tanımadığımız bir adamın eve bırakması	.87
Eşinizin/sevgilinizin, tanımadığımız bir erkek arkadaşıyla sohbet etmesi	.83
Eşinizin/sevgilinizin haber vermeden eğlenmeye gitmesi	.77
Eşinizin/ sevgilinizin dışarıdayken çok sarhoş olması	.65
Eşinizin/sevgilinizin dikkat çekecek şekilde giyinmesi	.57
Sevdiklerinize laf eden birisiyle kavgaya girememek	.44
Factor 3 (Threat to decision-maker authority)	
Eigenvalue= 2.398, Explained variance= 5.329, α= .84	
Eşinizin/ sevgilinizin size saygı göstermemesi	.78
Eşinizin/sevgilinizin kararlarınıza saygı duymaması	.77
Eşinizin/sevgilinizin aldığı kararlardan size bahsetmemesi	.68
Eşinizden ve çocuklarınızdan saygı görmemek	.64
Eşinizin/sevgilinizin, çalışmıyor oluşunuzu sıklıkla gündeme getirmesi	.58
Eşinizin/ sevgilinizin sözünüzü dinlememesi	.55
Eşinizin/sevgilinizin verdiğiniz kararlara uymaması	.53
Eşinizin/sevgilinizin tek başına karar alması	.49
Factor 4 (Threat to breadwinner status)	
Eigenvalue= 2.073, Explained variance= 4.606, α= .79	
Düzenli bir kazancınızın olmaması	.79
Eşinizin geliri yeterli olduğu için çalışmamak	.69
Evliyken işsiz kalmak	.67
İşsiz olmak	.65
Çalışmıyorken evlenmiş olmak	.63
Annenizden veya babanızdan para alıyor olmak	.58
Maddi imkânınız yeterli olduğu için çalışmamak	.52
Siz çalışmıyorken eşinizin çalışması	.44
Factor 5 (Threat to tough image)	
Eigenvalue= 1.876, Explained variance= 4.170, α= .80	
Başkalarının yanında eşinize/sevgilinize fazla ilgi göstermek	.86
Eşinizin/sevgilinizin başkalarının yanında size fazla ilgi göstermesi	.81
Çocuklarınıza başkalarının yanında ilgi göstermek	.62
Başkalarının yanında sevecen duygularınızı açıkça göstermek	.58
Başkalarının yanında kahkahalarla gülmek	.51

Note. Factor loadings smaller than .25 and cross loading factors were omitted for the sake of clarity

PTMS included several situations in which men were likely to feel discomfort and perceive threat to their traditional masculine identity. The names of the labels were selected based on the source of threat that men may perceive taking the related literature into account. The first factor explained 28.37 % of total variance with an eigenvalue of 12.77. It included 15 items and their factor loadings ranged between .90 and .50. The first factor depicted the threat directly coming from women in general. These women can be their wives, supervisors, or any other women around them who impose a threat by making more money, being more educated, successful, or manipulative. Therefore, men felt discomfort from the situations where they lose their dominating status against women. This factor was named as threat of “subordination to women”. The best indicator of this factor was item 29 with .90 loading (“Having a wife/ girlfriend who is educated better than you”).

The second factor with 4.78 eigenvalue accounted for 10.62% of total variance. This factor consisted of 9 items with factor loadings ranging between .91 and .44. It was related to protecting men’s and his partner’s honor in the eyes of others, especially protecting women’s sexuality related honor from other men. In this factor, not being able to protect his partner from other men elicits threat of hearing gossips about his image as men. Therefore, it was named as threat to the “protector role” of men. Both item 24 (“Having your wife/ girlfriend be outside late at night”) and item 9 with .91 loadings (“Having your wife/ girlfriend be outside with people whom you don’t know) best explained the scope of the second factor.

The third factor comprised of 8 items and explained 5.33 % of total variance with 2.40 eigenvalue. The eigenvalues of the items ranged from .78 to .50. The items loaded on a factor indicated a possible perceived threat evoked by shaking the men’s authority as the decision maker in the family and relational context. The items indicated a threat directed to the “decision maker authority”. The example item for this factor could be item 48 with .77 loading (“Having your wife / girlfriend not trust your decisions”).

The fourth factor included 8 items related to income and providing as a responsibility of men. It explained 4.61 of the variance with 2.07 eigenvalue and their items’ eigenvalues changed between .79 and .44. The traditional male role norms attain men as breadwinner of the household by making money outside the

home. Therefore, this factor taps a possible threat coming from situations in which a man doesn't earn sufficiently or is unemployed. So, it was named as threat to "breadwinner status". Item 75 exemplified this subscale with .79 loading ("Not having a regular income").

The fifth and the last factor included 5 items and uniquely explained 4.17 % of total variance with an eigenvalue of 1.88. These 5 items loaded to the factor with values ranging from .86 to .51. It was named as threat to "though image" since it highlights the situations in which men should appear though and unemotional. The marker of this factor was item 63 with .86 loading ("Showing affection to your wife/ girlfriend in front of other people")

The factor structure of PTMS was compatible with other masculinity scales. For instance masculine role norms scale (MRNS) offers 3 subscales which are status, toughness and anti-femininity (Thompson & Pleck, 1986). "Status" points various ways for men to be authority over women. The subordination to women, decision maker role and breadwinner specifies the situations where men's status could be at risk. Moreover, antifemininity and toughness requirements of traditional manhood were parallel with the last factor "threat to tough image" because it reflects the situations where men are sensitive and away from the iron man image. MRNS aims to assess the level of endorsement and internalization of male role norms in daily life while PTMS aims to see the level of threat that men may perceive from some specific gender-related situations. Therefore, situations given in PTMS are potential sources of threat if they reflect internalized gendered situations for the participants. Also, all of 5 factors of PTMS were determined and interpreted based on the face to face interviews with a group of men. Compatibility of these 5 factors with both the real life reflections gathered in interviews with Turkish sample and the theoretical framework reflects the construct validity of PTMS.

3.1.2. Reliability of Perceived Threat to Manhood Scale

Reliability analysis showed that internal consistency coefficients of five factors were sufficient. Cronbach's alpha coefficients for "subordination to women", "protector role", "decision maker authority", "breadwinner status" and "though

image” were .92, .92, .84, .84 .79, and .80, respectively. All reliability scores were high and this indicated the PTMS has good internal consistency.

The correlations between these factors changed between .17 and .60 indicating very low to moderate correlations. Presence of very high correlations between the factors may cause the problem of multicollinearity and the risk of measuring the same component (Tabachnik & Fidel, 2006). Thus, it can be said that the factors measured different constructs. According to the item-total correlation results, the items of each factor sufficiently correlated with the related subscales. None of the items under the factors were removed since “Cronbach’s alpha if item deleted” did never exceed the Cronbach’s alpha of related factor. Their item-total correlations ranged between .58 to .75 for Factor 1, .46 to .83 for Factor 2, .48 to .67 for Factor 3, .35 to .60 for Factor 4, .49 to .71 for Factor 5 (See Table 3 for means and standard deviations of PTMS subscales).

3.2. Descriptive Analyses

3.2.1. Data Cleaning

After deciding the factor structure of newly developed PTMS and constructing its subscales with remaining items, data screening was conducted again to 389 cases to deal with missing values and to test for the normality, linearity and homoscedasticity assumptions. A total of 82 missing cases above the 5 % level for each variable were replaced with factor means after controlling whether the missing values are systematic or non-systematic. In order to evaluate systematic or non-systematic missings, the data of the participants who left the questionnaire before the end and those who completed were compared with independent sample t- test analyses. T-test analyses were run in order to compare people who did and did not fill in the questions of MRNS, PTMS, APWAS and CTS2 scales in the given order whereby preceding scale was taken as the DV while completion status of the following scale was taken as the IV. As a result, there was a significant difference between men who did and did not answer the questions of all subscales of APWAS on the threat from subordination to women variable. Accordingly, men who dropped out the survey after finishing PTMS ($M = 2.84$, $SD = 1.28$) perceived more threat of subordination to women compared to those who completed the justifiability of

violence subscale ($M = 2.47$, $SD = .99$), $t(178) = 2.17$, $p < .05$. Second, men who dropped out the survey after finishing PTMS ($M = 2.83$, $SD = 1.27$) perceived more threat of subordination to women compared to those who answered all the questions involving functionality of violence scale ($M = 2.47$, $SD = 1.00$), $t(178) = 2.11$, $p < .05$. Thirdly, men who dropped out the survey after finishing PTMS ($M = 2.83$, $SD = 1.27$) perceived more threat of subordination to women compared to those who answered all the questions involving justifiability of violence scale ($M = 2.47$, $SD = 1.00$), $t(178) = 2.11$, $p < .05$.

These results suggest that those who perceived more threat from subordination to women did not continue to answer questions of APWAS which is related to beliefs about wife abuse. However, other subscales before APWAS such as subscales of MRNS and subscales of PTMS except for subordination to women did not differ in terms of completing or dropping out the questionnaire. Hence, after t-test analyses, missing variables above 5 % were eliminated and replaced with the means of related subscales. Consequently, data from 307 participants remain for the rest of the analyses.

3.2.2. Descriptive Information and Internal Consistency Coefficients of the Variables

Age, city they grew in, family type, education, relationship status, working status, income level and systematic violence they were exposed to as a child were included as demographic variables of the participants. On the other hand, all subscales (a total of 13) of the measurement tools were included as criterion variables and their relationship were examined. The means, standard deviations and Cronbach's alpha coefficients of the scales are given in Table 3.

3.2.3. Bivariate Correlations among Study Variables

Bivariate correlational analyses are conducted with the aim of mapping the relationships between the variables of interest. Firstly, correlations between demographic and criterion variables were investigated (see Table 4) and it was followed by correlations among criterion variables separately (see Table 5).

Table 3. Descriptive Information about Study Variables

	Mean	Std. deviation	Cronbach's Alpha
Masculine Role Norms			
Status	4,03	1,12	.90
Antifemininity	2,94	1,07	.87
Toughness	3,52	1,03	.65
Perceived Threat to Manhood			
Subordination to women	2,77	1,24	.92
Protector role	5,10	1,40	.92
Decision authority	5,80	,92	.84
Breadwinner Status	5,35	1,14	.79
Though Image	2,56	1,31	.80
Attitudes towards Physical wife Abuse			
Justifiability of violence	1,92	1,09	.90
Functionality of Violence	1,47	,84	.87
Consequences of Violence	2,47	1,24	.65
Behavioral Violence			
Physical Violence	,28	,79	.92
Psychological Violence	1,42	1,16	.73

The significant relationship between demographic variables and scale variables were rare. The age of the participants was negatively correlated with antifemininity as one of the traditional masculine norms. Exposure to violence by a parent was also negatively correlated with threat of subordination to women and threat to tough image. Education level was found to be significantly correlated with many of the criterion variables. Specifically, education level was negatively correlated with status norm, antifemininity norm, threat to protector role and breadwinner status of men, attitudes towards justifiability of violence and functionality of violence. Considering these multiple correlations with many of the criterion variables (see Table 4), education might be significant indicative resource of variability in the criterion variables and it is examined with a separate analysis presented in section 3.3.1).

Table 4. Pearson Correlation Coefficients between Demographic and Study Variables

	Status	Anti-femininity	Toughness	Subordination to women	Protector role	Decision-maker authority	Bread-winner status	Tough image	Justifiability of Violence	Function of violence	Consequences of violence	Physical Violence	Psych. violence
Age	-.02	-.11*	-.05	-.07	-.09	-.11	-.04	.01	.03	.05	.08	-.03	-.03
City size	.02	.03	.03	.05	.03	.02	.04	.05	-.01	-.05	-.06	.09	-.06
Education	-.13*	-.17**	-.06	-.02	-.16**	-.09	-.12*	-.05	-.19**	-.11*	-.10	-.04	.07
Income	.00	.06	.05	-.03	-.08	-.00	.08	-.01	-.04	-.06	.02	.01	.05
Systematic violence	-.10	-.03	-.05	-.11*	-.10	-.07	-.08	-.16**	.03	.02	.06	.02	-.00

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Variables: City size: 1= Metropolis, 2= City, 3= Town, 4= District, 5= Village; Education: 1= Primary school, 2= secondary school, 3= High school, 4= University, 5= Post graduate; Income: 1= 0-999 TL, 2= 1000-1999 TL, 3= 2000-2999 TL, 4=3000 and above; Systematic violence: 1= Yes, 2= No

Variables given in rows: Age, City, Education, Income, Systematic Violence

Variables given in columns: Status, Anti-femininity, Toughness, Subordination to women, Protector role, Decision-maker authority, Bread-winner status, Tough image, Justifiability of Violence, Function of violence, Consequences of violence, Physical Violence, Psychological violence

Almost all of the criterion variables were significantly correlated with each other but none had a high risk of multicollinearity as was screened previously. First, all variables of traditional masculine role norms were moderately positively correlated with each other ranging from .50 to .61. Second, the five variables of perceived threat to manhood were also significantly and positively correlated with each other, Pearson r ranged between .16 and .59. Third, all types of attitudes towards physical wife abuse were positively correlated with each other, zero-order values changing from .18 to .80. Lastly, the relationship between psychological and physical violence perpetration was positively correlated at moderate level with Pearson correlation coefficient of .49. Overall, the relationships of subscales with each other were satisfying. This could also be an indication of good construct validity especially for the variables of Perceived Threat to Manhood Scale which had neither too high nor too low correlations between subscales (see Table 5)

Inspection of relationship between dependent variables indicated that a number of variables were also correlated with each other and this made the possible causality directions open to further analysis. Traditional masculine role norms were positively correlated with all of the threat subscales and their zero order correlations ranged between .18 to .55 with the highest correlation between antifemininity norm and threat of subordination to women. The general frame was meaningful for the structure of the scales because the parallel increase and decrease in endorsement of male roles and threat perception gives a clear picture about the relationship between manhood and threat. The higher men score on the male role norms scale, the more they internalize the traditional manhood roles. Accordingly, traditional men perceive more threat by indicating their discomfort with lower scores in PTMS. Moreover, both of the composite variables (MRNS and PTMS) dealt with traditional manhood the correlations between them were important for construct validity of PTMS, as well.

Perceived threat to manhood was related to attitudes towards physical wife abuse (APWAS) and behavioral enactment of violence against women (CTS) in several dimensions. Firstly, threat of subordination to women was positively correlated with all dimensions of APWAS while the decision maker authority and breadwinner status subscales did not significantly correlated with any subscales of

APWAS. On the other hand, threat to decision-maker authority was significantly correlated only with attitudes towards consequences of violence positively and enactment of physical violence negatively. Threat to breadwinner status was positively correlated only with two dimensions of CTS while threat to though image was positively correlated with all dimensions of APWAS and enactment of physical violence (see Table 5).

Table 5. Pearson Correlation Coefficients between Criterion Variables

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1. Status	1												
2. Antifemininity	.50**	1											
3. Toughness	.60**	.61**	1										
4. Subordination	.44**	.55**	.40**	1									
5. Protector role	.47**	.49**	.39**	.48**	1								
6. Decision-maker authority	.33**	.29**	.18**	.31**	.59**	1							
7. Bread-winner status	.38**	.30**	.27**	.35**	.48**	.47**	1						
8. Though image	.18**	.31**	.12*	.53**	.32**	.16**	.23**	1					
9. Justifiability of violence	.31**	.42**	.33**	.35**	.27**	.07	.06	.26**	1				
10. Function of violence	.13*	.29**	.19**	.28**	.13*	-.09	-.07	.30**	.80**	1			
11. Consequences of violence	.20**	.29**	.23**	.35**	.29**	.12*	.06	.38**	.47**	.42**	1		
12. Physical violence	.03	.12*	.10	.15**	-.02	-.12*	-.14*	.15**	.24**	.26**	.18**	1	
13. Psychological violence	.04	.10	.10	.12*	.02	.02	-.13*	.04	.17**	.26**	.13*	.49**	1

**Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

*Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Variables: Status, Antifemininity, Toughness, Subordination, Protector role, Decision-maker authority, Bread-winner status, Though image, Justifiability of violence, Function of violence, Consequences of violence, Physical violence, Psychological violence

3.3. Test of Main Hypotheses

3.3.1. The Role of Education Level and Working Status on Criterion Variables

Education level was correlated with many of the criterion variables in the bivariate correlational analysis. According to the results of bivariate correlations, education was related to status, antifemininity, threat to protector role and breadwinner status, attitudes towards justifiability and functionality of violence. In order to test the effect of education level on these variables, this non-directional relationship was further analyzed with different ANOVAs. Therefore, education level was taken as independent variable and correlated criterion variables were taken as dependent variables. In order to make a healthier comparison, five education levels was combined into three levels as follows: people who indicated their education level as preschool, secondary school and high school graduates categorized as the first group ($N = 34$), university as the second group ($N = 200$) and graduate school as the third group ($N = 73$).

ANOVA results indicated that education level of the participants had significant effect on only antifemininity ($F(2, 304) = 3.30, p < .05$); threat to protector role ($F(2, 304) = 4.05, p < .05$); Attitudes towards justifiability of violence ($F(2, 304) = 5.50, p < .01$). Tukey's HSD test indicated group differences on protector role and justifiability of violence but not on antifemininity. Accordingly, men who had university degree perceived more threat to man's protector role ($M = 5.20, SD = 1.37$) as compared to men who had post-graduate degree ($M = 4.70, SD = 1.44$). Also, men who had education level below university ($M = 2.34, SD = 1.26$) justified physical wife abuse more than men who had a post graduate degree ($M = 1.62, SD = .94$) but did not differ from the men who had a university degree (see Table 6).

After testing the significant bivariate correlations between education level and subscales with separate ANOVAs, the effect of working status on criterion variables were tested through Multivariate Analysis of Variance (MANOVA) for each of composite scales. According to the results of MANOVA, there is no difference between men who are employed, unemployed and looking for a job, unemployed but don't look for a job in terms of perceived threat ($F(10, 600) = .89, p < .05$; Wilk's λ

= .97, partial $\eta^2 = .02$, ns); attitudes towards violence ($F(6, 604) = 1.40$, $p < .05$; Wilk's $\lambda = .97$, partial $\eta^2 = .01$, ns) and violent behavior ($F(4, 606) = 1.53$, $p < .05$; Wilk's $\lambda = .98$, partial $\eta^2 = .01$, ns)

Table 6. The Effect of Education Level on its Significant Correlates

	Pre-university	University	Post-university	F (2,304)
Status	4.35 (1.31)	4.05 (1.07)	3.80 (1.12)	2.907, ns
Antifemininity	3.20 (1.15)	3.00 (1.04)	2.69 (1.08)	3.30*
Protector role	5.33 (1.36)ab	5.20 (1.37)a	4.70 (1.44)b	4.05*
Breadwinner status	5.67 (1.12)	5.35 (1.10)	5.24 (1.26)	1.61, ns
Justifiability of violence	2.34 (1.26)c	1.95 (1.09)cd	1.62 (.94)d	5.50**
Functionality of violence	1.70 (1.07)	1.47 (.84)	1.37 (.71)	1.60, ns

Note: The means that do not share the same subscript are significantly different from each other
 * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

3.3.2. The Role of Masculine Role Norms on Perceived Threat to Manhood

As one of the main hypothesis of the study, the predictive power of traditional masculine role norms on perceived threat to manhood was examined. Multiple regression analyses were performed where the subscales of perceived threat were each regressed on three subscales of MRNS. In other words, predictor variables were status, antifemininity and toughness as indicators of traditional masculine role norms. The criterion variables, in turn, were threat of subordination to women, threat to protector role, decision maker role, breadwinner status and tough image, respectively.

As summarized in Table 7, regression analyses for each of the dependent measures depicted the same pattern. The largest variance was explained by masculine role norms in threat of subordination to women. This was followed by threat to protector role as the dependent variable. Traditional masculine role norms had the lowest R^2 in explaining the variance on threat to tough image. Status and antifemininity norms were significant predictors of each type of threat except for when predicting threat to tough image. However, the norm of toughness did not

predict any type of threat significantly. Specifically, men who endorsed high levels of status and antifemininity norms of masculinity perceived more threat of subordination to women; threat to their protector role, decision maker authority and breadwinner role. In the last regression equation, however, strong endorsement of antifemininity was the only significant predictor of threat to man's tough image.

Overall, at least one of the masculine role norms was a significant predictor of all types of perceived threat separately. This result is compatible with what is hypothesized at the beginning of the study and contributed the construct validity of newly developed PTMS, as well.

Table 7. Masculine Role Norms Regressed on Five Subscales of Perceived Threat to Manhood

	β	t
DV: Threat of Subordination to Women		
$F(3, 303) = 51.59^{***} R^2 = .34$		
Status norm	.25	3.72***
Anti-femininity	.50	7.23***
Toughness	.00	.01
DV: Threat to Protector Role		
$F(3, 303) = 44.82^{***} R^2 = .31$		
Status norm	.37	4.79***
Anti-femininity	.45	5.59***
Toughness	.001	.001
DV: Threat to Decision Maker Authority		
$F(3, 303) = 16.55^{***} R^2 = .14$		
Status norm	.25	4.54***
Anti-femininity	.19	3.19***
Toughness	-.13	-1.91
DV: Threat to Breadwinner Status		
$F(3, 303) = 19.48^{***} R^2 = .16$		
Status norm	.32	4.64***
Anti-femininity	.16	2.22*
Toughness	-.01	-.15
DV: Threat to Tough Image		
$F(3, 303) = 12.64^{***} R^2 = .11$		
Status norm	.10	1.27
Anti-femininity	.45	5.25***
Toughness	-.21	-2.12

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

3.4. Testing Predictive Validity of Perceived Threat to Manhood Scale

In order to test the hypothesis that perceived threat would predict attitudes towards wife abuse and physical and psychological violence behavior, five separate hierarchical regression analyses were conducted with each subscale of Attitudes towards Physical Wife Abuse Scale (APWAS) as the DV as well as the physical and psychological violence subscales of CTS2. The main concern of the analyses was to see whether perceived threat adds predictive value over and above that of endorsing traditional male role norms on attitudes towards physical wife abuse. For all of the five analyses, Masculine Role Norms (MRN) subscales are entered in the first step. After controlling for the effects of MRN, five subscales of perceived threat are entered in the second step: threat of subordination to women, threat to protector role, decision maker authority, breadwinner status, and tough image, respectively.

3.4.1. Predicting Attitudes towards Physical Wife Abuse (APWA)

The first set of regression analyses was conducted to examine predictive power MRNS and PTMS on attitudes towards justifiability of violence (AJPWA). The model including all of the variables (MRN and PTM) was significant in the second step. It explained 24 % of the variance on the dependent variable, $R^2 = .24$, $F(8, 298) = 11.60$, $p < .001$. According to the results summarized in Table 8, Traditional Male Role Norms predicted attitudes towards justifiability of wife abuse altogether. However, antifemininity norm, alone, was the most powerful and constant predictor of DV in the first step and its significance sustained with declining trend when masculine role norms entered into equation with perceived threats. Accordingly, men who endorsed more traditional view of manhood highly justified physical wife abuse. In the second step, perceived threat to manhood with its subscales significantly added predictive value over MRN. Contrary to expectation, threat to breadwinner status predicted justifiability of wife abuse significantly in opposite direction. According to individual beta coefficients and its mean score, the higher the men perceived threat to their breadwinner status, the less they justified violence against physical wife abuse. However, changes in the explained variance depicted that MRN is more effective in predicting AJPWA as compared to little additive power of PTM in the second step.

Table 8. Perceived Manhood Threat Regressed on Attitudes towards Justifiability of Physical Wife Abuse

	Step 1		Step 2	
	β	t	β	t
Dependent Variable: Justifiability of Physical Wife Abuse				
1. Control Variables				
Step 1: F change (3, 303) = 23.90*** $R^2 = .19$				
Status norm	.10	1.56	.11	1.65
Anti-femininity	.33	4.95***	.25	3.47***
Toughness	.06	.86	.07	.92
2. Independent Variables				
Step 2: F change (5, 298) = 3.60*** R^2 Change = .05				
Subordination to women			.10	1.35
Protector-role			.10	1.35
Decision-maker authority			-.09	-1.41
Breadwinner status			-.14	-2.24*
Tough image			.12	1.91

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

In the second analysis, the model including MRN and PTM was significantly predicted Attitudes towards Functionality of Violence (AFPWA) as dependent variable, $F(8, 298) = 9.45, p < .001$. The model explained 20 % of the variability of in DV ($R^2 = .20$). MRN significantly predicted Attitudes toward Functionality of Violence in general. In particular, the only individual predictor of AFPWA was antifemininity, so that high endorsement of antifemininity norm predicted more positive AFPWA in the first step and kept its significance in the second step. In the second step, five Perceived Manhood Threats were significantly contributed to the prediction of AFPWA over MRNS altogether. Although threat to decision maker authority and breadwinner status did not significantly correlate with AFPWA in bivariate correlations, they turned out to significant predict AFPWA in a *negative* direction. Accordingly, the greater these men perceived a threat to their breadwinner status and to their decision maker roles, the less favorable attitudes they held towards functionality of wife abuse. This suggests a possible suppression (no zero order correlations and significant and opposite to expected beta values). This is examined further in the next section. On the other hand, threat to tough image positively predicted AFPWA so that perceiving greater threat to a man's tough image predicted more positive attitudes about functionality of wife abuse (see Table 9).

Table 9. Perceived Manhood Threat Regressed on Attitudes towards Functionality of Physical Wife Abuse

	Step 1		Step 2	
	β	<i>t</i>	β	<i>t</i>
Dependent Variable: Functionality of Physical Wife Abuse				
1. Control Variables				
Step 1: <i>F change</i> (3, 303) = 9.46*** $R^2 = .09$				
Status norm	-.04	-.51	.001	.13
Anti-femininity	.29	4.04***	.20	2.64**
Toughness	.04	.46	.04	.56
2. Independent Variables				
Step 2: <i>F change</i> (5, 298) = 8.73*** R^2 Change = .12				
Subordination to women			.12	1.61
Protector-role			.09	1.16
Decision-maker authority			-.19	-2.76**
Breadwinner status			-.19	-2.97**
Tough image			.21	3.41***

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

In the third analysis, masculine role norms and perceived threats significantly predicted attitudes towards consequences of physical wife Abuse (ACPWA), $R^2 = .22$, $F(8, 298) = 10.49$, $p < .001$. Although MRN significantly predicted attitudes towards consequences of violence, PTM added predictive value above these norms and accounted for a significant portion of variance. Antifemininity norm positively predicted ACPWA as in the previous analyses but its individual predictive power disappeared when it was evaluated with PTM in the second step. From Perceived Threats to Manhood, the most powerful predictor of ACPWA was threat to tough image. According to this positive pathway, men who perceived high threat to their tough image had attitudes devaluing the destructibility of consequences of violence for women and relationship. Perceiving high threat to man's protector role resulted in more accepting attitudes regarding consequences of violence (i.e., seeing violence as inconsequential). However, threat to breadwinner status displayed negative predictive pattern so that men perceiving high threat to their breadwinner status did not have attitudes minimizing the consequences of violence (see Table 10).

All of the hierarchical regression analyses predicted attitudes towards physical wife abuse separately that perceived manhood threats significantly predicted ACPWA both after controlling for the effects of and together with in the masculine

role norms regression equation. The larger variance explained for attitudes towards justifiability of wife abuse and followed by attitudes towards consequences and functionality of wife abuse. Antifemininity norm of traditional manhood was constantly predicted all types of attitudes in the same direction while the similar trend was observed with the threat to breadwinner status. These persistent patterns evoked increased curiosity about the importance of breadwinner status and antifemininity norm on violence.

Table 10. Perceived Manhood Threat Regressed on Attitudes towards Consequences of Physical Wife Abuse

	Step 1		Step 2	
	β	<i>t</i>	β	<i>t</i>
Dependent Variable: Consequences of Physical Wife Abuse				
1. Control Variables				
Step 1: <i>F change</i> (3, 303) = 10.12*** $R^2 = .09$				
Status norm	.06	.78	.01	.19
Anti-femininity	.23	3.30***	.06	.75
Toughness	.05	.67	.10	1.30
2. Independent Variables				
Step 2: <i>F change</i> (5, 298) = 9.82*** $R^2 \text{Change} = .13$				
Subordination to women			.10	1.42
Protector-role			.16	2.11*
Decision-maker authority			-.001	-.12
Breadwinner status			-.16	-2.58**
Tough image			.29	4.62***

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

3.4.2. Predicting Behavioral Violence

In addition to attitudes towards violence, perpetration of violence against women was also analyzed in the scope of this study. Behavioral violence, as another dependent variable, was defined in two categories: physical and psychological violence. Two separate hierarchical regression analyses were conducted by controlling for masculine role norms in the first steps and perceived manhood threats as independent variables in the second steps. In this manner, violence was measured as frequency of violent behavior that occurred within the previous year.

For Physical Violence, the model was significantly different from zero at the second step meaning that masculine role norms and perceived threat were successful in predicting physical violence altogether, $F(8, 298) = 3.88, p < .001$. The model

accounted for 9 % of the variance in DV ($R^2 = .09$). For Psychological Violence, the last regression analysis revealed that the model including all variables in the equation was significant F value in the second step ($F(8, 298) = 2.33, p < .05$) and it explained 6 % of the variance in DV ($R^2 = .06$). Although both of the models were significant in predicting perpetration of physical and psychological violence, their contribution to explained variance was quite small. As can be seen in Tables 11 and 12, five subscales of perceived threat significantly predicted perpetration of violence after controlling for the effect of traditional masculine role norms. However, threat to breadwinner status, the only significant predictor of perceived threat, predicted the frequency of violence negatively. Specifically, men who perceived greater threat to their breadwinner status perpetrated physical and psychological violence against their partners less frequently – a finding clearly contrary to research expectations.

Table 11. Perceived Manhood Threat Regressed on Physical Violence against Women

	Step 1		Step 2	
	β	<i>t</i>	β	<i>t</i>
Dependent Variable: Physical Violence				
1. Control Variables				
Step 1: <i>F change</i> (3, 303) = 2.07 $R^2 = .02$				
Status norm	-.08	-1.07	-.02	-.26
Anti-femininity	.12	1.56	.07	.92
Toughness	.08	.98	.08	1.02
2. Independent Variables				
Step 2: <i>F change</i> (5, 298) = 4.89*** R^2 Change = .07				
Subordination to women			.14	1.75
Protector-role			-.03	-.41
Decision-maker authority			-.11	-1.47
Breadwinner status			-.18	-2.73**
Tough image			.12	1.81

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

According to the observed relationships, unexpected negative pattern of breadwinner status and decision maker authority dimensions of perceived threat on all of individual DVs evoked a suspicion about suppression. According to Tabachnick and Fidell (2001), suppression occurs when individual IVs in the regression cause prediction of DV among other IVs in the set. In other words, DV is

predicted because of the high correlation of IVs with other variables in the equation rather than individual effect of IV on DV. It can be detected if the regression coefficients are unexpectedly negative or positive; if direction of regression coefficients and zero order correlations are in opposite direction; and if regression coefficients exceed zero order correlation of the related variable. In this case, relationship directions of threat to decision maker authority while predicting justifiability of wife abuse and breadwinner status while predicting all of the dependent variables were opposite with their zero order correlations. Also, their regression coefficients were greater than zero order values for the related DVs (see Table 5 for zero-order correlations between variables). With the intention of solving suppression problem between IVs and testing a prediction model in a more integrated manner, additional analyses were conducted by using Structural Equation Modeling (SEM).

Table 12. Perceived Manhood Threat Regressed on Psychological Violence against Women

	Step 1		Step 2	
	β	<i>t</i>	β	<i>t</i>
Dependent Variable: Psychological Violence				
1. Control Variables				
Step 1: <i>F change</i> (3, 303) = 1.40 <i>R</i> ² = .01				
Status norm	-.05	-.62	-.02	-.27
Anti-femininity	.08	1.03	.04	.52
Toughness	.08	.98	.09	1.08
2. Independent Variables				
Step 2: <i>F change</i> (5, 298) = 2.86* <i>R</i> ² Change = .05				
Subordination to women			.15	1.84
Protector-role			-.03	-.40
Decision-maker authority			.08	1.03
Breadwinner status			-.22	-3.29***
Tough image			-.00	-.05

p* < .05, *p* < .01, ****p* < .001

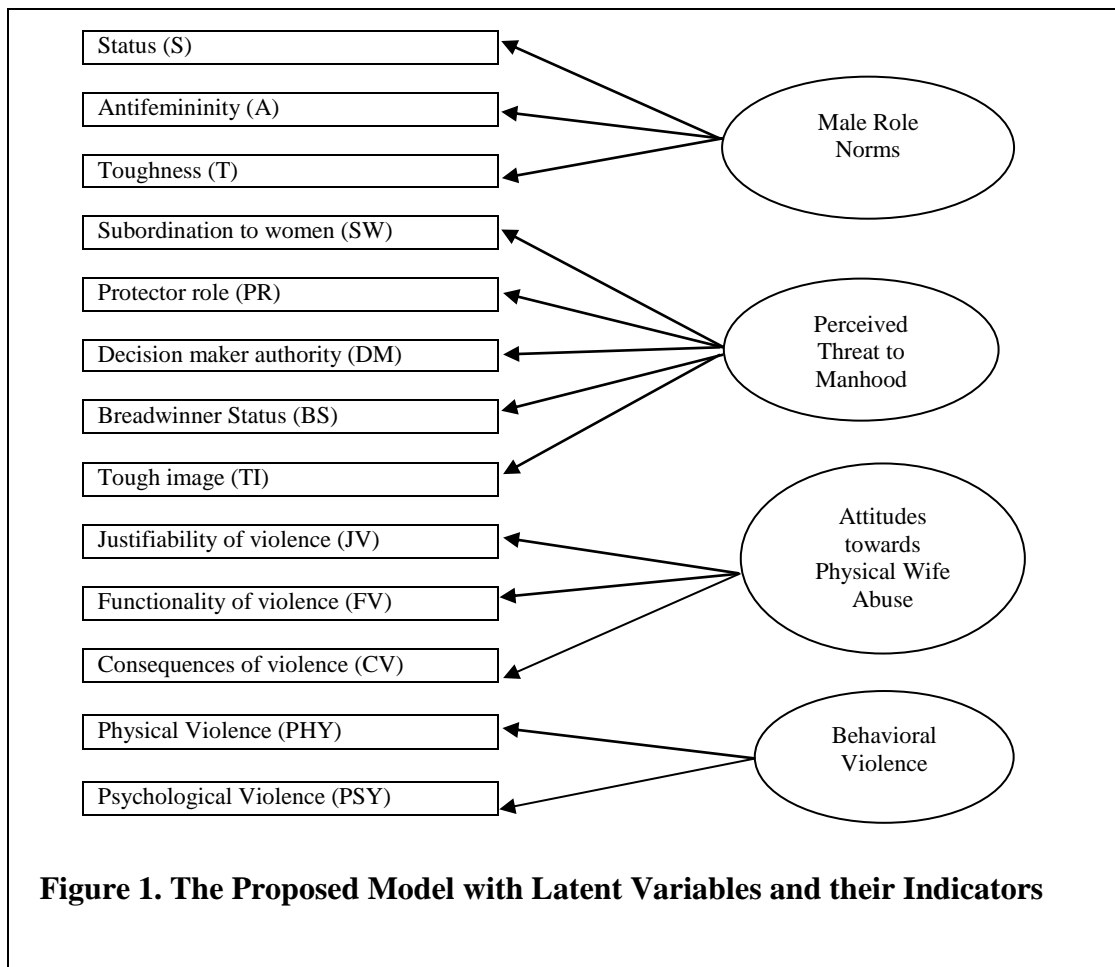
3.5. Testing Masculine Role Norms and Perceived Threat to Manhood by Structural Equation Modeling (SEM)

As indicated in the purposes of the study, the masculine role norms and perceived threat to manhood would predict attitudes towards physical wife abuse and

violent behaviors of men against women. To test these hypotheses in an integrated model with the assumption of error-free prediction and solve the problem of suppression, the model was tested through Structural Equation Modeling by using LISREL 9.1 student version (Jöreskog & Sörbom, 1993). SEM is useful for testing the overall fit of the model to the data. It assumes structural relationships between latent variables and these latent variables are measured via observed (indicator) variables (Sümer, 2000). It generally follows a Two-Step Model which first tests the measurement through Confirmatory Factor Analysis then proceeds to the test of the structural model.

Measurement model tests the relationships among latent variables on the one hand and correlations between observed variables (indicators) on the other. In this step Confirmatory Factor Analysis is conducted in order to examine the extent to which latent variables explain observed variables. Different from measurement model, structural model tests the causal relationship between latent variables after testing the measurement model (Sümer, 2000). In the first step, the measurement model included confirmatory factor analysis of Male Role Norms (MRN), Perceived Threat to Manhood (PTM), Attitudes towards Physical Wife Abuse (ATPWA) and Behavioral Violence (BV) with their pre-defined subscales as their indicators. In the second step, structural model was tested through alternative models which were set in accordance with the suggestions of modification indices. These models were compared in terms of their goodness of fit values. In these analyses, the covariance matrix was used as input and maximum likelihood estimation was employed for testing of the model. In order to decide the extent to which the model fits to the data, Chi Square analysis was employed in which values closer to zero represent better fit. Together with chi square fit, other fit indices were used to decide the model's fit to the data. According to Bollen (1989), χ^2/df ratio could be 2, 3 or 5 which indicates acceptable fit. To illustrate, the fit indices of RMSEA (Root –Mean-Square Error Approximation) between 0-.10 is acceptable (Bollen, 1989) while other fit indices such as CFI (Comparative Fit Index), GFI (Goodness of Fit Index), AGFI (Adjusted Goodness of Fit Index) and NNFI (Non-Normed Fit Index) above .90 represents good model-data fit (Hu & Bentler, 1999).

In this study, proposed model aimed to examine the predictive relationships between Male Role Norms, Perceived Threat to Manhood and Attitudes towards Physical Wife Abuse, Behavioral Violence as latent variables. The previously determined subscales of these scales served as the indicator (observed) variables. In Figure 1, latent variables are depicted in circles while observed (indicator) variables are shown in rectangles.



3.5.1. Testing the Measurement Model

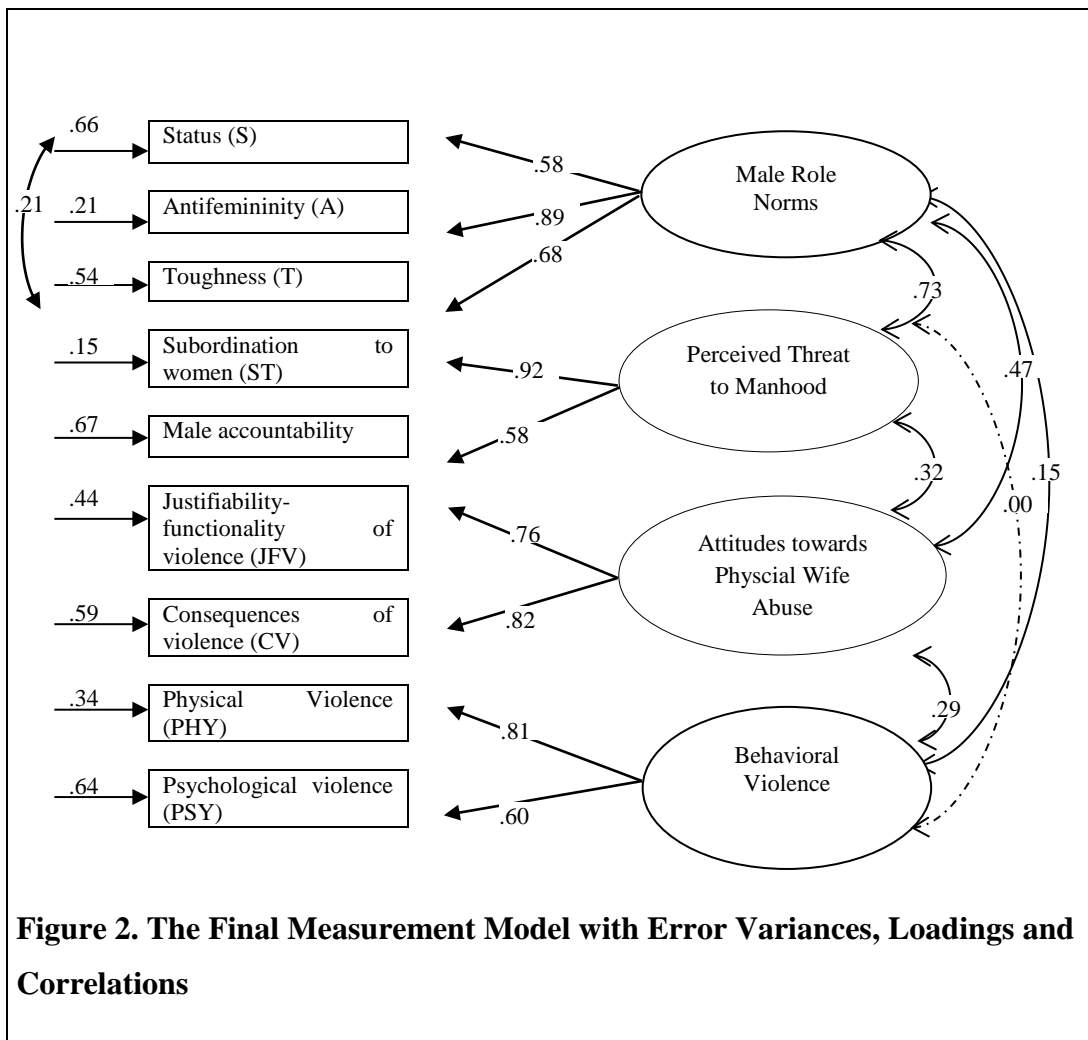
The initial measurement model (see Appendix C) poorly fit the data ($\chi^2 (59, N = 307) = 290.03, p < .001, GFI = .86, AGFI = .79, NNFI = .87, CFI = .90, RMSEA = .11$). Following the suggested modifications indices, theoretical concept and correlations between variables, some modifications was added to the model. Firstly, one of the subscale indicators of perceived threat, namely threat to tough image, was removed from the model because of its high correlated errors with the indicators of

male role norms, attitudes towards violence and behavioral violence. Secondly, modifications proposed a model improvement by correlating the errors of the three observed variables. These are threat to protector role, decision maker authority and breadwinner status. This resulted in a χ^2 reduction of 26.7% for decision maker and protector role, and 10.5% for breadwinner status and decision maker role. In addition, these three variables also had suppression related problems during regression analyses and their correlations ranged between .48 and .59. Therefore, these three indicators were merged into a single variable and named as threat to “householder accountability”. This was also meant as an effective way to resolve the suppression issue mentioned previously. Thirdly, attitudes towards justifiability and functionality of wife abuse were also combined into one indicator (justifiability-functionality of violence) because of their high correlation ($r = .80, p < .001$).

After employing these three modifications, the second measurement model was tested with four latent and eight observed variables: Male role norms (status, antifemininity and toughness); perceived threat (subordination and male accountability); attitudes towards physical wife abuse (justification-function and consequences); behavioral violence (physical and psychological). The test of this measurement model indicated a good fit to the data ($\chi^2 (21, N = 307) = 67.87, p < .001, GFI = .95, AGFI = .90, NNFI = .93, CFI = .90, RMSEA = .09$). Investigation of the modification indices revealed that correlating the errors of Status and Toughness as indicators of Male Role Norms could improve the fit of the model.

The final measurement model with correlated error terms between Status and Toughness displayed good fit compared to initial model ($\chi^2 (20, N = 307) = 48.03, p < .001, GFI = .98, AGFI = .93, NNFI = .95, CFI = .98, RMSEA = .07$). The ratio of χ^2 to df is 2.4 which indicates a good fit. Error variances of indicators (the arrows on the left side), loadings of indicators and correlations between latent variables are depicted in Figure 2. As can be seen, loadings of all the indicators to the related latent variables were significant. Their loadings ranged between .58 (status) and .89 (antifemininity) for male role norms; .58 (male accountability) and .92 (subordination) for perceived threat to manhood; .44 (Justification-functionality) and .59 (Consequences) for attitudes towards physical wife abuse; .60 (psychological) and .81 (physical) for behavioral violence.

An investigation of structural relationship between latent variables revealed that all the latent variables were positively and significantly correlated with each other except for behavioral violence and perceived threat. Male role norms were positively correlated with perceived threat ($r = .67$), attitudes towards physical wife abuse ($r = .55$) and behavioral violence ($r = .17$). Perceived threat were also positively correlated with attitudes towards physical wife abuse ($r = .55$) and behavioral violence ($r = .21$) while attitudes towards physical wife abuse was also positively correlated with behavioral violence ($r = .40$). The predictive relationship between these correlated latent variables was examined in the structural model as the second step in the analysis.



3.5.2. Test of the Structural Model

The proposed structural model aimed to predict attitudes towards physical wife abuse and behavioral violence from male role norms and perceived threat to manhood. In order to test this, the model shown in Figure 3 which includes paths from male role norms and perceived threat to attitudes and behaviors was generated. Test of the model revealed that the fit indices of the model met the standards of Hu and Bentler (1999) successfully (χ^2 (21, N = 307) = 61.97, $p < .001$, GFI = .96, AGFI = .91, NNFI = .94, CFI = .96, RMSEA = .08). The ratio of χ^2/df (61.97/21) is 2.90 representing acceptable goodness of fit. According to the result depicted in Figure 3, male role norms and perceived threat to manhood predicted attitudes towards physical wife abuse ($\beta = .28$ and $\beta = .41$) while they did not predict behavioral violence ($\beta = .03$ and $\beta = .22$). These results suggested that men who endorsed and internalized high levels of male role norms had also favorable attitudes towards physical wife abuse as well as men who perceived more threat to their manhood. On the other hand, their endorsement level of male role norms and perceiving high threat did not directly lead to violent behavior frequency. Overall, male role norms and perceived threat explained 39% of variance in attitudes towards physical wife abuse significantly while they did not significantly predict behavioral violence.

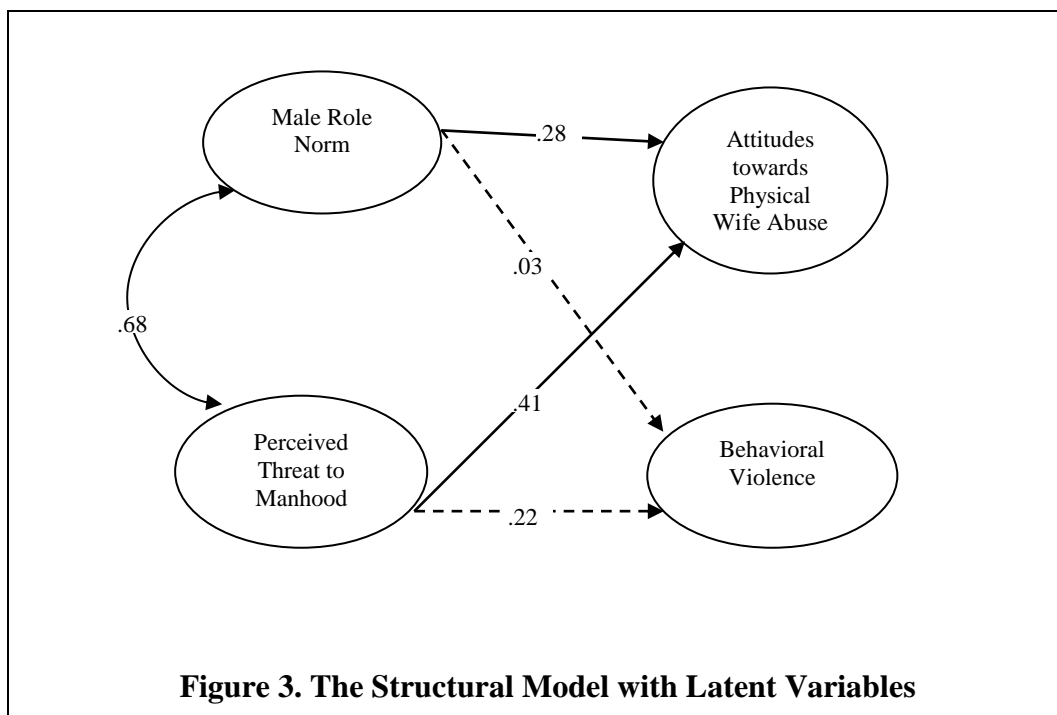
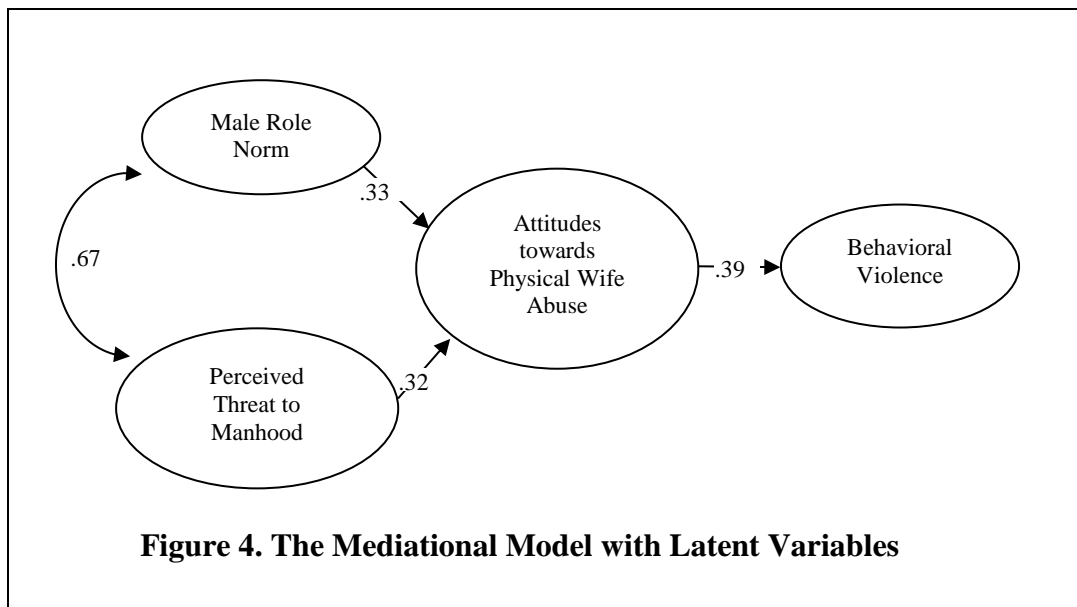


Figure 3. The Structural Model with Latent Variables

The test of structural model indicated a good fit to the data. Suggesting that attitudes are the pathways opening to behaviors, an alternative mediational model was also tested. In this model, male role norms and perceived threat to manhood predicted behavioral violence by means of attitudes towards physical wife abuse playing the role of mediator. This alternative model indicated a good fit to the data and implied the important role of attitudes on behaviors ($\chi^2 (22, N = 307) = 48.67, p < .001, GFI = .97, AGFI = .93, NNFI = .96, CFI = .98, RMSEA = .06$). As depicted in Figure 4, male role norms and perceived threat to manhood positively predicted attitudes towards physical wife abuse ($\beta = .33$ and $\beta = .32$) and attitudes towards physical wife abuse significantly predicted behavioral violence, too ($\beta = .39$). Overall, men who perceived high threat to their manhood and endorsed high levels of male role norms showed more favorable attitudes towards physical wife abuse and in turn they perpetrated violence more frequently in their real life. All in all, male role norms and perceived threat explained 15% of variance in behavioral violence via attitudes towards physical wife abuse while they directly explained 35% of variance in attitudes.



CHAPTER 4

DISCUSSION

Violence permeates into daily life as if it was a normal action like walking or eating. The numbers and the facts about victimization of women reveal just the tip of the iceberg. Below, there are number of women subjected to several types of abuse and violence but forced to keep quite. However, every case of violence conceals something about the patriarchal structure, which glorifies men and degrades women. What could be so important to cost women's life? Some rumored reasons could be that a man cannot stand unemployment; that he accuses his wife of being unfaithful; that his wife resisted to his authority or that a woman wants to get a divorce. These are all related to the social value that justifies killing or beating a woman for the sake of manhood. At this point, the precarious nature of manhood gives a man a reasonable base to compensate for its deficiency through violence and he legitimizes it in order to save the honor of manhood (Vandello et al., 2008). Hence, victims are usually women who are already seen as property of men especially in close relationships. Regarding women as their personal possessions, marriage gives men the opportunity to channel their anger on women. This study raises concern over motivations of violence against women from the side of manhood and its social construction. In this manner, violence was taken as a problem of the patriarchal system in which masculinities reproduce themselves through privileged practices compared to women.

The commitments of the participants to the traditional masculine ideology and threat perceptions in masculinity-related situations were examined in relation to their violence related-beliefs and behaviors. The main findings of the study show that both the internalization of traditional masculine ideology and perceived threat to different constructs of manhood directly predict the *attitudes* towards wife abuse.

However, they do not predict violent *behaviors* against women. Considering attitudes as cornerstones of behaviors, on the other hand, traditional male roles and perceived threat predict violent behaviors of men via their attitudes towards physical wife abuse indirectly. Moreover, perceiving threat depends highly upon the extent to which men accept and value traditional male roles. For example, having a wife who is more educated than the husband may not bother a man who does not care about norms regarding traditional male roles, whereas it may seriously bother a highly traditional man. Accordingly, the analysis revealed that strictly endorsing male role norms predicted their way of perceiving some manhood-related situations as threats.

4.1. Different Sources of Threat Perception

Masculine norms are regarded as potential determinants of male violence as a way of reconstructing masculinity. On the other hand, hegemonic masculinity already advocates for having patriarchal control over women by using violence (Connell, 1995). Although traditional masculine ideology promise men a dominant status with violence, it does not mean that every man will enact violence in any circumstance. Accepting that nothing comes from nothing, male violence results from those social situations that threaten a man's reputation, status and manhood. At this point, this thesis attempts to reveal the role of threat perception on male violence as well as the role of traditional masculine ideology.

Does every situation create feeling of threat when a man cannot attain standards of manhood? In order to attain what kinds of situations threaten manhood and the amount of discomfort men feel, a new scale is developed based on the semi-structural interviews with 21 men from Ankara-Çankaya district. Sample of the interviews included men from different socioeconomic situations, education levels, ages and birthplaces. The qualitative analysis resulted in five domains of threat, and a new scale is developed tapping these areas as open targets of threat (). In this realm, threat perceptions are thought to evoke discomfort related to basic masculinity codes such as the breadwinner status, the protector of women's honor, the decision maker, the dominant, and the tough.

Sirman (1998) states that representativeness of a man in the society, especially with his homemaker status, is an important source of respect. Witnessing

of others is very critical both for their approval or disfavor because it is an achieved status. Leading a family proudly, providing for family members and protecting them bring respectful reputation together with masculine honor (Osch, Breugelmans, Zeelenberg & Bölük, 2013) and give right to have control over women. In this thesis, having a wife or girlfriend being outside late at night or getting the wife drunk were considered as situations where this protector role of men is challenged. These kinds of situations targets male honor and can result in violence (Gharaibeh et al., 2012). Masculine honor is depended upon culturally sanctioned behaviors of woman so that she may disappoint man and cause him to lose manhood (Vandello & Cohen, 2003). Also, protecting women brings family honor which is very important for honor cultures such as Turkey (Osch et al., 2013). Therefore, men are in urgent need of some compensatory action to bring the honor back, and this mostly happens as killing or beating women (UNFPA, UNIFEM, & OSAGI, 2005). Perceiving threat to decision maker authority, one of which is resource of manhood, ruins the assumption that a man should be respected for his authority of making family decisions and they say the last word about his women or family.

Threat to breadwinner status, on the other hand, involves situations where a man no longer provides for his family or reaches his majority by working. It is a concrete source of threat because having a steady job and income attributes responsibilities to man and it is also an identity card to pass into real manhood (Ok, 2011). It is easy to understand why men feel threatened about their breadwinner status after the social meaning of working for men changed with industrial capitalism. Breadwinning brought an ultimate male status over women regardless of whether they are workers or bosses because the capitalist system is completely constructed on their physical and mental power. On the other hand, the same system sharpened the difference between work and home by limiting women's freedom to households (Catano, 2000; Sancar, 2009).

On the other hand, subordination to women comes out as a challenge to male domination and ruins the unity of powerful man. Men feel it beneath to fall short of the norms of masculinity because feeling of subordination reverses the patriarchal power situation into opposite. As Sancar (2012) also stated, women are getting more educated than before and working in the same fields with men in this modern gender

system. However, this modernization may create tension so that men may feel discomfort about having a better-educated wife or being challenged by a woman at work, family or in a simple game. The idea of a strong woman is not something compatible with the traditional gender role schemas. Rather, women are needed for love and intimacy (Glick & Fiske, 1996) which enable men to practice their control. Hence, feeling subordinated in the face of modern women might evoke high levels of threat. Inasmuch that earning or being educated more than husbands could be reasonable basis for male violence especially in low income families (Anderson, 1997).

Masculine ideology also includes some norms about being tough because showing affectionate behaviors in front of others damages the idealized image of a man (Thompson & Pleck, 1986). Therefore, a threat to tough image occurs in situations where significant others might condemn a man who displays woman-like or feminine behaviors such as showing affection or being open about emotions. It is worth to consider tough image because manhood is positioned as the opposite of feminine behaviors (Connell, 1995) and it is resistant to educational awareness and changes in perception. Engaging in anti-feminine behaviors, such as hiding emotions, carries manhood one step further in the eyes of others.

Questioning the socially-constructed structure of manhood supports to realize the existence of these resources of threat. These dynamics of manhood help to understand the unstable and social characteristics of manhood. There are situations in which a man should prove himself against society and keep himself respectful (Vandello et al., 2008). Especially gender related division of labor makes the structure of manhood more transient, such that it becomes difficult to find a stable definition for and the practice of manhood. Therefore, becoming a man requires continuous effort to meet changing standards of being a man which in turn created manhood crisis: a fear of losing the hardly-achieved status of manhood (Connell, 1995; Vandello et al., 2008; Sancar, 2009). Threat situations, of course, are not limited with the situations mentioned in this study. Some may suggest that there are other components of manhood which are also threatening. The examples may be seen in homosocial friendships, in military or in their daily experiences with other men. However, the worldview degrading women and their place in the social cast direct

their relationship with women, and determine men's response to the situations that provoke threat to their manhood. Because women are mostly blamed and made responsible for violence (Yigsaw et al., 2010; Haj-Yahia, 2000; Altınay & Arat, 2007; Ercan, 2009), the situations in which men might feel threat from women were consciously employed in this thesis. From another perspective, threat gives a foundation to male violence without a need for any other reason.

4.2. Demographics and Study Variables

The present study investigates possible reasons behind violence against women among a sample of men from different socioeconomic and educational status and ages. They are from different cities of Turkey most of which live in metropolitans and cities. Regarding the demographic characteristics of the current sample, some of their relationships with components of masculine ideology, threat and violence-favoring attitudes indicated meaningful results. According to Sancar (2009), low-educated and low socio-economic status men embrace traditional masculine codes as much as they practice violence as a way of re-masculinization. However, income level was not related to masculine ideology, nor to threat perception or to violence against women for this sample. Together with income, working status of men gave no clue about their attitudes, internalization of masculine ideology or their threat perception. This result is consistent with past research conducted in Turkey that income was not an effective determinant of attitudes towards violence (Ercan, 2009). However, income level and working status of men were assumed to be very important determinants of the way men position themselves in patriarchy and manifested to be vital for understanding male violence (Macmillan & Kruttschnick, 2005). It can be argued that many of the university students, as an important majority of this sample, indicated low income apart from their social class characteristics because they mostly live with the support of their parents. Hence, the relationship between socio-economic status, income level and violence was not demonstrated in the analysis.

In fact, there may also be rural - urban differences on the performance of manhood such that rural men may reproduce their manhood via physical power over women, whereas urban men may dominate women with more psychological controls

in the name of public reputation (Üstünel, 2010, p. 161). Some studies were specifically aimed to draw a picture of the relationship between socioeconomic status with power, violence and hegemonic masculinity (Üstünel, 2010; Sancar, 2009; Connell, 1995; Allan & Straus, 1980). These contradictory results suggest that the effect of demographics is not stable but it changes according to the specific sample. The main focus of this study was mainly to draw attention to the complex relationship between masculinity, threat and violence. Hence, the sample of the study may not give the whole picture about the relationship between employment status, masculinity and violence.

Education level was said to be an important determinant of beliefs about masculine ideology, threat and violence. As past research demonstrate, a low-educated man regards his power status in terms of codes of masculinity, and for that reason, his possibility of using violence against women at home increases (Messerschmidt, 1993). Consistent with these evaluations, education level is negatively related to antifemininity norm of masculinity, threat to their protector role and justifying violence against women. Therefore, the increase in the education level may decrease their negative attitudes and perceptions about violence and masculinity. Connell (1995) states that masculine identity is polarized as opposed to femininity in all spheres of life. However, in the context of this study, education level of the participants did not predict whether the norm of antifemininity is endorsed. Positioning themselves opposite to femininity and maintaining the power status by emphasizing dichotomous gender relations seem to be important regardless of education level of men. In that sense, neither men with post-university education nor men with primary education risk to accept being “feminine” in the eyes of others. It may suggest that the most resistant component of manhood may be antifemininity which, in fact, insidiously show how manhood is socially constructed against women.

Education level of men also affects the way how they perceive the situations about protecting women as representations of their honor. In fact, the results indicates that honor and protecting women as a possession of men carries a vital value especially for men with university education as compared to men with post-university education. To illustrate, men with university education tend to perceive

more threat to their protector role while men with post-university degree perceived less threat from honor related situations. Accordingly, as education level increases the importance attributed to protecting honor decreases and creates less threat. This leads to the conclusion that education might change the form of masculinity and the way they appreciate gender related situations. The same is also acceptable for justifying violence. Men with primary, secondary or high school degree justified the physical abuse of wives and blamed women more as compared to men with post-university degree. It could be argued that less-educated men do not harbor specific qualifications to bring him a societal respect compared to highly-educated men such as respectful job, money and power of the money. In that sense justifying violence towards “their” women may provide a status among the masculine identity which gives the right to use power to achieve a respectful status in the eyes of patriarchal society (Straus & Gelles, 1980; Connell, 1995; Nisbett & Cohen, 1996; Sancar, 2009). The resource deficiency experienced by the less educated men may result in more violence prone attitudes (Straus & Gelles, 1980). On the other hand, education may heighten the responsibility and awareness of equality as well as sensitivity to women’s victimization.

However, education level is not only limited with indicated education degrees such as having a university and post-university degree. But, men can change point of view apart from their educational status by being in contact with non-governmental or other types of organizations. These results may give a narrow picture about education level that the relation between education and violence should be examined cautiously and comprehensively.

4.3. Masculine Ideology and Threat Perception

Under the frame of psychology, ideology is referred as a combination of consistent attitudes and beliefs about different dimensions of a topic. In other words, attitudes harbor ideologies (Fiske, 2003). In that sense, attitudes regarding male role norms that reflect the traditional masculinity of the given culture can draw men’s ideology about masculinity.

Does every man perceive the same situations as threats? The results of this study suggest that he does not. Feeling threatened with respect to his manhood is

something related to the degree of internalization of masculine role norms. This indicates the existence of different masculinities. Accordingly, men who highly internalize and normalize masculine ideology and its norms felt high levels of threat from gender related situations. Endorsing masculine role norms can be seen as an integrated result of socialization of masculinities around hegemonic masculinity (Onur & Koyuncu, 2004). In that hegemonic masculinity promises a world in which men are the leaders, controllers and dominants. They enjoy the opportunities created by the patriarchal system and its institutions (Connell, 1995). Moreover, men are also positively appraised only because of their gender identity from their childhood to adulthood (Baumeister et al., 1996). Internalization of these ideals through homosocial spaces (Onur & Koyuncu, 2004), sexist education, plays and media (Miedzian, 1991) creates unawareness that a man has already endorsed and valued for these norms and shaped his life accordingly. Therefore, this study tries to show the predictive path from masculine ideology to perception of threat which is thought to be important to realize the existence of different masculinities.

Jakupcak and his colleagues (2002) emphasize the importance of concomitant relationship between masculine ideology and the anxiety of not being able to fulfill the requirements of male role. In their study, for example, the men who believed in the necessity of meeting all the requirements of masculine ideology displayed aggression and violence against their (woman) partners only if a man felt high stress due to the violation of their male roles. However, the reverse did not result in violent behaviors. In fact, low levels of gender role stress did not lead to violence towards women even if a man respects for the higher existence of masculine ideology. Thus, the existence of threat about a man's gender role is critical for demonstrating violence. Consistent with these findings, the results show that threat perception of men increased as their endorsement of masculine ideology also increased.

Masculine role norms or masculine ideology can be discussed under three titles in very general terms: status, antifemininity and toughness (Thomson & Pleck, 1986). These norms include several do's and don'ts for a man in terms of socially accepted thoughts and beliefs. The ideology of masculinity orders a man to earn high status over women, and so he should prove his competence to gain this status. Hegemonic masculinity idealizes this dominant status (Connell, 1995) and patriarchy

gives a chance to enjoy the status in social system (Johnson, 1995). Therefore, the right to have a higher status made the participants more open to threat perception. To give more specific results, dominance over women, protecting women as heroes, saying the last word, providing for women and family are the fields of manhood where men easily practice and earn the promised patriarchal power. Considering the tenuous structure of manhood (Vandello et al., 2008), believing in the right of having dominant status with these practices makes manhood sensitive to threat when their norms are challenged or violated by external situations.

It is noteworthy to say that antifemininity predicted the level of threat which was directed to previously defined layers of manhood. However, the threat perceived because of the subordination to women, the violation of their protector role and their tough image deserved the highest attention considering their conceptual relevance. As socialization of masculinities shows, male body, responsibility and relations gains respect when they are positioned opposite to femininity (Onur & Koyuncu, 2004; Bozok, 2011). Otherwise, hegemonic masculinity marginalizes a man with feminine characteristics (Connell, 1995). The threat evoked from the situations where male supremacy is challenged by women's status feminizes and subordinates men. As well as subordination to women, perceiving challenges to his protector role and his unemotional tough image was predicted by men's internalization of the antifemininity norm. Therefore, we may conclude that men define and position themselves as totally different from women and they insidiously disparage what is defined as feminine. On the other hand, antifemininity is a stronger predictor of perceived threat compared to norms about men's status. This implies that men seem to give greater value on being away from feminine over status in the construction of hegemonic masculinity. Moreover, differentiating himself strictly from women may already bring a social status over women by itself in patriarchal system.

4.4. Threatened Manhood, Masculine Ideology and Violence

Devoiding of the major resources of manhood create a need to prove him with another component of manhood and this is mostly violence because it is always easier to practice immediately on a weaker one (Bosson et al., 2009). According to Kimmell (1987), it is almost impossible for a man to meet all the requirements of

hegemonic masculinity. Violence, at this point, is seen as the easiest way to show masculinity when a man feels insufficient for hegemonic ideals of manhood. In that sense, perceiving some situations threatful for the unity of masculine identity gives a reasonable cause for favoring and perpetrating violence.

The main findings of this study reveal that men incline to favor violence as they perceive threat to different resources of their manhood. The men who felt high levels of threat to their supremacy over women and household accountability thought that physical violence against wives can be justified by blaming women. Moreover, they mostly believed in its functionality exerting a control over women. This finding is consistent with past research which shows that men legitimize violence against (woman) partners in the cases where a woman behaves out of men's control (Yigzaw et. Al., 2010; Haj-Yahia, 2000). In addition to this, hostile sexism is also an important predictor of violence-approving attitudes (Sakall-Uğurlu, 2001; Glick et. al, 2002).

The main hypothesis of the thesis is supported with this integrative result. At first, the regression analysis had indicated a pattern of suppression between protector role, decision maker authority, and breadwinner status dimensions of manhood threat when predicting attitudes towards violence against women and frequency of violent behaviors. Unexpectedly, the perception of high levels of threat to breadwinner status, as the most consistent predictor of attitudes and behaviors, predicted unfavorable attitudes towards violence. This contradicts the idea that any deficiency in the breadwinner status could result in compensatory violence in the family because they lose the most important source of hegemonic masculinity authorizing the patriarchal power (Messerschmidt, 1993; Kruttschnitt and Macmillan, 2005). It can be argued that this unexpected relationship between householder-related resources of manhood is rooted in the interlocked structure of gender dynamics. For example, breadwinner status brings the right to possess and govern the relationship with women as a result of their "domestic authority" (Messerschmidt, 1993). This enables the coexistence of decision maker authority, protector role and breadwinner status in a special authority at home. In this case of unexpected suppression, threats towards these three components of manhood appear to be related with each other so that they can be expressed by a single component: householder accountability.

Protecting women, being a decision maker and breadwinner require both material and moral responsibility of householder and it reflects their reputation in public patriarchy (Hearn, 1992).

It can be said that accountable-householders accept women as patriarchal possessions, which reshape their gender practices especially in familial relations. These kinds of practices in their private life opens the doors of masculine status in the society (Sirman, 1998) and the ones who cannot account for losing his authority holds the risk of being degraded by others. Others approval is so important that men from different honor cultures (Morocco and Turkey) strictly value the effect of culture, family or relatives and close friends in determining their concept of honor compared to women (Cihangir, 2013). This indicated the importance of public reputation for men which requires protecting the male honor.

From a different perspective, the segregation and reunion of some dimensions of manhood gave a chance to rethink and understand the precarious and interdependent components of manhood. Deconstructing the threat perception, the probability of not protecting their woman's honor in view of others might increase the concern about their manhood. Therefore, they see violence as an essential source of keeping their status in balance as indicated by past studies (Gharaibeh et al., 2012). Moreover, the motivation to protect family honor in the eyes of others makes men intend to use violence against who insulted them (Osch et al., 2013). Within the frame of this study, not being able to protect and masculine honor as a householder which intersect in the Turkish culture creates more threat and see violence as a normal reaction. However, women do not directly evoke a threat to householder accountability rather they were only "tools" of reclaiming male authority in the eyes of others. They saw violence against wives functional and legitimate as well as thinking that violence does not harm their intimate relationship with wives or girlfriends. These attitudes are highly related to their patriarchal right to use women as any househead can do.

On the other hand, the threat perceived because of subordination to women also contributed their positive attitudes about wife beating because women might be perceived as challengers to their dominance in different areas. For the dimension of householder, they did not perceive women's presence at home as challenge to their

dominant status as women follow their gender roles appropriately. However, they might be anxious about being outperformed by women in situations where women challenge their status, knowledge, education or income. This may be evaluated from the perspective of modernized gender relations. For example, the perception of male authority and subordination of women at home remain unchanged in spite of the fact that the representation of modern women in work, economic and social relations or education has increased (Sancar, 2012). Involvement of women to any field of social life due to the modernization of gender roles evokes a threat for a man who is used to be an ultimate leader both in private and public relations. From the perspective of social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), women's power over men may also induce a threat perception from out-group members. In turn, men protect their in-group (masculine) identity against threats coming from out-group members by espousing the accepted group behavior, which happens to be violence in this case.

Together with perceived threat, the role of masculine ideology on the attitudes towards violence also deserves attention. Compatible with previous findings, analysis showed that strong supporters of masculine ideology favored physical violence against wives. Similarly, men who credit patriarchy and live in highly patriarchal families were found to support family violence in Turkey (Sakallı-Uğurlu, 2001; Ulu, 2003). As masculine ideology reproduces patriarchal gender system (Kandiyoti, 1995; Connell, 1995), highly masculine men in this sample normalized the doctrine of patriarchal power in the form of physical violence against wives. Although their favorable attitudes towards violence were meaningful with both perception of high threat and strongly endorsed masculine ideology, feeling threat against their core sources of manhood seem more important in predicting attitudes. This reveals the precarious and performance-based position of manhood around hegemonic masculinity because these men are uneasy about losing their privileged status. Masculine ideology is vital for the perception of threat to masculine self so that it seems indispensable for its social construction. As a result, caring for the norms of masculinity creates tension in gender-role violating situations as revealed by these analyses. Within this direction, allowance of patriarchy to practice violence on women in threat situations creates an "illusion of control" by which men feel transient power satisfaction. This could be an illusion in the sense that practice

of violence on women does not give the real control within other masculinities but it is an effort to attain a place among other masculinities. But hegemonic masculinity holds the real patriarchal power over and above all masculinities as well as women (Connell, 1995). The violence, therefore, could only be a deception in the way of exercising power.

Besides the attitudes, the violent behaviors of men also predicted by perceived threat and masculine ideology among the sample of this study. However, perpetrating physical and psychological violence over women is not directly explained by masculine ideology and threat. Rather, the attitudes towards physical wife abuse mediated their role on violent behaviors. In other words, the strength of attitudes about necessity and innocence of male violence has an important role on whether they did or did not perpetrate physical and psychological violence against women. Attitudes, in this study, can be seen as the gatekeepers of violent behaviors because they reflect violence as a way of disciplining women. Accepting the normality of violence gives men a right to use it against their partners without hesitation when they need to reclaim their manhood. In this case, attitudes may ease moving from masculine ideology to violent actions as real life violence can be accounted as an expression of attitudes (Malamuth, 1986; Nayak et al., 2003). Similarly, the belief about woman's infidelity, submissiveness and male authority come out as basis for physical assaults and psychological violence against women in previous studies (Yigzaw et al., 2010). Right at this point, the effect of systematic violence on perpetrating violence may also be discussed. Systematic childhood violence doubles the risk of using violence because of internalization of patriarchal power at home (Gharaibeh et al., 2012; KSGM, 2009; Altınay & Arat, 2007). However, only 20 men from the current sample indicated that they experienced systematic violence in their family. This small number prevents us to make healthy comparisons and inferences. Actually, rare violence exposure in the sample might result from the reluctance to reveal bad experiences and victimization in self-report measures especially if we consider the manhood honor.

Violence is not the only response given to threat. Of course, there could be other ways to resolve this alarming situation in nonaggressive ways. However, if violence is the most salient way of saving the face in the given context, it becomes

the only viable option. This relationship is more understandable in the experimental context in which men given a gender-threat choose to act on aggressive task rather than non-aggressive puzzle task (Vandello et al., 2008). It is about finding a channel to relieve their anxiety and anger about losing status to attain an optimal social position. Looking at the dynamics of power relations between genders, physical and psychological violence against women can be assumed as the most available power indicators in the relationship where patriarchy authorizes men to dominate women. Any man can show his physical power over women regardless of their mental, economic or social power if he knows others support him. In the case of the current sample, men victimized their wives or girlfriends frequently in the past year depending upon their strong beliefs about masculine ideology and threatened manhood situations via attitudes. This result indicates that violence is not a momentary conflict resolution tactic rather it is a result of complicated relationship between masculinity, precariousness and women's inferior place in patriarchy. Considering the social inequality in patriarchal system, men's acceptance about women's inferiority and restraining them in familial relationships would help to preserve the hegemonic ideals. The ideas and beliefs, in this manner, feed the behaviors creating the consistency between them. By doing so, reflecting a hegemonic control on women will lead to an objectification of women as scapegoats when a man feels insecure about his manhood power.

Marriage or family institution, especially in Turkish society, bestow a total control on women with unwritten codes of breadwinning, protecting honor, ruling the family which are the basic ways of proving manhood. In Turkey, the most conserved institution of the society is family and its value is held above those of nation, religion or government (Yılmaz, 2012). It is easier to understand why women are subordinated when we look at their place in the family structure. The recent report of Yılmaz reveals the beliefs about women's place. Although people define ideal women as having equal rights with men in legal platforms, they still idealize a woman who is a proper wife and a mother without challenging her husband's honor. Therefore, the control over women is the only permanent area in the changing conditions of society to satisfy men's authority. In addition, it is not likely to change until men can position women out of family relations. This also indicates the

importance of familial control of men in the construction of patriarchal power within gender relations.

4.5. Importance and Implications of the Study

The results of this study obviously supported the notion of precarious manhood and its predictive path to violence. “Elusive” and “tenuous” structure of manhood makes it restless about losing hard-earned status and hold on violence to demonstrate his power (Bosson & Vandello, 2011). The culturally prescribed situations which leave their manhood into question created discomfort. This also explained their violent behaviors with the mediation of violence-favoring attitudes. As signified before, hegemonic masculinity is practiced only by a small number of privileged men who create other forms of masculinities. And the most of these masculinities try to reach the promised status by exerting their power on their partners in the form of violence (Gross-Green, 2009). This study serves as a step towards revealing how masculinities strive for hegemonic status, which mainly gives reasons for feeling a threat in gender-specific situations.

It is also important to note that others’ evaluations are vital to preserve achieved manhood since precariousness enables threat perception. Testimony of others in the public domain creates public patriarchy which is recycled by the implicit power of the institutions. Public and private domains intersect especially in the householder status. In fact, making decisions, providing for women and protecting them build the skeleton of their public standing among other. In turn, the power practiced in their private domains is fed by publicly standardized way of being a man in a cyclical pattern (Hearn, 1992). The degree to which a man can exert patriarchal power on private domains determines his level of masculinity, and this gives an existence to different masculinities. Violation of the basic resources on which they construct their masculinity blurs their social status. The endorsement of masculine ideology determines the internalization of patriarchal power while threat perception reflects their precarious situation. In that sense, the new scale developed to measure the threat perception of men can be helpful to identify their basic resources of precariousness as well as displaying the level of threat.

Masculinity and its reproduction with gender practices show a cyclical functioning in the patriarchal system. In this cycle, the presence of significant audiences creates discomfort about being condemned when a man does not fulfill basic requirements of masculinity. These audiences are mostly other men who have the power to give and take back the status of manhood and exclude them from their territory. Therefore, hegemonic masculinity which is produced in the name of public reputation keeps patriarchal structure alive. The systematized manhood practices within societal and governmental institutions make a net of patriarchy and entails male supremacy. Regarding the performative structure of masculinities (Butler, 1999), the current study gives dynamics about social construction of manhood contrary to biological definitions of gender. It also emphasizes the possible reasons for the fear of losing manhood.

Understanding the nature and dimensions of manhood may also help to construct prevention strategies accordingly. The prevention of violence is completely based on how the society positions the women's violent abuse. Although Turkey is a proponent of CEDAW¹ and builds new strategies of violence prevention, women continue to be abused by their husbands or relatives because of male honor by increasing visibility. Therefore, including men in prevention strategies may be a better solution to make a step. As the state continues to value women with their caregiver and housewife role, this patriarchal system will never end because the family guarantees the rights of male power on women. Therefore, this thesis tries to investigate this problem by giving details about male-dominated society and the role of manhood on the perpetration and perception of violence. As long as the society does not change its perspective and men do not begin to change the traditional ideology and integrate in the solution process, violence against women will continue to appear in third-page-news. Therefore, the current study can be helpful to realize several societal roots behind different patterns of violence rather than taking it as momentary burn-outs. In turn, it will be easier to find peaceful solutions and maximize our benefit in prevention strategies.

The study implicitly reveals the existence of different masculinities because there are many participants giving low value to masculine ideology as much as the

¹ The Convention to Eliminate all forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW)

strong supporters. Actually, there are plenty of men opposing the sanctions of hegemonic masculinity and patriarchy but their experiences are neglected in the mainstream culture (Sancar, 2009, p.264). This could be promising for the prevention of violence against women especially if the alternative ways of being a man proliferates in their homosocial relationships. Several groups of men are overwhelmed with masculinity since they have to fulfill the specific requirements in every stage of their life. However, there are groups of men who are organized around the idea that no one has to give proofs and waste their lives in the way of being an ideal man. For example, White Ribbon Company started in 1991 includes a group of men in Canada² opposing the patriarchy and its results and is expanded to several countries. It aims to include men and boys in the fight for violence against women by wearing white ribbons. Their motto is: “pledge to never commit, condone or remain silent about violence against women and girls.” These kinds of programs try to show the roots of violence hidden in masculine ideology. They also notice men that the best way of being a man is being an honorable human. Including men in awareness raising programs and educations, building relationships between political institutions, aiming to change sexist use of language in social life, education or media creates safer futures. It also teaches men that violence is not face-saving action. The education program about raising awareness about honor related violence was conducted in the Netherland under the frame of a scientific study (Cihangir, 2013). In this program, Turkish and Moroccan youths who were asked about the determinants and results of male honor show a positive change in their perception of male honor and honor related violence. As in these kinds of studies, providing systematic educational programs especially for young men who are more vulnerable because of their masculine identity construction would be promising for the future studies and violence-free masculinities.

White Ribbon Company was also initiated by Turkey in 2012. However, it doesn't seem to include men in prevention process but it is a kind of petition. Although the prevention programs in Turkey extend their capacity with regulations in legal, health and security areas (KSGM, 2012), men are still invisible in prevention programs. Nevertheless, there are some groups in Turkey fighting for

² For further information, visit <http://www.whiteribbon.ca/>

masculine ideology, and they compete against the burdensome and violent structure of masculinity³. It is crucial to realize that violent men do not define their actions as violent but define it as a normal response in the times of threat (Messerschmidt, 1993; Gross-Green, 2009). Therefore, showing the relationship of their masculine identity with violence to them can be beneficial to prevent their patriarchal violence (Berkowitz, 2004).

4.6. Limitations and Future Suggestions

There are also some limitations of this study as well. In the beginning of the study, collecting data via internet link instead of paper-pencil test is intended to reach different men as much as possible. This is important to construct a valid measurement tool of threat perception yet the sample is limited to those who use internet. Therefore, it may obstruct the generalization of the study results. It could be easy to generalize the study results if more representative sample from specific area was chosen (for example male METU students). Additionally, their threat perception was gathered with newly-developed scale which includes limited dimensions of manhood.

Another limitation of the study may be the comprehensiveness of the threat sources because there might be more than five dimensions of manhood which are open to threat. These could be homophobia, physical strength, sexual power or military duty. Talking with a woman during the interviews might have prevented them to talk about these issues since the scale was constructed based on these interviews. Nevertheless, this is also an indicator of the power dynamics between women and men in such a way that the scope of the conversation is limited as well.

The effect and function of behavioral measure of violence may also be criticized because it includes physical and psychological violence. Some may say that there could also be other representations of violence. Yet physical and psychological violence are the most salient forms of violence and are compatible with what is measured with the attitude scale. Besides, the specific violent actions under separated dimensions are the demonstrations of violence whatever reason the researcher wants to investigate with. As past research revealed, the definitions and

³ Rahatsız Erkekler” and “Biz Erkek Değiliz” are the leading groups against patriarchal sanctions of manhood and violence against women.

representations of male violence are almost the same for different cultures (Altnay & Arat, 2007; Yigzaw et al., 2010). On the other hand, social desirability might have directed the men to indicate less violent actions as the scale gets the frequency of the specific events from a group of men. However, the effect of social desirability can be diminished by using more comprehended research methods such as interviews and observations together with self report measure.

Although this study examined physical and psychological violence as an outcome variable, there are many other types of violence and oppression. As Johnson (1995) emphasized that men may not need obvious use of violence to oppress their partners so that the numbers and the facts are only the top of the iceberg. Therefore, future studies might focus on other combinations of male power aimed to exert patriarchal dominance over women. This contributes production of healthy prevention strategies by mapping detailed structure of manhood. To understand the reality of the violence, further studies may also ask the frequency of violence to the partners of those men whether they have been subjected to such violent actions to get the real picture.

Besides endorsement of masculine ideology and perception of threat, it should also be investigated that how men oppose the responsibility of manhood and on which points it makes their lives harder. The important thing is to make traditional men ask “why is using violence more important than my wife’s or girlfriend’s life?” and “why do I have to go military, pay an account, appear strong or work harder?” By doing so, the studies can meet with the field and increase the probability of including men in prevention strategies.

In the present study, the role of masculine ideology and threat perception on violence against women were investigated within the scope of precariousness of manhood. The importance of patriarchy and hegemonic masculinity on male violence cannot be ignored rather it was taken as basis of male violence in the current study. Especially in the literature of Social Psychology, threatened manhood has been studied in the form of experiential studies. Although these studies are very helpful for understanding situational factors threatening manhood in small groups, the present thesis can be helpful to consider violence in a more societal and social constructionist spectrum.

Conflicts and types of violence could be observed in many relationships between men and women. However, the most important question to be asked is how does a man attempt to beat or kill a woman recklessly? This thesis tried to answer this question by examining the possible motivations behind masculinity and its precarious nature around the notion of threat. By doing so, it also tried to show the nested structure of masculinities dependent upon patriarchy and hegemonic masculinity

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

THE QUESTIONNAIRE PACKAGE

BİLGİLENDİRİLMİŞ ONAY VE KATILIM FORMU

Bu çalışma, ODTÜ Psikoloji Bölümü öğretim üyelerinden Yrd. Doç. Dr. Banu Cingöz Ulu danışmanlığında yürütülen yüksek lisans tezi kapsamında, ODTÜ Sosyal Psikoloji yüksek lisans öğrencisi Beril Türkoğlu tarafından yürütülen bir çalışmadır. Araştırmanın amacı, günlük hayatta açığa çıkabilecek durum ve koşulların, bireysel farklılıklar dâhilinde kişileri ne ölçüde rahatsız edebileceğini görmek ve verilen durumların farklı bireyler tarafından nasıl algılandığını anlamaktır. Bu sebeple sizden istenen, hazırlanmış olan anketi doldurarak bu araştırmaya katılmanız, görüşlerinizi ve deneyimlerinizi iletmenizdir.

Anketi tek oturumda tamamlamanız, araştırmanın güvenilir ve geçerli olması açısından önem taşımaktadır. Burada vereceğiniz bilgiler ve görüşler tamamen gizli tutulacaktır. Vereceğiniz cevapların kimliğinizle ilişkilendirilmesine imkân yoktur çünkü sizden anket çerçevesinde isminiz veya kimliğinizi belirlemeye yönelik özel bilgiler alınmayacaktır. Sizin yanıtlarınız kendi başına değil, diğer katılımcılarinkiyle beraber, bir bütün olarak istatistiksel analizlere tabi tutulacaktır ve yalnızca bilimsel amaçlarla kullanılacaktır. Bu çalışmanın sonuçları bilimsel dergi veya toplantılarda sunulabilir.

Katılımınız gönüllülük esasına bağlıdır. Bu araştırmaya katılmanızla ilgili öngörülen herhangi bir risk bulunmamaktadır. Günlük hayatta yaşadıkları olayların yarattığı rahatsızlık ve stresten daha fazla strese ya da rahatsızlığa yol açacak bir unsur içermez. Buna rağmen, anketi uygularken sorulardan ya da herhangi başka bir sebepten dolayı kendinizi rahatsız hissederseniz cevaplama işini yarıda bırakabilirsiniz. Bu durumda doldurduğunuz anket çalışmaya dâhil edilmeyecektir.

Bu çalışmaya tamamen gönüllü olarak katılıyorum ve istediğim zaman yarıda kesip çıkabileceğimi biliyorum. Verdiğim bilgilerin bilimsel amaçlı yayımlarda kullanılmasını kabul ediyorum. (Formu doldurup imzaladıktan sonra uygulayıcıya geri veriniz).

İmza

Tarih

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DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

1. Cinsiyetiniz:
a) Erkek b) Kadın c) Diğer _____
2. Yaşınız: _____
3. Doğum yeriniz: _____
4. Yaşamınızın büyük bölümünü geçirdiğiniz yer:
a) Büyükşehir b) İl c) İlçe d) Semt e) Köy
5. Nasıl bir ailede büyüdünüz? :
a) Çekirdek aile b) Akraba yanı c) Kalabalık aile
6. Eğitim durumunuz:
a) İlkokul b) Ortaokul c) Lise d) Üniversite e) Y. lisans / Doktora
7. Şu anki ilişki durumunuzu belirten seçeneği işaretleyiniz.
a) Evliyim b) Evli değilim, bir ilişkim var c) Evli değilim, bir ilişkim yok
8. Ne kadar süredir berabersiniz? _____ yıl _____ ay
9. Çalışma durumunuzu en iyi belirten seçeneği işaretleyiniz:
a) Çalışıyorum
b) Çalışmıyorum, iş arıyorum
c) Öğrenci olduğum için çalışmıyorum
d) Çalışmıyorum ama iş aramıyorum
10. Kaç aydır düzenli bir işte çalışmıyorsunuz? _____ ay
11. Çalışıyor iseniz, aylık gelir durumunuz:
a) 0-999 TL b) 1000-1999 TL c) 2000-2999 TL d) 3000 TL ve üzeri
12. Babanız veya anneniz tarafından sistematik (sürekli) şiddete maruz bırakıldınız mı?
a) Evet b) Hayır

MALE ROLE NORMS SCALE

Aşağıda erkeklere dair özelliklerle ilgili bir takım ifadeler bulunmaktadır. Sizden aşağıdaki ifadelere ne ölçüde katılı, ne ölçüde katılmadığınızı belirtmeniz istenmektedir. Bu ifadelere katılım düzeyinizi belirtirken (1) *Kesinlikle katılmıyorum*, (2) *Katılmıyorum*, (3) *Kısmen Katılmıyorum*, (4) *Kararsızım*, (1) *Kısmen Katılıyorum*, (2) *Katılıyorum*, (3) *Tamamen Katılıyorum* seçeneklerine denk düşüğünü göz önünde bulundurarak size uygun seçeneği işaretleyiniz.

	Kesinlikle Katılmıyorum	Katılmıyorum	Kısmen Katılmıyorum	Kararsızım	Kısmen Katılıyorum	Katılıyorum	Tamamen Katılıyorum
1. Bir erkek kendi içinde tam olarak öyle hissetmese de, her zaman kendine güveni olan bir insan havası yansıtmaya çalışmalıdır	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. Genç bir erkek iri yarı olmasa bile güçlü bir fiziğe sahip olmaya çabalamalıdır diye düşünüyorum.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. Bir erkeğin kuaför ve iyi yemek pişirdiğini duyduğumda, onun ne kadar erkeksi olduğunu merak edebilirim.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. Bir erkek için 'İşler sertleştiğinde, sertlik işleri halledecektir' iyi bir slogan olacaktır.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. Bir erkek ailesi için elde edebildiği en yüksek gelirli işte çalışmak zorundadır.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. Bir erkek biraz acı hissettiğinde bunu dışarıya çok fazla belli etmemeye çalışmalıdır.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7. Bir erkek ayakları üzerinde durmalı ve hiçbir zaman başkalarına, ona işlerini yapmasına yardım etmeleri için bağımlı olmamalıdır.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8. Bir erkek kaçınmanın hiçbir yolu görünmese bile daima kavgaya girmeyi reddetmelidir.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9. Hobileri, yemek pişirmek, dikiş dikmek ve baleye gitmek olan bir erkek muhtemelen bana çekici gelmez.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10. Bir erkeğin yaşamının temel amacı işindeki başarısı olmalıdır.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

	Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Katılmıyorum	Kısmen Katılmıyorum	Kararsızım	Kısmen Katılıyorum	Katılıyorum	Tamamen Katılıyorum
11. Bir erkek sorunla karşılaştığında hiçbir zaman geri çekilmemelidir.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12. Bir erkek arkadaşım sinemada acıklı bir aşk sahnesine ağlarsa, bunu biraz aptalca ve utanç verici bulabilirim.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13. Bir erkek fırsat buldukça, daha fazla para kazanmak için fazla mesai yapmalıdır.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14. Kötü bir durumdan çıkmanın bazen tek yolu yumruklardır.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15. Kendinden tamimiyle emin olan bir erkekten her zaman hoşlanırım.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
16. Durumu gerçekten çok umutsuz değilse, bir erkeğe sekreter olarak bir işi kabul etmektense, iş aramaya devam etmesini tavsiye edebilirim.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
17. Gerçek bir erkek arada bir biraz tehlikeden hoşlanır.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
18. Bir erkek için her zaman onu tanıyan herkesin saygısını ve hayranlığımı kazanması son derece önemlidir.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
19. Bir erkek çocuğa yemek yapmayı, dikiş dikmeyi, evi temizlemeyi ve küçük çocuklara bakmayı öğretilmesinin son derece iyi olduğunu düşünüyorum.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
20. Bir adam karısı ve çocuklarından saygıyı daima hak eder.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
21. Bir erkek her zaman her şeyi soğukkanlılıkla ve mantıklı düşünmeli ve yaptığı her şey için akılcı nedenlere sahip olmalıdır.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
22. Bir erkeğin benim 'kadınısı' saydığım bir şeyi yapması beni rahatsız eder.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
23. Durmadan kendi korkuları, problemleri ve kaygılarından bahseden bir adama hiç kimse saygı duymaz.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
24. Bir erkeğin, genellikle bir kadına verilecek bir işi sahip olması biraz utanç vericidir.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
25. Bazı durumlarda bir erkek, karısı ya da kız arkadaşı karşı çıksa bile yumruklarını kullanmaya hazır olmalıdır.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
26. Genç bir adam için diğer insanların saygısını kazanmanın en iyi yolu, bir iş sahibi olmak, onu ciddiye almak ve iyi yapmaktır.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

PERCEIVED THREAT TO MANHOOD SCALE

Aşağıda yaşantınız boyunca kendinizi içinde bulabileceğiniz bazı durumlar sıralanmıştır. Bu durumlar tarafınızdan yaşanmış veya yaşanmamış olabilir. Lütfen belirtilen durumların size ne ölçüde rahatsızlık verebileceğini düşünüp, 1 den 7 ye kadar verilmiş ölçekte her bir madde için size uygun numarayı işaretleyiniz.

	Son derece rahatsız hissedirim	Biraz rahatsız hissedirim	Rahatsız hissetmem	Emin değilim	Rahatsız hissetmem	Biraz rahat hissedirim	Son derece rahat hissedirim
1. İssiz olmak	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. Esinizin/ sevgilinizin sözünüzü dinlememesi	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. Arkadaşlarınızın duygusal olarak dayanıksız olduğunuzu düşünmesi	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. Yanınızdaki kadına laf atılması	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. Başkalarının gücüne güvenerek hareket etmek	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. Esinizin/ sevgilinizin sizi terk ettiğini arkadaşlarınıza söylemek	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7. Esinizin/ sevgilinizin size saygı göstermemesi	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8. Esinizin/ sevgilinizin sizden daha iyi bir statüde çalışıyor olması	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9. Esinizin/ sevgilinizin tanımadığınız kişilerle beraber dışarıda olması	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14. Sevdiklerinize laf eden birisiyle kavgaya girememek	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11. Esinizin/ sevgilinizin sözünü dinlemek durumunda kalmak	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12. Çocuklarınızın ve esinizin ihtiyaçlarını karşılayamamak	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13. Esinizin/ sevgilinizin karar verirken size danışmaması	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

	Son derece rahatsız hissederim	Biraz rahatsız hissederim	Rahatsız hissetmem	Emin değilim	Rahatsız hissetmem	Biraz rahat hissederim	Son derece rahat hissederim
14. Çalıştığımız yerde yöneticinizin kadın olması	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15. Esinizin/sevgilinizin dışarıdayken çok sarhoş olması	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
16. Başkaları tarafından güçsüz algılanmak	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
17. Başkalarının yanında sevecen duygularınızı açıkça göstermek	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
18. Yakın çevrenizin işsiz oluşunuz hakkında konuşması	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
19. Esinizin/sevgilinizin aldığı kararlardan size bahsetmemesi	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
24. Esinizin/sevgilinizin yanında kavgada yenilmek	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
21. Bir erkeğe sarılmak	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
22. Esinizin/sevgilinizin, çalışmıyor oluşunuzu sıklıkla gündeme getirmesi	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
23. Esinizin/sevgilinizin sizi terk etmesi	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
24. Esinizin/sevgilinizin geç saatte yalnız başına dışarıda olması	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
25. Fiziksel olarak güçlü görünmemek	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
26. Bir erkeğe karşı sevginizi dile getirmek	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
27. Annenizden veya babanızdan para alıyor olmak	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
28. Esinizin/sevgilinizin verdiği kararlara uymaması	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
29. Esinizin/sevgilinizin sizden daha eğitilmiş olması	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
34. Esinizin/sevgilinizin eve geç saatte dönmesi	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
31. Erkeklerle kazanç konusunda mukayese edilmek	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

	Son derece rahatsız hissederim	Biraz rahatsız hissederim	Rahatsız hissetmem	Emin değilim	Rahatsız hissetmem	Biraz rahat hissederim	Son derece rahat hissederim
32. Esinize/sevgilinize sevginize karşı sevginizi açıkça ifade etmek	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
33. Siz çalışmıyorken esinizin çalışması	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
34. Esinizden ve çocuklarınızdan saygı görmemek	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
35. Esinizin/sevgilinizin size bağırması	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
36. Esinizin/sevgilinizin dikkat çekecek şekilde giyinmesi	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
37. Kendinizi tehlikelerden tek başına koruyacak güçte olmamak	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
38. Çocuklarınıza başkalarının yanında ilgi göstermek	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
39. Esinizin ailesinden maddi destek alıyor olmak	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
44. Sizden uzun biriyle beraber olmak	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
41. Esinizin/sevgilinizin kararlarınıza müdahale etmesi	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
42. Kavga edecek cesareti bulamamak	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
43. Esinizi/sevgilinizi tanımadığınız bir adamın eve bırakması	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
44. Bir konuda başarısız olunca yardım istemek	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
45. Evde yemekleri çoğunlukla sizin yapmanız	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
46. Esinizin/sevgilinizin maddi isteklerini karşılayamamak	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
47. Yakın çevrenizden bir kadının sizden daha zeki olduğunu göstermesi	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
48. Esinizin/sevgilinizin kararlarınıza saygı duymaması	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
49. Esinizin geliri yeterli olduğu için çalışmamak	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

	Son derece rahatsız hissederim	Biraz rahatsız hissederim	Rahatsız hissetmem	Emin değilim	Rahatsız hissetmem	Biraz rahat hissederim	Son derece rahat hissederim
54. Esinizin/sevgilinizin kararlarınıza başkalarının yanında karşı çıkması	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
51. İş yerinde, bir kadının sizden daha başarılı olması	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
52. Maddi imkânınız yeterli olduğu için çalışmamak	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
53. Esinizin/sevgilinizin tek başına karar alması	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
54. Hesabi esinizin/sevgilinizin ödemesi	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
55. Ailede kararları genellikle esinizin vermesi	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
56. Evliyken işsiz kalmak	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
57. Esinizin/sevgilinizin haber vermeden eğlenmeye gitmesi	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
58. Sizden daha başarılı biriyle beraber olmak	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
59. Çalışmıyorken evlenmiş olmak	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
64. Karşı cinsten birinin durumu kontrol altına almasına izin vermek	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
61. Başkalarının yanında esinize/sevgilinize fazla ilgi göstermek	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
62. Esinizden/sevgilinizden para alıyor olmak	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
63. Bir kadının zekânızı küçümsemesi	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
64. Esinizi/sevgilinizi kötü bir durumdan koruyamamak	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
65. Dikiş dikmek	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
66. Eve sizden sonra gelen esinize yemeği hazırlamak	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

	Son derece rahatsız hissederim	Biraz rahatsız hissederim	Rahatsız hissetmem	Emin değilim	Rahatsız hissetmem	Biraz rahat hissederim	Son derece rahat hissederim
67. Siz öğrenciyken esinizin çalışıyor olması	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
68. Oyunda bir kadına mağlup olmak	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
69. Bir erkeğin başkalarının yanında size yakın davranması	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
74. Başkalarının yanında kahkahalarla gülmek	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
71. Esinizin/sevgilinizin sizden fazla kazanıyor olması	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
72. Bir şeylerden korktuğunuzu dile getirmek durumunda kalmak	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
73. Kimse yokken ağlamak	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
74. Esinizin/sevgilinizin, tanımadığınız bir erkek arkadaşıyla sohbet etmesi	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
75. Düzenli bir kazancınızın olmaması	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
76. Esinizin/sevgilinizin başkalarının yanında size fazla ilgi göstermesi	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
77. Dayak yiyeceğinizi bildiğiniz bir tartışmadan uzaklaşmak	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
78. Ailenizi geçindirmek için esinizin de çalışmasına ihtiyaç duymak	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
79. Bir arkadaşınızdan daha az atletik olmak	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
84. Başkalarının yanında ağlamak	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
81. Esiniz çalışırken çocuklara bakmak	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
82. Ev işlerini çoğunlukla sizin yapmanız	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

ATTITUDES TOWARDS PHYSICAL WIFE ABUSE SCALE

Aşağıdaki ifadelere ne derecede katılıp katılmadığınızı 1 ten 7ye kadar verilmiş ölçekte her bir madde için size uygun numarayı daire içine alarak işaretleyiniz.	Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Katılmıyorum	Biraz katılmıyorum	Ne katılmıyorum ne katılmıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum
1. Kadına yönelik şiddet, derecesi çok değilse mazur görülebilir.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. Kadına uygulanan şiddet hiçbir sorunun çözümü olamaz.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. Kadını en iyi terbiye aracı dayaktır.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. Bir adam karısını dövüyorsa mutlaka bir sebebi vardır.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. Kadın, eğer kocası kendisine vurursa birlikte yaşamayı bırakmalıdır.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. Kadın-erkek arasındaki tartışmanın içine dayak girerse sevgi bağı yok olur.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7. Kadın kadınlığını bilirse, erkek şiddete başvurmaz.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8. Bir kadın hak ediyorsa dayak yemesinde bir sakınca görmem.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9. Erkeği şiddete kadın tahrik eder.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10. Kadına yönelik şiddet haklı gerekçesi olduğunda kabul edilebilir bir şeydir.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11. Erkek, eşine bazen fiziksel şiddet gösterebilmelidir.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12. Kadına şiddet uygulanmasını bir suç olarak görmüyorum.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13. Bazı durumlarda kadına karşı şiddet kullanmak gerekebilir.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14. Kadınların bazı davranışları şiddet görmelerini hak ettirir.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15. Gelenek ve göreneklerin sürmesi açısından, kadınlar kendilerine düşen görevleri yerine getirmediginde eşleri tarafından şiddetle cezalandırılmasında bir sakınca görmüyorum.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
16. Kadınlar dayak yediklerinden yakınirlarken buna sebep olan hatalarını hiç düşünmezler.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Aşağıdaki ifadelere ne derecede katılıp katılmadığınızı 1 den 7 ye kadar verilmiş ölçekte, her bir madde için size uygun numarayı daire içine alarak işaretleyiniz.	Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Katılmıyorum	Biraz katılmıyorum	Ne katılmıyorum ne katılmıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum
17. Aile içindeki tartışmalar sırasında kadına karşı şiddet uygulanmasını normal görüyorum.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
18. Eğer erkek, eşine şiddet uygularsa tutuklanmalıdır.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
19. Kadına uygulanan şiddet onun aynı hatayı yapmasını engelleyebilir.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
20. Kadın-erkek arasındaki ilişki, kadına uygulanan şiddet sebebiyle zarar gördüğünde bunun tamiri mümkün değildir.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
21. Bazı kadınlar insanı şiddete yönlendirir.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
22. Şiddete maruz kalmış bir kadınla karşılaşsam önce bunu hak edip hak etmediğini düşünürüm.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

CONFLICT TACTICS SCALE

Bir çiftin, ne kadar iyi geçinseler de karşıdaki kişiye sinirlendikleri, Karşı tarafın farkı şeyler istedikleri ya da sadece yorgun, moralleri bozuk olduğu için tartıştıkları, kavga ettikleri zamanlar olacaktır/olabilir. Çiftler farklılıklarından kaynaklanan bu tip durumları çeşitli şekillerde çözmeye çalışırlar. Aşağıdaki liste, aranızda farklılıklar olduğunda olabilecekler hakkındadır. Lütfen, geçtiğimiz yıl içerisinde listedekileri ne sıklıkta yaptığınızı işaretleyiniz. Eğer bunlardan birini geçtiğimiz yıl içinde yaşamadınız ama önceki yıllarda yaşadığınız 7'yi işaretleyiniz.

	1 Kez	2 Kez	3-5 Kez	6-10 Kez	11-20 Kez	20'den Fazla	Son Bir Yıldan Daha Önce	Hiç
1. Erkek/kız arkadaşşıma tokat attım.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
2. Tartışma sırasında odayı, evi ya da bulunduğumuz mekânı terk ettim.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
3. Erkek/kız arkadaşşıma ait herhangi bir eşyaya zarar verdim	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
4. Erkek/kız arkadaşşıma kötü bir sevgili olmakla suçladım.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
5. Erkek/kız arkadaşşıma karşı sesimi yükselttim, bağırdım.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
6. Erkek/kız arkadaşşıma zorla ahkoydum.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
7. Erkek/kız arkadaşşıma boğazımı sıktım.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
8. Erkek/kız arkadaşşıma arkadaşşıma şişko ya da çirkin diye çağırırım	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
9. Erkek/kız arkadaşşıma üzmem için bir şey yaptım.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
10. Erkek/kız arkadaşşıma dövdüm.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
11. Kavgamızın sonucunda vücudumda incinme, çürük ya da ufak kesikler oldu.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
12. Erkek/kız arkadaşşıma dövmek ya da bir eşya fırlatmakla tehdit ettim.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
13. Erkek/kız arkadaşşıma silah ya da bıçak çektim.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
14. Erkek/kız arkadaşşıma ittim ya da sarstım.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
15. Erkek/kız arkadaşşıma tekmeledim.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
16. Erkek/kız arkadaşşıma duvara vurdum, çarptım.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0

	1 Kez	2 Kez	3-5 Kez	6-10 Kez	11-20 Kez	20'den Fazla	Son Bir Yılda Daha Önce	Hiç
17. Erkek/kız arkadaşımın kavgamızdan dolayı bedenimde ertesi gün de devam eden fiziksel acı hissettim.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
18. Erkek/kız arkadaşımın kolunu burktum ya da saçını çektim.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
19. Erkek/kız arkadaşımın hakaret ya da küfür ettim.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
20. Erkek/kız arkadaşımın onu yaralayabilecek bir eşya fırlattım.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0

KATILIM SONRASI BİLGİLENDİRME FORMU

Daha önce de belirtildiği gibi bu çalışma ODTÜ ‘de Sosyal Psikoloji alanında yürütülen tez çalışmasının bir uygulamasıdır. Cevaplamış olduğunuz anketlerden ilki, toplumun erkekler için belirlemiş olduğu birtakım özellikleri ne kadar kabul edip etmediğinizi görmeyi amaçlamaktadır. İkinci ankette ise, bir erkeğin herhangi bir zamanda karşılaşılabileceği bazı durumlar verilmiş ve bu durumların bir erkeği ne kadar rahatsız edeceği görülmek istenmiştir. Son olarak üçüncü ankette ise, hemen her aile ilişkisinde rastlanan kadınlara uygulanan şiddeti sizlerin ne derece olumlu veya olumsuz yorumladığı görülmeye çalışılmıştır.

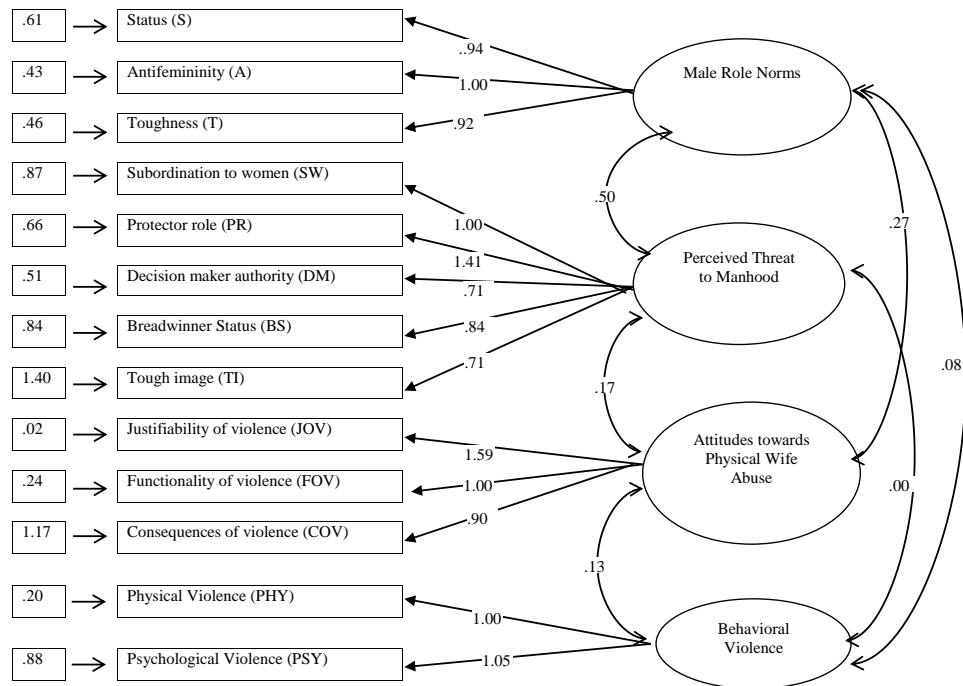
Verilen tüm cevaplar bir bütün olarak ele alınarak değerlendirilecektir. Bu cevaplara göre, toplumun belirlediği erkeklik özelliklerini kabul etmek durumunuz ve çeşitli durumlardan rahatsız olma durumunuza bakılarak kadınlara uygulanan şiddeti ne derecede olumlu veya olumsuz algılayacağınız tahmin edilmeye çalışılacaktır.

Bilgilendirilmiş onay formunda da belirtildiği gibi kişisel bilgileriniz alınmamıştır. Bu anket ile toplanan veri ve elde edilen bulgular, yalnızca çeşitli bilimsel araştırmalarda kullanılacak ve kesinlikle harici amaçlarla kullanılmayacaktır. Bu çalışmaya katıldığınız için şimdiden teşekkür ederim.

Çalışma hakkında daha fazla bilgi almak isterseniz, sorularınız ve fikirleriniz için Beril Türkoğlu (e-posta: e147859@metu.edu.tr) veya Psikoloji Bölümü öğretim üyelerinden Yrd. Doç. Dr. Banu Cingöz-Ulu (Tel: 312 2143134; E-posta: cingoz@metu.edu.tr) ile iletişime geçebilirsiniz.

APPENDIX B

Initial Measurement Model



APPENDIX C
TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

ENSTİTÜ

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Enformatik Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>

YAZARIN

Soyadı : Türkoğlu
Adı : Beril
Bölümü : Psikoloji

TEZİN ADI (İngilizce) : Violence as a Way of Reconstructing Manhood:
The Role of Threatened Manhood and Masculine Ideology on Violence
against Women

TEZİN TÜRÜ : Yüksek Lisans Doktora

1. Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.
2. Tezimin içindekiler sayfası, özet, indeks sayfalarından ve/veya bir bölümünden kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.
3. Tezimden bir (1) yıl süreyle fotokopi alınamaz.

TEZİN KÜTÜPHANEYE TESLİM TARİHİ: