VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN: THE DYNAMICS ASSOCIATED WITH TRADITIONAL GENDER ATTITUDES AND SOCIAL CAPITAL

By

MELINDA ROBERTS YORK

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

WASHINGTON STATE UNIVERSITY
Program in Criminal Justice

AUGUST 2009

To the Faculty of Washington State University:

The members of the Committee appointed to examine the dissertation of MELINDA ROBERTS YORK find it satisfactory and recommend that it be accepted.

_____
David C. Brody, Ph.D., Chair

_____
Nicholas P. Lovrich, Ph.D.

_____
Bryan Vila, Ph.D.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The completion of this dissertation is one of the most arduous tasks I have ever undertaken. There are several people worthy of praise that have contributed to the completion of this dissertation and the accomplishment of the Ph.D. degree, neither of which outcomes would have been possible on my own. Words can hardly express the gratitude I feel for these inspiring, generous, and brilliant people; nonetheless, I will make an attempt to convey my heartfelt appreciation.

First, I take this opportunity to express my profound respect for Dr. David Brody, who repeatedly and consistently helped me maintain proper perspective throughout my studies and dissertation project. He served as my mentor, advisor, and committee chairman throughout my graduate studies. He continually inspires me to work harder, be a more critical thinker, and advance in my research. Throughout the dissertation experience he has been incredibly receptive and insightful. I especially appreciate his willingness to go above and beyond the expectations of a professor to ensure the success of his students.

It is Dr. Nicholas Lovrich who introduced me to this project and aided with its implementation. He has excelled in the mentoring capacity and has always been accessible. It is his belief in me, the gift of necessary assistance, the use of his office as a workspace, and his plethora of creative ideas that have strongly contributed to the completion of this dissertation. I am extremely grateful for the guidance and education he has afforded me in the area of research evaluation, showing that the freedom and advantage of academe can aid in the formation of a better world.

I am pleased as well to thank Dr. Bryan Vila and Dr. Faith Lutze who have generously devoted their time and expertise while serving on several committees for me over the course of my graduate studies. I value the challenges they have provided me because their rigorous demands enhanced my scholarly abilities and strengthened my resolve. Their unique perspectives, sage advice and timely feedback have been invaluable in building the foundation of a career in teaching and research.

I must acknowledge all of my professors from both Washington State University and Maryville College for instilling in me a love for knowledge and honing my writing skills. Specifically, Dr. Danny Pierce deserves much praise in this regard. His encouragement and support gave me the confidence to pursue my graduate studies.

I would like to extend many thanks to library staff, colleagues, friends, and the Criminal Justice Program staff for making my study and research possible. Special thanks go to the Division of Governmental Studies and Services along with the Leigh Stowell and Company firm of Seattle for allowing the use of this dataset. Yu-Sheng "Linus" Lin graciously helped me with both the Stowell dataset and the National Incident-Based Reporting System dataset. His help not only saved me a good deal of time, but preserved my sanity as well. I would also like to thank my colleague Danielle Lively for assisting with the feasibility analysis aspect of my dissertation research.

I owe this accomplishment in part to my parents Cecile Roberts and the late Ray Roberts. They taught me the importance of hard work and perseverance. My mother has been incredibly patient and understanding while I have spent most of my time engrossed in study and research. I would also like to thank my sister Amanda Glaspy, my in-laws Sheron York, Barry York, and Megan York, and my nephews Dillon Glaspy and Dayton Barker for allowing me the time to focus on my graduate studies and the dissertation

while providing invaluable moral and emotional support. I cannot imagine going through the dissertation process without the encouragement and occasional distractions from my friends: Chandler Schmutzer, Stephanie Sullivan, Jacinta Gau, Jeremy Bissell, Crystal Hooker, and other unnamed yet essential allies.

Most importantly, I would like to thank my husband Skyler for inspiring me and being the voice of reason in my life. He continually pushes me to be better and helps me keep my priorities straight. It is his practical wisdom and dedication that held me together in the most stressful of times. His love and support has kept me afloat, and for that I will be eternally grateful.

VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN: THE DYNAMICS ASSOCIATED WITH TRADITIONAL GENDER ATTITUDES AND SOCIAL CAPITAL

Abstract

by Melinda Roberts York, Ph.D.
Washington State University
August 2009

Chair: David C. Brody

The current research explores the relationship between traditional gender attitudes, community-level social capital, and acts of violence against women. Very few studies have empirically addressed the relationship between gender (role) attitudes and sexual violence and/or domestic violence. Many theorists and researchers take for granted that there is a relationship between traditional attitudes and violence against women, notwithstanding the lack of empirical evidence. This dissertation seeks to answer the question of the extent to which traditional beliefs about gender or gender roles are associated with increased levels of sexual assault and/or domestic violence in cross-sectional comparisons on the county-level using psychographic data from the Leigh Stowell Archival Datasets and official records on violence perpetrated by men against women obtained from the National Incident-Based Reporting System. There is also an investigation of the extent to which social capital serves as a protective factor with respect to the safety of women in 27 counties.

Quantitative analyses revealed that the prevalence of traditional gender attitudes predicted rates of violence against women, specifically sexual assault and physical/domestic violence, while controlling for population density, a location in the South, and demographic and economic factors. Social capital serves as a mitigating factor in the effects of traditional gender role attitudes on violence against women in the form of sexual assaults and physical/domestic violence. In counties with less social capital and more traditional gender attitudes, there were more sexual and physical assaults inflicted upon the women by men.

The implications of this research are that an integrated theory using social capital and traditional gender role attitudes is appropriate for studying violence against women. Some counties within the United States feature strongly-held traditional beliefs in regard to gender roles, and these beliefs are associated with increased levels of violence against women. These findings confirm the theoretical literature on patriarchy and socialization into gender roles. Social capital may well mitigate these effects through the social mechanisms of localized and generalized trust and informal social control.

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This dissertation is dedicated to my mamaw Cecile and husband Skyler who provided encouragement, motivation, and faith.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

A great deal of research has linked traditional or deprecating gender attitudes to rape and other violent acts against women (Burt, 1980, 1991; Carr & VanDeusen, 2004; Check & Malamuth, 1983; Rosenthal, Heesacker, & Neimeyer, 1995; Glick et al., 2002). Men and women are socialized differently in most societies, and gender-differentiated socialization is a longstanding tradition in the United States. Males, in most American cultural settings, are taught to be competitive, aggressive and dominant in regard to females, and this socialization may lead to hyper-masculinity. When there is a pervasive general belief that males should be dominant and women should be subservient, it has been argued that an adversarial environment which is supportive of rape, sexual assault and violence against women is created (Burt, 1980).

Despite the societal changes occasioned by the women's movement and the accomplishment of various feminist objectives, traditional gender attitudes which are demeaning to women persist to a considerable degree. For instance, in the mid-1990s Boxley, Lawrance, and Gruchow (1995) surveyed 211 eighth graders and found that boys held more traditional gender attitudes than girls. Overall, boys tended to believe that they were superior to females in a variety of different settings, and girls tended to believe that they were equal to the boys. It seems that the women's movement may have influenced young women much more than young men with respect to attitudes on gender equity.

Additionally, more recently Toller, Suter, and Trautman (2004) surveyed 301 college students and found support for their hypothesis that men with hyper-masculine traits have "negative attitudes toward feminism, negative attitudes toward nontraditional

gender roles, and unwillingness to consider oneself a feminist." Interestingly, hyper-femininity was also associated with these undesirable characteristics. Similarly, in the early 1990s Ray and Gold (1996) surveyed 56 couples and found that hypermasculinity and hyperfemininity significantly contributed to the initiation and the maintenance of abusive relationships. Most social scientists agree that domestic violence is highly correlated with stressful gender relations in which males persistently try to maintain their masculine authority. More specifically, men often resort to the use of physical violence against their physically weaker female partners to reinforce the patriarchal power of the household or to force the females in question to behave according to their expected gender roles (Adler, 2003).

Violence against women can become manifest in a variety of ways including physical, emotional and psychological assaults, homicide, and sexual assaults. Sanday (1981) found that rape is prevalent in societies that are patriarchal or male-dominated in which a distinct separation of the sexes is present and where women's social roles are devalued. This researcher also reported evidence of a correlation between the prevalence of interpersonal violence and rape as well.

This chapter discusses the historical and sociological background of traditional gender attitudes, and sets forth the societal origins of the cultural construct of gender. The context, purpose and importance of the study presented here will be explained. Explanations of key terms are presented in this chapter, along with the principal research questions to be investigated. The importance to both theory development and public policy formation are established, and the limitations of the study are listed as well. Finally, the organization of the dissertation is outlined.

GENDER AS A CULTURAL CONSTRUCT

Gender constructs determine the types of roles that people must fill in their daily lives domestically, economically, politically, socially and religiously. Leibowitz (1983) asserts that gender constructs originated through the economic division of labor among men and women. When examining the practices of nonhuman primates and traditional foraging societies, Leibowitz found that gender is not highly differentiated because group production processes are largely undetermined and unorganized. In other more sophisticated forms of societies, the work performed by men and women is typically complimentary to provide for the basic necessities of the group (Bonvillian, 2007).

Traditionally, due to the reproductive/nurturing roles of women, they took on the role of primary caretakers of the children and often stayed "at home" (shelter-bound) because of the safety issues of traveling with children and because of their nursing responsibilities. This biologically-driven set of circumstances helped shape the division of labor in that, since women were home most of the time, they became responsible for most of the household duties -- including meal preparation, cleaning duties and the care of other sick or elderly household members. Men developed complimentary roles. In hunting and gathering societies, men would travel to hunt animals to feed the family while the women would gather food items close to home such as fruits, nuts, berries and edible plants (Bonvillian, 2007).

In present-day society it is clear that currently no such economic need exists for gender-differentiated labor, and Bonvillian (2007) argues that given this fact it is something other than economic reasons that account for the persistence of divisions of labor based on gender. These divisions can be used to socially organize households in

such a way that men and women enjoy equal status, or these divisions can provide a disproportionate amount of power for certain family members.

Capitalism

Capitalism shapes American society in ways that lead to the development of the awarding of white male privilege. With the advent of the industrial revolution, the work women did at home was marginalized and devalued because it did not involve an exchange of money. Competition for resources instead of collaboration became a powerful social norm. Women became mainly responsible for housework, the care of children, and possibly working in poorly paid jobs while the role of men was to become the respected ‚breadwinner' for the family unit (Belknap, 2001; Lorber, 2001). Capitalism produced oppressive consequences for women in that they were treated as inferior in status even though they supported capitalism through the provision of free labor and the consumption of goods (Johnson, 1997). Currently, minorities and women are still disproportionately present in less desirable and low paid jobs. Although women and minorities are clearly better off today than they were in the past, both financially and in terms of formal legal rights, *economic inequality* vis-à-vis gender and race remains prevalent in the United States (Walker, Spohn & DeLone, 1996).

Anderson and Collins (2004) claim that sexism also serves to maintain capitalism because of the fact that women will take the less desirable jobs needed in the economy and they can be pushed in and out of the workforce based on the needs of the economic cycle of boom and bust. Also, their low wages ensure low wages for others lacking in social status (e.g., immigrants, the disabled). It is mainly white men that have the high salaries, steady work, and upward mobility in U.S. society. Many minorities and women

work for low wages with few if any benefits, have unstable jobs, and have relatively little opportunity for advancement (Walker, Spohn, & DeLone, 1996). In the U.S., the top earning 10% of the population take in 40% of the nation's total income, while the lower 40% of earners take in only 1% of the nation's total personal income.

CONTEXT

This research is framed within the prevailing patriarchal perspective. The U.S. is a male-dominated society in which influence, power and prestige are unequally distributed. With regard to patriarchy, there are two distinct types -- namely, the direct type and the structural type. The direct type is best explained by the power, authority and/or social standing given to males and, as a result, they use that power in ways that contribute to the subordination of women. Physical or sexual violence is often a result of this type of patriarchy (Holter, 1984).

The second type of patriarchy also contributes to violence against women, but in a more subtle way. Structural patriarchy refers to a social setting wherein there is clearly a subordinated group of people, but no single person or group can be identified as being engaged in intentionally subordinating the particular subordinated group (Holter, 1984; Stark & Flitcraft, 1996). When derogatory gender role attitudes[1] are present in a society, females are considered to be members of an inferior group, a belief which can lead to instances of direct patriarchy, and when violence against women materializes it is seen as less important than when inter-male violence occurs (Stark & Flitcraft, 1996).

Johnson (1997) examines the theory of patriarchy in his book *The Gender Knot*. He discusses in considerable detail and with deep insight the roles of privilege and

[1] This is also referred to as traditional gender roles or attitudes in a majority of the literature.

discrimination in American society. Privilege describes how benefits are received for personal traits such as being male, white, heterosexual, wealthy, and/or educated while discrimination is the loss of benefits because one does not possess the previously described characteristics. According to Johnson, patriarchy reflects a social, religious, legal and political climate that values male dominance and male-led hierarchy in social arrangements (Belknap, 2001; Kilmartin, 2000). The privilege granted by patriarchy is attached to social categories, not to individuals. Privilege is about socially constructed categories in which a person either falls in a favored category or does not. In other words, characteristics of minority status, female gender, and homosexual orientation make it less likely that an individual's talents and abilities will be recognized and fairly rewarded. It must be made clear, of course, that the traits of race, social and economic class, and gender are often interactive (multiplicative) rather than merely additive with respect to consequences for one's quality of life (Anderson & Collins, 2004).

The U.S. is often labeled by scholars as a strongly patriarchal society, one which is male-dominated, male-centered, and which constitutes a male-identified social system (Johnson, 1997; Johnson, 2000; Anderson & Collins, 2004; Barak, Flavin, & Leighton, 2001; Merlo & Pollock, 1995; Messerschmidt, 1997; Muraskin, 2007; Sheldon, 2001). This patriarchal system is based on disproportionate male power, control, and domination permeating virtually all aspects of society. Positions of power tend to be dominated by white, heterosexual men. Women's work is either often devalued or entirely invisible. In this way, the dominant group benefits by exploiting and subordinating other subordinate groups.

People in the U.S. are not necessarily taught to support this concept of male white privilege, but behavior deferring to this privilege is expected throughout the many social

institutions making up American society (Anderson & Collins, 2004). To highlight this point, one can look at women's limited involvement in American politics over the years. In 2005, there were only 14 female U.S. Senators (14%) representing 11 states, and there were only 62 Congresswomen (14%) representing 28 states. Also, since 1789 it is the case that only 2% of the members of the U.S. Congress have been women (Center for American Women and Politics, 2006).

The groups that have the most access to and control over resources and influence over institutions through which reality is shaped -- including education, media, religion and politics -- will see their views and interests reflected in the results. In a patriarchal society, women are generally portrayed as sexual objects, as being of lesser importance than men, and only useful in the sense of what they can do for men; in the worst case scenario they are viewed as permissible targets for violence. Patriarchy produces gender inequality in marriages, in the family setting, in income, in work assignments and pay, in religion, in the economy, and in politics. For example, it has been demonstrated that women often receive lower pay and fewer opportunities for advancement in employment than similarly-situated men (Johnson, 1997; Johnson, 2001; Messerschmidt, 1993; Lorber, 2001; Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997; Scully; 1990; Sheldon, 2001).

Traditional Gender Attitudes

People have certain expectations based on "traditional sex roles" or "cultural stereotypes." Most men behave according to those roles and expect women to behave accordingly as well. When there is a disjunction between the expected and actual behaviors of women, some men resort to physical violence (Stark & Flitcraft, 1996). As stated earlier, there seems to be a general consensus in the available research literature

that negative attitudes and derogatory beliefs about gender roles lead to increased levels of violence against women even though there have been few empirical studies documenting this relationship (Jewkes, 2002; Reitzel-Jaffe & Wolfe, 2001; Ray & Gold, 1996; Adler, 2003; Haj-Yahia, 2002; Tang, 2003; Glick et al., 2002).

Social Capital

Social capital was first brought into contemporary mainstream American social science by Robert Putnam with the release of his widely read book *Bowling Alone* (2000). Putnam (1993; 1995) and Coleman (1990) view social capital as a feature of social organizations that makes collective action possible to bring about mutual benefit among self-interested and rational actors. Social capital can also be viewed as an important characteristic of a community, reflecting how a community is organized with respect to social cohesion and networking. It is embedded in the relationships between and among the members of the community, and in the groups of which they are a part. The fundamental element of social capital is *interpersonal trust*. Trust allows for a system of reciprocity of assistance and easy social exchange of information, making support and knowledge available to a wide cross-section of community members.

Social Capital and Violent Crime. Putnam (2000) argues that a lack of social trust and civic engagement leads to social decline, particularly in the areas of violent behavior, poor school performance, and poor public health and well-being on the part of individual citizens. Violent crime encompasses of the types of crime examined in this study -- namely, rape, sexual assault, and intimate partner violence. Many authors believe, along with Putnam, that social capital is related to violent crime rates in an inverse way; however, due to the cross-sectional nature of most studies in this area,

causality and the direction of influence is not clearly known (Galea, Karpati & Kennedy, 2002; Kennedy, Kawachi, Prothrow-Stith, Lochner, & Gupta, 1998; Sampson, Raudenbush, & Earls, 1997; Sampson & Wilson, 1995; Kawachi, 1999; Morgenstern, 1995). For instance, does the decline in social capital lead to the higher incidence of violent crime, or is it that higher rates of violent crime dissipate the social capital of a local community?

Traditional Gender Attitudes and Social Capital

Social capital is included in this study because of its close ties to social norms, and it is social norms concerning gender role attitudes that are being evaluated. Coleman (1988) argues that "social capital is defined by its function. It is not a single entity but a variety of different entities, with two elements in common: they all consist of some aspect of social structures, and they facilitate certain actions of actors -- whether persons or corporate actors -- within the structure." Through the function of social capital, social norms are embedded in the social structure of communities and are manifested in the actions of community members. They are not necessarily followed by individuals in a conscious way, but they are so deeply ingrained within a community that community members are compelled to adhere to them. For example, if a community's norm is for only men to be involved in politics, then it follows that women will rarely become politicians in that particular community.

In defining the term social capital as he understands it, Putnam (2000) asserts that the social norms of trustworthiness and reciprocity derive from the character of social connections existing among individuals in a given community. Muntaner and Lynch (2002) argue that class, race and gender relations should be considered along with social

capital research, especially when looking at community trust and reciprocity variables. Otherwise, researchers run the risk of limiting their framework to only the social cohesion dimensions to the exclusion of social stratification and conflict dimensions. Putnam (2000) and other scholars agree that there is evidence that economic inequality diminishes social trust at both the individual and the aggregate levels (Putnam, 1993; Kawachi, Kennedy, & Pothrow-Smith, 1997; Campbell & Jovchelovitch, 2000). Furthermore, there are clear economic inequalities between men and women in the U.S., and these inequities contribute to and originate in traditional and deprecating gender role attitudes with respect to women (Belknap, 2001; Lorber, 2001; Johnson, 1997).

Haavind (1984) addresses the psychological results women develop when they are subjected to a patriarchal culture or relationship in her theory of patriarchy. Females may feel burdened because they realize they have limited decision-making capabilities and their positions are fixed. Also, females in patriarchal cultures can also become conscious of the fact that they cannot freely pursue their personal interests. Finally, among other things, females may recognize that they cannot raise their children as they would like, and they may realize that most of their activities are subject to male approval (husband, boyfriend, father, etc.) (Haavind, 1984). These issues relating to self-esteem also may affect social capital. These feelings may reflect an overall lack of institutional and social trust, which many students of social capital phenomena argue are necessary components for social capital (Putnam, 2000).

THREE CORE RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. In general, are traditional beliefs about gender roles associated with increased levels of violence against women?

2. How does social capital interact with traditional gender role attitudes? Specifically, is the effect of traditional gender role attitudes on violence against women mitigated or enhanced by social capital factors?
3. Are men's traditional gender attitudes more predictive of violence against women in cross-sectional comparisons than differences in women's traditional gender attitudes?

PURPOSE OF THE RESEARCH

In recent decades there has been an increase in the number of women in politics and in other positions of power and societal prestige. The purpose of the research set forth here is to determine whether or not patriarchy is still influential as it relates to the relationship between traditional gender attitudes and the incidence of violence against women. In other words, is the theory of traditional gender role conflict outdated? Many researchers and academics still embrace this theory despite the fact that few studies in the United States or elsewhere have provided empirical support for the theory with a generalizable sample. Furthermore, the current literature available for review in this area seems to be limited in scope.

LIMITATIONS IN THE CURRENT LITERATURE

Fortunately, several journal articles and research studies have been identified addressing the relationship between gender attitudes and sexual violence and/or domestic violence. Many of the studies have very limited generalizability due to small sample sizes or due to type of sample used. For instance, many of the studies utilized convenience samples or sampled only college students (Nayak et al., 2003; Kristansen &

Giuletti, 1990; Boxley, Lawrance, & Gruchow, 1995; Reitzel-Jaffe & Wolfe, 2001; Toller, Suter, & Trautman, 2004). Many of the studies have been conducted outside of the United States, hence limiting their utility for understanding this phenomenon here. Additionally, no studies concerning gender role attitudes and sexual assault or domestic violence can be found in any of the major criminal justice journals. Most of the literature available in this area is found in *Social Justice, Sex Roles, Journal of Sex Research, Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, and *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*.

An example of generalizability problems can be seen in the Kalichman et al. (2005) study. This study examined the effect of sexual assault history and rape myth acceptance on the risk of developing HIV infection. The study was limited to a single town in South Africa. Since gender attitudes and sexual violence were both independent variables, no predictive relationship between the two could be made. Another study by Nayak et al. (2003) examined attitudes toward violence against women by sampling undergraduate students in India, Japan, Kuwait and the United States. Overall, the study may have limited generalizability due to the use of convenience sampling. In addition, Shiu-Thornton, Senturia, and Sullivan (2005) examined cultural orientations and domestic violence experiences among Vietnamese refugee women. The women stated that changing gender roles affected their abuse, but once again generalizability is not satisfied due to the qualitative nature of the study and its small sample size.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RESEARCH

Despite the limitations associated with the existing research on gender role attitudes and sexual violence and domestic violence, a strong *prima facie* argument exists that the unequal position of women in society is likely a major cause of intimate partner

violence and, more generally, violence against women (Jewkes, 2002; Reitzel-Jaffe & Wolfe, 2001; Ray & Gold, 1996; Adler, 2003; Haj-Yahia, 2002; Tang, 2003; Glick et al., 2002). This research seeks to fill in some of the gaps noted in the previous literature in several ways. First, the sample size is quite large[2] and study subjects were obtained through random selection, both aspects of the research which increase the generalizabilty of results reported.

Second, since most of the studies on this topic have been carried out in a variety of countries outside of the U.S., this study will contribute to the literature by focusing on traditional gender attitudes and violence against women taking place in U.S. counties. Third, since there are rarely studies of this kind in the criminological literature, it will add to the overall understanding of violence against women in the field of criminal justice. Finally, this study includes social capital, a variable never before considered in conjunction with traditional gender attitudes.

ORGANIZATION OF THE DISSERTATION

The literature review presented in Chapters 2 and 3 will be much more extensive than what is presented in brief in Chapter 1. First, Chapter 2 will include a discussion of patriarchy and how it sets the context for the entire study. Next, there will be an in-depth review of all the research literature on traditional gender attitudes and linkage to violence against women. In Chapter 3 there will be a review of literature on social capital, specifically as it relates to social trust and the incidence of violence. Finally, there will be a review of the empirical literature available related to the possible buffering effects of social capital on violence against women.

[2] There are 27 feasible counties featuring over 1,000 cases per county on average.

Chapter 4 will discuss the data sources and research methods used in the dissertation. There will be an explanation of how the archival attitudinal data were collected, how they are analyzed and how the measures derived from these data are verified. This chapter will detail the survey questions used and explain why they were selected and how they are related to the relevant research literature. This chapter will also provide a detailed discussion of the utility and the limitations of the crime data used from the National Incident-Based Reporting System [NIBRS]. Finally, the types of statistical analyses employed in the study will be set forth in appropriate detail.

Chapter 5 will present the research findings of the study as related to the four core research questions addressed. 1) In general, are traditional beliefs about gender roles associated with increased levels of sexual assault and/or domestic violence nationwide? 2) How does social capital interact with traditional gender role attitudes? Specifically, is the effect of traditional gender role attitudes on violence against women mitigated or enhanced by social capital factors? 3) Are men's traditional gender attitudes more predictive of sexual assault and/or physical violence in cross-sectional comparisons than women's traditional gender attitudes? Will men's traditional gender attitudes predict violence against women while women's untraditional gender attitudes predict violence against women?

The final chapter will include a summary of the study and a listing of its principal findings. Based on these findings, major conclusions will be drawn and a discussion will be offered on public policy implications. Finally, suggestions for future research will be made.

CHAPTER TWO

THE INFLUENCE OF PATRIARCHY AND TRADITIONAL GENDER ROLE ATTITUDES ON VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

It is important to examine the social context of the research being done for this dissertation before delving into the more specific areas of gender attitudes, the social capital concept, and violence against women. The concept of *patriarchy* sets the overall framework for this research, especially since much of the literature on traditional gender attitudes specifically addresses or incorporates patriarchy into the development of ideas and framing of research regarding this topic. Once the concept of patriarchy is explained in sufficient detail, the literature linking traditional gender attitudes and violence against women is presented.

PATRIARCHY

Some very strong arguments have been made in the research literature that the social, legal, economic, religious and political climate of the United States clearly values male dominance in most social settings and supports male-centered hierarchy in most social institutions (Freeman, 1995). These systems and institutions intermingle in multiple ways, causing gender-based inequality in a systemic (deep-seated and pervasive) way. This is not to say that people are consciously taught male privilege, but such gender-based privilege becomes something that is expected with little question by most people. Goldrick-Jones (2002) defines the term patriarchy as "any practices and systems that oppress, control or dominate women," (p. 5) and Eisenstein (1980) observes that patriarchy is best defined as "a sexual system of power in which the male possesses

superior power and economic privilege" (p. 16). Feminist scholars have sought to expose, document, critique, and bring an end to this type of domination, focusing specifically in the area of violence against women in their work (Anderson & Collins, 2004; Belknap, 2001).

Patriarchal societies are not only male-dominated, but they are male-identified, male-centered, and tend to cause the oppression of women by devaluing the work they do or treating them as though they are "invisible" (not worthy of due notice and reward) (Johnson, 1997; Johnson, 2000; Anderson & Collins, 2004; Barak, Flavin, & Leighton, 2001; Merlo & Pollock, 1995; Messerschmidt, 1997; Muraskin, 2007; Sheldon, 2001; Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997). As the term is used here, oppression is meant to convey a social phenomenon by which men dominate over and receive benefits from the ongoing exploitation and/or subordination of women (Johnson, 1997). This oppression can be achieved either overtly or inadvertently. For instance, a woman may be passed over for a promotion simply because she is a woman, or the same outcome of being passed over may be the result of a male superior preferring to train and mentor someone more like himself. Not all women will suffer the same degree of oppression in a patriarchal society because they may be the beneficiaries of a privileged race and/or social class. In Johnson's (1997) widely read book entitled *Gender Knot*, the knot reference in the title is representative of the concept of patriarchy. Johnson explains this connection by arguing that patriarchy is not reinforced by a mere collection of malevolent individuals, but rather it is deeply rooted and inherent within the institutions making up the social system.

The literature on masculinity explains that masculine and feminine social constructs are particular patterned behavioral aspects of social roles which are deeply embedded in a patriarchy. In such a society girls are socialized to be submissive, docile,

and place a high value on emotions and relationships. Boys, in contrast, are socialized to value thinking and performance while being aggressive (versus timid), dominating (versus submissive), competitive (versus cooperative), and avoiding virtually all things feminine. Those boys that exhibit feminine traits receive negative consequences in the form of disapproval and/or punishment, consequences which may force them into the reaction of *hypermasculinity* (Kilmartin, 2000). The trait of hypermasculinity is associated with the denial of emotions, homophobia, an intensified rejection of all things feminine, and the desire for exercising power over others (Haywood & Mac an Ghaill, 2003).

Patriarchy's Role in Violence Against Women

It is important to recognize the key role that patriarchy plays in creating a climate conducive to the perpetration of violence against women. In a societal structure permeated with patriarchy, violence directed against the least powerful people in society is not only permissible, but it is to a considerable degree encouraged and normalized as a way of preserving "traditions" and protecting an established culture (Kandel-Englander, 1992). Dutton (1994) is correct in noting, however, that the occurrence of domestic violence cannot be explained by any "single-bullet" theory such as that of patriarchy because the maintenance of patriarchy is not the sole motivation for the use of violence against women in a society. LaViolette and Barnette (2000) correctly note that not all men in the U.S. employ violence against women, and there are certainly some women who employ violence against men. For these reasons it cannot be claimed that patriarchy is the cause of violence against women; however, patriarchy is used to set the context of this study because it is frequently cited in the research literature as the fundamental

reason for male aggressiveness and inclination to resort to physical force and a significant predictor of various forms of violence perpetrated against women (Anderson & Collins, 2004; Belknap, 2001; Johnson, 1997; Johnson, 2000; Kilmartin, 2000; Barak, Flavin, & Leighton, 2001; Merlo & Pollock, 1995; Messerschmidt, 1997; Muraskin, 2007; Sheldon, 2001).

Sex role socialization in American society largely dictates that men are expected to be the breadwinners in a typical household and women's work is typically to be viewed as supplemental to that of the breadwinner. In recent decades information technology has transformed service sector work leading to a pronounced increase in women's employment, although such work tends to be done for low wages, involves insecure work, and is often carried out under poor working conditions. Manual work is considered masculine, but it tends to pay low wages (Haywood & Mac an Ghaill, 2003). Crime becomes a way for men to "do gender" when they do not have the resources to accomplish masculinity, either because they are in poorly paid jobs or have no job at all. Some of these economically marginalized males will engage in intimate partner violence, resort to violence in high stress situations, perpetrate rape, engage in pimping, exhibit sexual harassment, or commit robbery in order to accomplish the goals reflecting their masculine role (Messerschmidt, 1993).

In addition to the ubiquitous influence of the patriarchal society of the U.S., there is also *familial patriarchy* which refers to the power held by men in domestic or household settings. According to Schwartz & DeKeseredy (1997), familial patriarchy includes dating relationships as well as cohabitating couples and traditional family units featuring a husband, wife and one or more children. They also explain the term *courtship patriarchy* in which men use their power in dating relationships to decide when and

where sex will take place. This can also be *quid pro quo* in that men provide services or money by taking the female to dinner or fixing their car for them and expect sex to be given in return. When women do not meet these expectations, some men feel a sense of entitlement and become physically aggressive with the females in question. Kanin (1967) provides evidence that men often develop a "vocabulary of adjustment" that justifies sexual aggressiveness with females by labeling them a „tease' or characterizing them as being „loose' in character. For the purposes of this research, patriarchy will be used in a comprehensive sense as it relates to the structural system of the U.S. and encompassing its ubiquitous effect on interpersonal relationships.

TRADITIONAL GENDER ATTITUDES

Beyond the contextual and structural factors influencing violence toward women, the social and cultural acceptance of traditional gender roles plays an important role in the prediction of violence toward women. Gender roles are "normative behaviors and attitudes which are expected from individuals, based on their biological sex, and which are often learned through the socialization process" (Ben-David & Schneider, 2005, p. 386). The research done in this area strongly suggests that hostile attitudes toward women are strongly correlated with traditional gender or sex role attitudes in regard to the distinctive roles prescribed for men and women in the family, in the workplace, and in the area of commonplace social behaviors (Bookwala, Frieze, Smith, & Ryan, 1992; Hilton, Harris, & Rice, 2003; Marciniak, 1998; Walker, Rowe, & Quinsey, 1993). The position of women in a society rests upon the social arrangement of the sexes, and this arrangement is held in place by socializing members of society in regard to norms, expectations and behaviors (Martin, 1995).

Socialization of Traditional Gender Roles

At birth, people are placed into a sex category of male or female and then socialized to act in accordance with the socially prescribed attributes of this label. Parents generally give their children gender-specific toys and games, tend to decorate their room according to gender, and tend to dress them according to gender scripts as well (Lips, 1995). Furthermore, there is empirical evidence that parental behavior is adjusted either subconsciously or consciously depending on the gender of the child, and such behavior adjustment typically reinforces society's gender role expectations of the child (Block, 1984; Frankel & Rollins, 1983). There are few if any inherent traits present at birth that cause women to be passive, to be dependent, to be relationship-oriented, and to be physically and emotionally weak. In fact, females are generally trained to exhibit and internalize these traits through socialization. When young women demonstrate these feminine traits they are nearly always socially rewarded, and they are nearly always penalized when they act outside of these role designations. In the same way, males are taught to be strong, dominant, independent, aggressive, initiators of sexual interactions, and taught as well to reject feminine traits (Martin, 1995).

Social interactions from childhood on will feature the insistence of "doing gender," a term which means responding to a wide variety of different situations and inter-personal interactions with the expected gender role behavior (West & Zimmerman, 1989). Men and women are held to their gender expectations and are continuously evaluated according to them. Both school peers and teachers are an integral part of socialization as well. They tend to ostracize those students acting outside the bounds of their gender roles, and issue acceptance to those who comply with these expectations. School peers can be especially cruel to those students who do not adhere to gender

expectations. Most youth want very badly to "fit in" and to "be liked" by peers, so they are inclined to conform strictly to the expected gender norms.

Once young children reach adolescence, however, gender role socialization more narrowly addresses gendered understandings of vocation, sexuality, and family (Lips, 1995). Men are expected to be the initiators of sexual activity, and it is socially acceptable for males to engage in a variety of sexual activities and to talk about sex openly. Women, in stark contrast, are taught to be protectors of their virginity and to deny sexual advances. Women are socialized to want a "family" consisting of a husband and one or more children. They are encouraged to be the primary caretaker of the family, emotionally and through domestic activities, even if their employment status outside of the home imposes upon those responsibilities. Men maintain the primary role of „breadwinner' by providing for the monetary needs of the family. In this way, women's work is considered secondary to the work performed by the man and the male maintains a position of power over all family members (Steil, 1995).

The system of maintaining gender role adherence starts early on in life and carries on throughout adulthood. For instance, women who initiate sexual interactions are called "whores," and those who are aggressive in business are called "bitches" (Brescoll & Moss-Racusin, 2007). Similarly, men displaying feminine qualities are taunted with words characterized by female names, female body parts, or other words descriptive of femininity, vulnerability and weakness (Lutze, 2003), or they are accused of homosexuality. These types of social reprimands not only give men social power in general, at school, and at the workplace, but they also confer sexual power as well by allowing men as a social group to control the intimate relationships that become established between men and women (Martin, 1995).

Moreover, there are noteworthy differentiations in patterns of socialization within American society. For instance, research in this area clearly shows that working class families are more restrictive of women's behavior and more likely to enforce strong gender stereotypes than are middle class families (McBroom, 1981; Rubin, 1976). Also, due to the diverse racial and ethnic composition of the United States, there are substantial differences in socialization patterns across American racial and ethnic subpopulations. Hispanics tend to emphasize feminine subservience and the importance of the domestic role during the socialization process (Garcia, 1991). In contrast, while African Americans too practice substantive gender differentiation in their youth socialization process, gender role differentiation is not nearly as strict as tends to occur in the socialization practices of either Caucasians or Hispanics (Dugger, 1991).

Traditional Gender Attitudes and Violence against Women

People who adhere to traditional gender role expectations are more likely to blame female victims of violence more than male perpetrators. This is especially true in cases of date rape (Willis,1992) and domestic violence (Esqueda & Harrison, 2005). Perpetrators of violence toward women, with certain perceptions of women based on the aforementioned gender role stereotypes, may be supported in their actions to varying degrees, a fact which serves to reinforce those attitudes and behaviors. Traditionalist police officers may not make arrests in domestic violence situations where the victim does not adhere to traditional gender roles and perpetrators may receive shorter jail or prison sentences due to the traditionalist ideas of a judge or jurors (Willis, Hallinan, & Melby, 1996). It seems to follow that in areas with strong traditionalist ideals, there will be more violence against women because of the level of social acceptance present in

those communities. The violence against women crimes of physical/domestic violence and sexual assault featured in the NIBRS will be studied as they relate to the presence of traditional gender role attitudes within a group of American counties.

Homicide. The Bureau of Justice Statistics reported that 33% of women who were homicide victims in recent years were an intimate partner of a male suspect. Between the years of 1976 and 1995, 34% of female homicide victims were intimate partners while only 6% of male homicide victims were likewise an intimate partner (Puzone, Saltzman, Kresnow, Thompson & Mercy, 2000). In 2000, intimate partners killed 1,247 women (Rennison, 2003; Cole, 2004). It is not surprising that women are more often than men the victim of homicide since they hold less power, command less money, and have lower status in society. However, it is important to note that, in general, in the United States and in other countries men's risks of homicide have always been much greater than that of females (Gartner, Baker & Pampel, 1990).

Fortunately, there has been a decline in intimate partner homicide over the last two decades, and this favorable trend can be attributed to several likely factors. Dugan, Nagin and Rosenfeld (1999) collected data from 29 U.S. cities and found that the decline was likely a result of shifts in marriage, divorce and other declining domesticity factors, women's improved economic status, and the great increase in domestic violence services present across the country. Nagin and Rosenfeld speculate that this observation lends partial support to Russell's (1975) „backlash' theory. This theory holds that men will respond violently to a loss in status or power in their relationships with women. It appears this happens at first, but this reaction declines as men either become accustomed or reserved to the new shifts in power toward gender equity. Whaley and Messner (2002)

also found mixed support for the „backlash' theory in their study of homicide in 191 large U.S. cities. The extent of gender equality present was significantly and positively associated with female (and other male) murders committed by males *only in Southern cities* when controlling for structural predictors.

In most cases female homicides are not an isolated event. The homicide usually follows upon many instances of physical, sexual and/or verbal abuse (Edwards, 1987). Female homicide victims come from all races, classes, ages, and geographical areas. Several studies have examined the risk factors that lead to the murder of an intimate partner. However, no predictive model has been developed that completely accounts for this phenomenon. Most studies focus on gender inequality, but they do not include measures of traditional gender attitudes – even though the theoretical literature strongly supports this link.

Titterington (2006) studied 217 central U.S. cities over the period 1989-1991 to examine the link between gender inequality and female homicide victimization. Gender inequality was operationalized as divorce rates, socioeconomic inequality, legislative, political and extra-legal inequality. Using structural equation modeling, Titterington found a strong positive connection between divorce and homicide rates and between socioeconomic inequality and female homicide levels. Furthermore, when laws are less favorable to women there are also higher numbers of female homicides. Avakame (1998) also found economic deprivation, social disorganization, the proportion of people in metropolitan areas, the presence of a culture that accepts violence, a location in the South, and gender inequality as contributing conditions for the occurrence of domestic homicide.

Much of the gender inequality and homicide research available for review focuses on economic and status measures rather than gender role attitudes. DeWees and Parker (2003) examined American cities with populations over 100,000 and found that socioeconomic status and political inequality contributed to homicide victimization for both males and females. Specifically, gender inequality in education was most predictive of female homicide victimizations. More recently, Vieraitis, Kovandzic, & Britto (2008) used 2000 census data and crime data to determine whether gender inequality was related to female homicide victimization. Gender inequality was measured by level of formal education, occupation, employment, and income. They found a significant correlation between a woman's status and homicide victimization, but this variable was only conclusive for intimate partners.

The aforementioned studies confirm that gender inequality is present and represents an important aspect of American society, as predicted by the patriarchal analytical framework used in this research. They also show that it affects the incidence of female homicide victimization. However, the literature review presented here indicates as well that there are no studies looking directly at gender attitudes and how they relate to the incidence of the homicide of women in the United States.

Domestic Violence and Physical Assaults. In the United States, it has been estimated that 22% of women have been the victims of domestic violence at some point in their lifetime (Johnson & Hotton, 2003). Some people criticize the victims of intimate partner violence for not leaving the abusive relationships in which they are involved. However wise this advice might be in the abstract, LaViolette and Barnett (2000) identified several valid reasons for why women often do not leave violent relationships.

First, women are socialized to believe that their role in the family is to please their partner and to be a "good wife," which can mean being "supportive," "forgiving," and "self-sacrificing." Battered women may view their partner's violence as a failure in their relationship, and many women blame themselves for that failure. Also, many loving parents use physical discipline on their children when they misbehave, so women sometimes grow up thinking that love and physical force are generally synonymous. Many women are deeply committed to making their relationship work. The idea of being committed to one's partner is generally reinforced by society (i.e., family, friends, song lyrics, literature, religion and media).

Second, the cycle of violence often leads battered women to think that their partners will change, or that they are truly repentant for their acts. The abuse generally starts with minor incidences of violence, which lead in time to a major violent incidence. However, it is the honeymoon phase and fear that keeps a battered woman in the relationship because, in this part of the cycle the batterer will usually cry, apologize, buy gifts, promise to change, or tell the victim he is going to or is seeking help from some type of counselor (LaViolette & Barnett, 2000; Websdale, 1999). Many battered women become disillusioned through "learned hopefulness" in that they truly believe their partner will change. Either because of counseling or believing their partners' promises to change, these women often stay with their abuser because of the belief that the violence will stop in due course if they persist in being patient and forgiving.

Third, the approach-avoidance conflict situation is sometimes in evidence. On the one hand, many of the victim's emotional and economic needs are being met and she/he wants to approach the love that is hopeful, but on the other hand she/he wants to avoid the violent episodes and abuse. Other reasons for staying with abusive partners include:

legal bonds, does not want to hurt their partner, fear of being alone, fear of retaliation and/or fear of not finding anyone better, believing that she can change her partner, believing she/he can make the relationship better, does not want to be a quitter, needs to protect the children or parents, and/or religious convictions (Barnett & LaViolette, 2000; Websdale, 1999). Finally, when these women leave the relationship or move out, in many cases they are actually putting themselves at a higher risk of becoming a victim of intimate partner homicide (Campbell Webster, Koziol-McLain, & Block, 2003; Wilson and Daly, 1992; Glass, Koziol-McLain, Campbell, & Block, 2004).

Despite the reasons for victims' staying, there are many people, mostly men, who blame the victims for their own victimization. Garimella, Plichta, Houseman and Garzon (2000) surveyed 76 physicians working in a large general hospital about their attitudes toward victims of domestic violence. Although 97% of physicians said it was part of their job to help domestic violence victims, 30% held victim-blaming attitudes. Overall, 55% of the physicians believed that the women's "personalities" caused the beatings, and 34% believed the women must like something about the relationship or they would leave. Women, younger physicians, those working in obstetrics-gynecology, and those with fewer years of experience in the field were less likely to engage in victim-blaming.

Ulbrich and Huber (1979) sought to determine the effects on children's gender role attitudes when parental violence was observed. They employed a telephone survey to obtain a random sample from the U.S. consisting of 1,092 women and 910 men. They asked questions about the observation of violence in the home as a child, attitudes about women's employment and motherly roles, and attitudes regarding the use of violence against women. Domestic violence in the home as a child did not show a significant relationship with traditional gender role attitudes. Interestingly, a father hitting the

mother in the home was significantly correlated with victim-blaming by males in cases of rape. Overall, the researchers found that of all the child witnesses of domestic violence, men were more approving of violence against women while women were more disapproving, findings which were similar to those of Garimella, Plichta, Houseman, and Garzon (2000) and Locke and Richman (1999). Despite these findings and the expression of support for the patriarchal theory in the literature, a strong correlation between traditional gender role attitudes and domestic or physical violence against women in the U.S. has not been substantiated in the extant research literature.

Sexual Assault. Sexual victimization is likely to occur in societies with a patriarchal orientation because of the institutionalized inequality between men and women that is present in values, attitudes and behaviors (Johnson, 1997; Kilmartin, 2000; Russell, 1975; Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997). The research literature indicates that most rapes are not purely sexual in nature, but rather they are more often crimes of power as opposed to crimes of desire (Brownmiller, 1975). The structural factors associated with patriarchy provide the reasons why men tend to choose women as recipients of their unwanted sexual behaviors and how society tends to uncritically accept these forms of violence against women (Franklin, 2008). Women are especially at a disadvantage when it comes to sexual assaults because of their diminished status in society, the aspect of socialization into traditional gender roles that require women to accept men's violence against them, and the natural physical strength of males relative to females.

Societies which emphasize male dominance, provide for the strict separation of the sexes, take a permissive stance on interpersonal violence involving physical force applied against women, and deprecation of women's social roles generally witness high

levels of sexual victimization. The research clearly shows a strong connection between adherence to traditional gender roles and engaging in sexual assault at the individual level (Johnson, Kuck, & Schander, 1997; Kopper, 1996; Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994; Shotland & Goodstein, 1983). Underlying reasons for the occurrence of this relationship include the existence of the broader cultural context of patriarchy (Johnson, 1997; Kilmartin, 2000) and the socialization of individuals into variegated gender roles featuring dominant and subordinant statuses (Bridges, 1991; Burt, 1980; Check & Malamuth, 1983; Koss, Goodman, Browne, Fitzgerald, Keita, & Russo, 1994; Simonson & Subich, 1999). In this regard, Burt (1980) found that in her study of rape in the U.S. the acceptance of "rape myths" was predictive of adherence to sex role stereotypes and the holding of permissive attitudes toward interpersonal violence. Rape myths refer to the justification or minimization of the raping of women with a plethora of rationalizations. For example, when considering an alleged rape some people will express the commonly held views that „women often say no to sex when they mean yes' or „she led him on' or „the way she dresses invites that kind of response from men'.

In a more recent study of similar design involving 212 sixteen-year-olds, traditional sex role attitudes were found to predict strongly decreased perceptions of seriousness in sexual or physical victimization scenarios (Hilton, Harris, Rice, 2003). Self-reported perpetrators also rated the scenarios as less serious than non-perpetrators. Generally, males had more traditional sex role attitudes than females, and men rated the scenarios as less serious than did the females as well. In another study carried out along these lines, Check & Malamuth (1983) found that men with strict traditional gender role attitudes experienced stronger sexual arousal when presented with rape scenarios than men without such attitudes. Much of the empirical research would seem to agree that

sexually aggressive males are more likely to embrace traditional gender roles than their non-sexually aggressive counterparts (Lackie & de Man, 1997; Loh, Gidycz, Lobo, & Luthra, 2005; Muehlenhard & Linton, 1987; Sigelman, Berry, & Wiles, 1984; Truman, Tokar, & Fischer, 1996). These findings, in turn, are consistent with the literature on hypermasculinity (Check & Malamuth, 1985; Koss et al., 1985; Sanday, 1981).

Men with traditional gender role attitudes report higher rates of past sexual aggression than those holding egalitarian or sex-neutral attitudes, and some studies suggest they are also more likely to engage in sexual offenses in the future as well (Check & Malamuth, 1983; Malamuth, Sockloskie, Koss, & Tanaka, 1991; Mosher & Anderson, 1986). Empirical research also tends to indicate that men holding traditional gender role attitudes are predisposed to engage in victim-blaming, especially in cases of acquaintance or date rape, and to subscribe to rape myths (Anderson & Lyons, 2005; Bell, Kuriloff, & Lottes, 1994: Bridges, 1991; Kopper, 1996; Simonson & Subich, 1999; Whatley, 2005). There appears to be strong support for the link between traditional gender role acceptance and sexual aggression, both in theory and in the empirical research done on individuals.

SUMMARY

Men who cling to traditional conceptions of gender roles and masculinity learn norms and mores through socialization within a patriarchal culture implying that the exercising of power and control over women constitute the normal state of affairs. Strict adherence to traditional gender roles leads to the belief that violence against women is acceptable, in part because women are of inferior social status to men. Physical assaults, some of which may lead to homicides, and sexual aggression are clearly the most violent and extreme expressions of violence against women. Those males possessing rigid

gender role expectations, hypermasculinity traits, social support for violence against women, and/or fixation upon power and control issues that are most likely to commit these severe acts (Haywood & Mac an Ghaill, 2003; Kandel-Englander, 1992; Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997). In order to resolve the inconsistencies in methodology, sample size and composition, and location of studies, the current research is especially important to validate the theory and assess its generalizability. Moreover, it is important to note that most of these studies involve the study of individuals, and the study to be undertaken here entails cross-sectional comparisons on the county-level. In the testing of theories relating to the suspected connection between attitudes and behavior, sound social science theories which have "leverage" apply at multiple levels of aggregation – at the level of individuals, counties, states and nations. The following chapter continues the literature review with a discussion of the literature on social capital, another area of research where the leverage of a key concept applicable at multiple levels of social aggregation comes into prominent play.

CHAPTER THREE

SOCIAL CAPITAL LITERATURE REVIEW

INTRODUCTION

Since the patriarchal context of the study has been presented and the literature on traditional gender roles has been reviewed, social capital will now be addressed as it relates to social trust and violence against women. Theory suggests that social capital's relationship with violence against women is the direct opposite of the relationship between traditional gender roles and violence against women. Whereas traditional gender roles tend to be predictive of violence against women, social capital should serve to decrease the incidence of violence within a community. Social capital theory argues that communities with higher levels of social capital and trust will have lower rates of violent crimes against persons because citizens are more likely to be involved in the civic life of the community, to have close ties with many other persons, and experience more personal loss should they act outside the bounds of shared community norms.

The concept of social capital is widely accepted in the fields of political science, criminal justice, sociology, urban and regional planning, public health, and more recently economics. Depending on the field, social capital has been given different meanings in the research literature. Robert Putnam (1993) introduced this concept as a feature of an entire community. "Social capital refers to social networks, norms of reciprocity, mutual assistance, and trustworthiness" (Putnam & Feldstein, 2003, p.2) "that facilitate action and cooperation for mutual benefit" (Putnam, 1993, p.35). Community-level social capital is formed by the development of lasting relationships between and among local community members and can result in collective action beneficial to the community.

Social capital not only involves reciprocity among favor-trading community members, but it also entails the development of shared „values and understandings' (Arneil, 2006). This community-level civic capacity understanding of social capital is the type of social capital definition employed in this study; this conceptualization of the term is quite different from that of James Coleman's (1988).

Coleman (1990) distinguishes between three different types of capital: physical, human, and social. He theorizes that social capital is "created when the relations among persons change in ways that facilitate action" and the resulting social capital resource is "embodied in the relations among persons" (p. 304). Human capital is based on personal qualities such as knowledge or skills, and physical capital is based on material objects such as money, land, tools or technology. Coleman's social capital concept is based primarily on benefits for individuals derived from relationships with others while Putnam's (1993) social capital construct is viewed as a property of collectivities; as such, the Putnam construct is more appropriate for use in aggregate level studies such as the one conducted for this dissertation.

Social capital is indicative of the shared experience of community members (Putnam, 1993, 1995, 2000). The quality of life within a local community is largely dependent on having trust in others. This trust allows for social network formation and collective action among community members to formulate social and political demands and enforce social values (Fukuyama, 1995; Coleman, 1988).

Despite the plethora of theoretical and empirical literature explaining or validating the importance and benefits of social capital, social capital may be developed in such a way that the outcomes are harmful (Portes & Landolt, 1996). This is often referred to as the „dark side' of social capital (Gargiulo & Bernassi, 1999; Gargiulo & Bernassi, 1997;

Putzel, 1997). For instance, Coleman (1990) and Portes (1998) warn that not all members of a community may be awarded the benefits accorded to the majority or other community members due to discrimination based on gender, race and ethnicity, sexual orientation, disability, income, criminal history, etc. There are many examples of this occurrence in U.S. history: for example, the physical segregation of African Americans and Caucasians in many areas of daily life, the treatment of women as property and the denial of certain freedoms, and the restrictions on homosexuals entering certain types of occupations such as Boy Scout leaders and teachers are all too familiar to Americans.

The concern that community-level social capital comprised of interpersonal ties and social trust may produce negative outcomes such as oppressive control over certain community members has not received extensive scholarly attention. In a recent study, Brody and Lovrich (2002) examined state-level social capital and the granting of defendants' rights beyond the U.S. Supreme Court mandates to investigate the dark side of social capital. In states with higher levels of social capital, there were decreases in constitutional protections of defendants supporting the dark side of social capital. It is deduced that communities with strong civic participation and voting behaviors exert influential political clout in regard to the punishment of offenders in their community. Brody and Lovrich state "we must not overlook the sad fact that communities of exclusion and homogeneity are much easier to build than are inclusive, accepting, forgiving, and socially heterogeneous communities" (p. 127-128).

Social support theory has recently received attention by criminological theorists and it is quite similar to the social capital theories proposed by James Coleman and Robert Putnam. This theory combines various criminological theories to explain socially deviant acts. The theory is as follows; where individuals have a strong social support

system, crime and delinquency will be greatly diminished. Social support can be attained from a variety of sources and manifested in many ways such as through social networks, interpersonal relations, civic activities, government or non-profit social programs or benefits, or from the criminal justice system by way of offender reintegration, therapeutic jurisprudence or restorative justice (Cullen, 1994; Colvin, Cullen, & Ven, 2002; Pratt & Godsey, 2002). This theory illuminates the connection between social capital and crime. Despite the theoretical direction, areas with high levels of social capital will have less crime whether or not it is because the high levels of social capital prevent and deter crime or because high rates of crime have deteriorated the social capital of an area.

One of Putnam's (2000) principal arguments in *Bowling Alone* is that in the United States social capital has been in decline since the 1960's, as evidenced by declining citizen participation in voting, less loyal church attendance, and less participation in civic activities. Putnam argues that this decline in active participation in group activities and voluntary associations has been instrumental in the deterioration of interpersonal trust among America's citizens. For the specific purposes of this research, the social trust aspect of social capital will be the primary focus of attention. According to Putnam (2000), a weakening in social trust likely leads to a weakening of feelings of remorse resulting from either inconsiderate or vengeful actions toward others, and this in turn leads to a breakdown in society leading to increased rates of crime (p. 288-289, 296).

The crime rate in America has been declining in recent years. Pino (2001) suggests this might be due to police efforts concentrated on rebuilding community trust between community members and the police. Many cities have substantially progressed in the practice of community or problem-oriented policing where members of the police force work collaboratively with community members to develop social networks, combat

community problems, and build a safe and trusting community. These practices go a long way in developing a reciprocal trust relationship where citizens trust the police to treat them with respect and control crime in their area while the police trust the citizens to be allies in preventing and detecting crime (Skogan & Hartnett, 1997).

Social Trust

The fundamental element of social capital is *interpersonal trust*. Trust allows for a system of reciprocity and social exchange of knowledge making support and information available to community members. The empirical literature on social capital considered as a community-level trait most commonly measures the level of social capital by using some type of social trust variables. A community's level of social trust reflects the degree to which people in that community trust their fellow community members to "do their fair share" and display proper respect for the rights and interests of others; when it exists in abundance it allows members of a community to work together toward achieving shared goals or interests. This type of cooperation brings about a growing confidence that other people can be relied upon to undertake and fulfill their respective obligations to the community (Rosenfield, Messner, & Baumer, 2001; Hearn, 1999; Fukuyama, 1995). It is important to note that trust may be limited in its social and geographic scope. An indiviudal may possess social trust in the context of their local community, but not in the residents of their state or country.

Fukuyama (1995) asserts that generalized trust causes ‚spontaneous sociability', and as such it represents the most valuable form of social capital. Civic or ‚thin' trust, in other words, is the extent to which members of a community trust the ‚generalized' other (Arneil, 2006). There is a critical difference between ‚thick trust' and ‚thin trust' that

must be noted. „Thick trust' refers to the trust among people who know each other or have interacted at some point. Most social capital researchers test what is called social, civic or „thin' trust.

When many community members are self-centered, social trust will be lacking (Hall, 1997). If many people are acting in their own self-interest to the detriment of others, they will not be considered trustworthy by other community members. These same untrustworthy citizens themselves will not trust others, and in the process their mistrust will be reciprocated (Hardin, 2002). Based on this line of reasoning, Halpern (2001) argues that there is likely to be a link between morality and social capital. Putnam (2000) argues that a weakening in social trust leads to the fraying of the social fabric that sustains a community's quality of life.

The amount of social trust one displays can be affected by one's position in society. In separate studies Hall (1997) and Patterson (1999) both found that men exhibit more social trust than women, a finding which could be associated with the inferior status of women in a patriarchal society. In his longitudinal study, Patterson (1999) found even greater disparities in trust between African Americans and Caucasians in the U.S. African Americans were significantly less likely to express social trust than whites. The history of the *de jure* and *de facto* oppression of African Americans in the U.S. makes this finding unsurprising. Along similar lines, Uslaner (2002) argues that income inequality tends to reduce optimism which, in turn, tends to erode social trust. Marginalized groups such as women, members of racial or ethnic groups which experience discrimination, and people with a low income may find it more difficult to put their trust in society and its members; this is especially the case if social contacts have been negative due to degrading gender role expectations, racial or ethnic prejudices,

structural discrimination, and persistent economic disadvantage (Arneil, 2006; Wuthnow, 2002).

Is social trust more difficult to sustain in culturally heterogeneous communities? Putnam (2000) found that homogenous communities within the U.S. register more social trust than those with more diversity. This is not to say that larger communities with diverse populations cannot develop high levels of social trust. There are issues or values that can be used by skillful leaders to bring different groups of people together, and their progress and agreement on more issues tend to breed social trust (Rule & Kyle, 2009; Lasker & Weiss, 2003; Foster-Fishman, Berkowitz, Lounsberry, Jacobson, & Allen, 2001; Lasker, Weiss, & Miller, 2001; Weiner & Alexander, 1998; Fawcett, Paine-Andrews, Francisco, Schultz, Richter, Lewis, Williams, Harris, Berkley, Fisher, & Lopez, 1995; Chrislip & Larson, 1994). Education, expected social behavior, and response to crime are some examples. Even weak social ties help to build bridging social capital and enhance generalized trust (Staveren & Knorringa, 2006).

Some research exists to suggest that the presence of social trust can serve as a strong protective factor. It makes members of a community less vulnerable to loss and harm (Chiles & McMakin, 1996), and reduces uncertainty regarding the likely behavior of others in the daily lives of average citizens (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000). Trust is a "type of expectation that alleviates the fear that one's exchange partner will act opportunistically" (Bradach & Eccle, 1984, p. 104). When a community sets norm expectations where the guilt felt for acting outside of the norms is greater than the gain achieved by breaking the norms in the first place, social trust is strengthened and given extrinsic value. Formal rules or laws only go so far in demanding adherence and do not necessarily build social trust; given this fact it is clear that trust has intrinsic value as well

(Nooteboom, 1996, 2006; Casson, 1995; Gulati, 1995; Sako, 1992; Powell, 1990). It has been noted in the literature that where there are inadequacies in social contracts and formal monitoring, social trust "fills in the cracks" in a community setting (Staveren & Knorringa, 2006).

There is a wealth of empirical research indicating that social trust is the key variable of social capital upon which to focus in cross-sectional studies of local areas (Skrabski, Kopp, & Kawachi, 2003; Hendryx, Ahern, Lovrich, & McCurdy, 2002; Subramanian, Kim, & Kawachi, 2002; Forrest & Kearns, 2001; Moon, Pierce, & Lovrich, 2001; Lochner, Kawachi, & Kennedy, 1999). Moon, Lovrich, and Pierce (2000) used the Leigh Stowell and Company, Inc. datasets to compare social trust along with self-esteem and political liberalism in Canadian and U.S. cities. Using the same measures of social trust employed by this dissertation, Moon and colleagues found social trust to be an important indicator in their study of political cultures at the city-level. In a different study using the Leigh Stowell and Company, Inc. datasets, Pierce, Lovrich and Moon (2002) used social trust as the primary indicator of social capital in their study of government performance in 20 American cities. Pierce and Lovrich published another cross-sectional study in 2003 using the Leigh Stowell and Company, Inc. datasets to examine the relationship between internet technology transfer and social capital in American cities. Social capital was operationalized as social trust and personal trust. This dissertation will present good empirical evidence regarding levels of social trust on the county level and its relationship with violence against women using cross-sectional analyses.

SOCIAL CAPITAL AND VIOLENT CRIME

Putnam (2000, p. 308-318) states that a lack of interpersonal trust can lead to a variety of adverse effects in a community, among these being violent crime, juvenile delinquency, poor school performance, and a lack of social cohesion. In the absence of social trust, citizens may develop negative attitudes such as "every person for her/himself" and "not in my backyard" when faced by a community problem. The research carried out for this dissertation seeks to determine the relationship between social capital and violent acts committed against women. Specifically, it is important to determine if social capital serves as a protective factor against violent acts perpetrated by men against women.

Localized and generalized trust would seem to heighten the chances that informal measures of social control are in place (Coleman, 1988). Bursik and Grasmick (1993) argue that areas with strong social capital characteristics are more influential in securing public forms of social control such as police resources and social services than areas lacking social capital. When most citizens adhere to community norms, trust in others tends to pemeate throughout the community. In contrast, those communities in which high levels of distrust of other citizens are commonplace will experience little observance or informal enforcement of norms (Rosenfield, Messner, & Baumer, 2001). This line of argument suggests that there is an inverse relationship between social capital and crime in communities.

Empirical research has supported the hypothesis that areas with high levels of social capital or localized trust have lower rates of crime (Sampson & Raudenbusch 1999; Sampson, Morenoff, & Earls, 1999; Kawachi, Kennedy, & Wilkinson, 1999; Wilkinson, Kawachi, & Kennedy, 1998; Sampson, Raudenbusch, & Earls, 1997). Most

of the studies examining this relationship have used measures of trust and civic engagement taken from the General Social Survey (GSS) and used crime data from the FBI's Uniform Crime Reports (UCR). The GSS survey consists of a combination of demographic, behavioral, and attitudinal questions. The National Organization for Research (NORC) at the University of Chicago has been conducting this telephone survey since 1972 with only minor changes (NORC, 2009).

Homicide

The empirical research available for study generally supports the theoretical link between social capital, social trust and societal violence. Rosenfield, Messner, and Baumer (2001) used social capital measures of generalized trust and civic engagement to determine if areas with higher levels of social capital had lower homicide rates within 99 U.S. geographic areas. They confirmed the social capital hypothesis; however, in their study Rosenfield and his colleagues reported that economic deprivation was not mediated by high levels of social capital except for locations in the American South. Overall, areas with high levels of generalized trust and civic engagement had low homicide rates regardless of their levels of economic deprivation, population size or other plausibly intervening sociodemographic factors. There was no distinction made between male or female homicide victims or perpetrators in this research, however.

Messner, Baumer, and Rosenfield (2004) used a nationally representative sample to examine the different dimensions of social capital and their individual effects on rates of criminal homicide. They found that social trust measures were the only dimension of social capital to have a direct significant effect on levels of homicide, and that effect was in the theoretically supported direction. The other dimensions of social capital

investigated such as civic engagement and social activism were mediated by the effects of socioeconomic and demographic variables. Once again this particular prior study highlights the fact that there is strong empirical support for social trust serving as a protective factor with respect to the incidence of criminal homicide; unfortunately, there was no attention paid to gender in this study.

Browning, Feinberg, and Dietz (2004) used the 1994/1995 Project on Human Development in Chicago Neighborhoods Community Survey and Chicago Homicide Data to study the impact of social networks and collective efficacy on homicide in the urban neighborhoods of Chicago. The regulatory effects of collective efficacy or pro-social trust on homicide were not suppressed in some urban neighborhoods where the social networks were present in the community and potentially among offenders as well. This interesting finding does not contradict social capital theory, but rather suggests that the protective factor of social trust may be diminished in areas where crime and violence are frequent and seen as commonplace.

A prior study conducted by Browning (2002) using the same source of data found that collective efficacy, measured by neighborhood cohesion and informal social control, was inversely related with intimate partner homicide. This relationship mediated the effects of socioeconomic disadvantage. Even though certain communities may be willing to overlook domestic or family violence committed in the privacy of one's home, it would appear that there may be a threshold level at which this type of violence is not tolerated, especially when the violence turns lethal.

It appears that there is strong support in the empirical literature that areas with high levels of social trust or social capital have low rates of homicide, and vice versa (Rosenfield, Baumer, & Messner, 2007; Messner, Baumer, & Rosenfield, 2004;

Browning, Feinberg, & Dietz, 2004; Morenoff, Sampson, & Raudenbush, 2001; Rosenfield, Messner, & Baumer, 2001). However, this link has not been fully examined as it relates to violence against women.

Domestic and Physical Violence

Based on social capital theory, physical and domestic violence should be low in areas with high levels of social capital. Although few studies have examined this particular relationship, Browning (2002) found that measures of informal social control and community cohesiveness served as strong protective factors for intimate partner violence in communities where intimate partner violence was not a social norm or had low acceptance. Women were also more likely to seek help or support in those communities where collective efficacy was strong. Even though women may be socially isolated from their community when they become involved in an abusive relationship, domestic violence support services can help victims develop trustful relationships and establish networks indicative of social capital (Larance & Porter, 2004).

Zolotor and Runyan (2006) conducted a survey of 1,435 mothers from North Carolina and South Carolina. They found that for every one-point increase in their four-point index of social capital there was a 30% decrease in the odds of domestic violence. It appears that what little empirical research is available concerning the relationship between social capital and domestic violence, there is support for the theory that social capital aids in the prevention of physical violence committed against women. It is important to note that social capital would not necessarily be a protective factor in communities where domestic violence or physical violence against women is either condoned or ignored.

Sexual Assault

There is even less empirical research on the connection between social capital and sexual assaults, but in accordance with the other acts of violence against women it is assumed that social capital will help protect against sexual assaults as well. Communities with high levels of social capital and social trust will want to defend their citizens from dangerous and violent sex offenders. Many communities have chosen to enact sex offender registry, community notification, and/or residence restriction laws. Informally, community members can exert social control by harassing known sex offenders and preventing them from obtaining work or housing within the community (Burchfield & Mingus, 2008; Bursik & Grasmick, 1993). These types of actions signal the position that sexual crimes will not be tolerated. Furthermore, enhanced social capital may create a greater sense of community resulting in collective vigilance among residents, and that added community-level vigilance may bring with it reductions in assaults (Kruger, Hutchison, & Monroe, 2007).

SUMMARY

Social capital is the capacity of a collectivity through trust, reciprocity and shared values and understandings to achieve effective collective action in addressing community needs and problems. Social trust is a vital aspect of social capital, and the term refers to a general tendency to trust fellow community members. The presence of trust facilitates people working together toward achieving a shared goal or interest. Not only does the theory of social capital predict that areas with higher levels of social capital or localized trust will have lower rates of crime, but the empirical research done in this area tends to support this hypothesis (Sampson & Raudenbusch 1999; Sampson, Morenoff, & Earls,

1999; Kawachi, Kennedy, & Wilkinson, 1999; Wilkinson, Kawachi, & Kennedy, 1998; Sampson, Raudenbusch, & Earls, 1997). This has been found true as it relates to the most violent and extreme expressions of violence against women – namely, homicide (Rosenfield, Baumer, & Messner, 2007; Messner, Baumer, & Rosenfield, 2004; Browning, Feinberg, & Dietz, 2004; Morenoff, Sampson, & Raudenbush, 2001; Rosenfield, Messner, & Baumer, 2001), physical assaults (Browning, 2002; Zolotor & Runyan, 2006), and sexual aggression (Burchfield & Mingus, 2008; Kruger, Hutchison, & Monroe, 2007; Bursik & Grasmick, 1993). There are very few studies that have investigated the relationship between social capital and the crimes of domestic violence and sexual assault. Additionally, since most studies did not look specifically at female victims and male perpetrators, this study will significantly add to the literature by determining if social capital and trust is a community-level protective factor for the commission of violent crimes against women.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY AND HYPOTHESES

This chapter will discuss the data sources used in the dissertation. There will be an explanation of how the archival attitudinal data were collected, analyzed and verified. This chapter will also provide a detailed discussion of the utility and the limitations of the crime data used from the National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS). This chapter will detail the survey questions, and explain why they were selected as related to the literature. Finally, the types of cross-sectional methods used will be set forth in appropriate detail.

The study employs a series of cross-sectional research designs and the county is the unit of analysis. The data being used are drawn from two principal sources: 1) the Leigh Stowell and Company Media Market Studies (1989-2006); and 2) the Federal Bureau of Investigation's National Incident-Based Reporting System (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2004). Data from the 2000 U.S. Census will also be used for demographic control variables as well.

DATA

Leigh Stowell and Company Media Market Datasets[3]

Fortunately, the Leigh Stowell and Company Media Market Datasets contain a variety of psychographic measures collected from telephone interview surveys conducted

[3] The datasets are maintained in a digital archive by the Division of Governmental Studies and Services at Washington State University Libraries in Pullman, Washington. They are also available from *Dataverse,* a digital archive maintained by Gary King at the Institute for Quantitative Social Science at Harvard University. *Dataverse* was made possible by a substantial grant from the National Science Foundation.

in many different counties and communities in the United States and Canada. For the most part, the psychographic questions are the same for each media market survey. There are approximately 350 individual surveys with an average of 1,000 respondents for each year the survey was administered in a particular media market. The data were collected through a process of random digit dialing within area code and prefix ranges. In addition, the various psychographic scales developed from the data have been shown to be both reliable[4] and valid with respect to the measurement of such traits as liberalism and conservatism, self-esteem, open-mindedness, and cynicism or mistrust (Leigh Stowell and Company Media Market Studies, 1989-2002).

All of the sampling procedures, respondent screening techniques, call-back procedures, interviewing services, interviewer selection and training, interview scheduling, questionnaire design, pre-test methodology, question rotation, programmed data collection, validation procedures, code list compilation, values selection design, value profile analysis, attitude dimensions, and database computer program design were performed according to accepted social science practices and using quality control procedures (Leigh Stowell and Company Media Market Studies, 1989-2002).

The datasets contain questions directly related to traditional gender roles and social capital. Various demographic background variables are provided as well, including age, sex, family composition, location of residence (including county and zip codes for the United States and Canadian postal zone tags), race and ethnicity, education

[4] Reliability coefficients for certain years and cities are available at the Division of Governmental Studies and Services at Washington State University in Pullman, Washington. Technical assistance for the use of the Stowell datasets is available from the Division of Governmental Studies and Services upon request. The *Dataverse* digital archive contains both the raw data for each media market study, and the meta-data documentation for the datasets maintained at that site.

level, income, and occupational status (Leigh Stowell and Company Media Market Studies, 1989-2002).

National Incident-Based Reporting System

The National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS) is the new variation of the Uniform Crime Reports (UCR) developed to be more reliable and to provide a more detailed source of information for research on crime. NIBRS contains data from every reported crime incident within particular jurisdictions, and that information is compiled by the FBI (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2008). The list of crimes included is more expansive than the UCR's, containing 22 different classifications or crime patterns and 46 specific offenses. There are also 11 arrest report offenses, most of which can be classified as misdemeanors in most states. At the very least, brief accounts of the arrest and incident are included in the dataset. Also, there is offender, victim, and incident information for each case of crime, making this a beneficial dataset for this type of study of violence against women since the NIBRS dataset contains reliable victim and offender sex information.

The two goals of NIBRS as stated by the FBI are "to enhance the quantity, quality, and timeliness of crime statistical data collected by the law enforcement community" and "to improve the methodology used for compiling, analyzing, auditing, and publishing the collected crime data" (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2000, p. 8). There are 32 states providing data to NIBRS, either completely or only for certain counties within their jurisdiction. Many other states and local agencies are independently collecting crime information based on the IBR standards, but they are only publishing

them at the state level. For purposes of this research, only those states and local agencies submitting information to the archival NIBRS database are included for analysis.

There are some major differences between the NIBRS and the UCR programs. The most notable difference is seen in the specificity of reporting present in the two databases. NIBRS is based on detailed information of *crime incidents* while the UCR statistics only represent summaries or tallies of crimes reported to the police. NIBRS has an expanded offense list so that more types of crimes can be reported; this eliminates the practice of lumping together certain crimes as is the habit with some UCR's. The definitions used for NIBRS crimes are adapted from the UCR program, and new offense definitions have been added in some cases. Additionally, the hierarchy rule is not adhered to in NIBRS. In other words, if an offender commits more than one crime, all crimes will be reported in NIBRS, not just the most serious incident as occurs in the case of the UCR statistics. Attempted and completed crimes are both coded in NIBRS, along with the victim and offender relationship and incidence circumstance. This last bit of critical detail about the crime incident is especially pertinent to this research on violence against women.

MEASURES

Independent Variables

Gender Role Attitude Variables. The research in this area suggests a strong predictive correlation between traditional gender or sex role attitudes and the distinctive roles prescribed for men and women in the family, in the workplace, in politics, and in

the area of commonplace social behaviors (Bookwala, Frieze, Smith, & Ryan, 1992; Hilton, Harris, & Rice, 2003; Marciniak, 1998; Walker, Rowe, & Quinsey, 1993). The position of women in a society rests upon the social arrangement of the sexes (Martin, 1995), and traditional gender attitudes are a valid way to gauge this social standing. The Leigh Stowell and Company Media Market Studies (1989-2002) provide three psychographic measures that are consistent with traditional gender role attitudes in the literature. The three direct gender role attitude measures are:

1. I believe the women's rights issue has received too much attention.
2. I feel that women have not been active enough in politics.
3. The roles of men and women today are too much alike.

For each question, respondents were asked to choose either disagree strongly, disagree somewhat, neutral, agree somewhat, or agree strongly. All three measures are similar to the questions used in the Traditional Egalitarian Sex Role scale, a validated index of psychometric measures of traditional and egalitarian sex roles attitudes (Larsen & Long, 1988). These exact measures have also been used in the empirical literature to measure political liberalism (Moon, Pierce, & Lovrich, 2001; Moon, Lovrich, & Pierce, 2000). Moon, Pierce and Lovrich (2001) operationalize liberalism to describe "positions on social issues that are widely viewed as being in the interests of segments of society that have traditionally had less power and influence (e.g., women)" (p. 196). These measures are consistent and justified with not only political science literature, but within the sociological and criminological research literature as well (Franklin, 2008; Ben-David & Schneider, 2005; Belknap, 2001; Johnson, 2001; Lorber, 2001; Sheldon, 2001; Kilmartin, 2000; Johnson, 1997; Johnson, Kuck, & Schander, 1997; Kopper, 1996; Walker, Spohn & DeLone, 1996; Freeman, 1995; Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994;

Messerschmidt, 1993; Scully; 1990; West & Zimmerman, 1989; Shotland & Goodstein, 1983).

As for the first measure, "I believe the women's rights issue has received too much attention," Toller, Suter, and Trautman (2004) found that men with hyper-masculine traits have negative attitudes toward feminism, which would include women's rights issues. The patriarchal literature links hyper-masculinity, or adherence to traditional male roles, with violence against women, which makes this an important measure of gender attitudes (Holter, 1984; Haavind, 1984; Stark & Flitcraft, 1996). Also, Weldon (2002) argues that when a society or community acknowledges and responds to women's rights issues, violence against women will decrease.

The second measure, "I feel that women have not been active enough in politics," is very important in capturing adherence to traditional gender attitudes. Nayak et al. (2003) state that gender norms in politics are quite predictive of violence against women. Simply looking at women's limited involvement in American politics over the years, it is obvious that the gender norm in the U.S. is for men to hold the principal political positions of power. For instance, there has never been a female president or vice president. However this trend is gradually changing given that the 2008 elections evidenced Hillary Clinton running to be the Presidential Democratic Candidate in the primaries and Sarah Palin running as the Republican Vice Presidential Candidate.

The third psychographic measure, "the roles of men and women today are too much alike," is also capturing whether or not the respondents hold traditional gender role attitudes. Boxley, Lawrance, and Gruchow (1995) used some very comparable questions in their study such as: "Girls should have the same freedoms as boys," "It is alright for a girl to want to play rough sports like football," and "If both husband and wife have jobs,

the husband should do a share of the housework such as washing dishes and doing the laundry." Other studies also used questions similar to this measure as well (Toller, Suter, & Trautman, 2004; Tang, 2003; Haj-Yahia, 2002; Reitzel-Jaffe & Wolfe, 2001).

Social Capital Variables. The Leigh Stowell and Company Media Market Studies (1989-2002) provide eight psychographic measures that are representative of social trust, a main component of social capital as represented in the literature (Putnam, 1993 & 1995; Coleman, 1990). For each question, respondents were asked to choose either disagree strongly, disagree somewhat, neutral, agree somewhat, or agree strongly.

Social and Institutional Trust Variables:

1. Too many people are getting a free ride in today's society.
2. Most public officials today are only interested in the people with money.
3. I believe everything is changing too fast today.
4. I would much rather spend a quiet evening at home than go out somewhere.
5. My family income is high enough to satisfy nearly all our important desires.
6. I get most of my entertainment from watching television.
7. Human nature being what it is, there must always be war and conflict.
8. The best way to handle people is to tell them what they want to hear.

Putnam (2000) used a scale very similar to this to predict cross-sectional differences in a variety of important community-level social conditions – namely, level of crime, educational outcomes, public health status, economic vitality, contributions and volunteering, blood donations, civic engagement, etc. Putnam's 6-item index features trust in one's neighbors, in one's coworkers, in one's co-worshipers, in one's local businesses, in one's local police, and the General Social Survey item on trusting others

versus needing to be careful in dealing with others. The measures used in this study are similar to those used by Putnam and they reach the generalized trust element of social capital theory. These exact measures have also been used in the social capital empirical literature to measure social capital and social trust (Pierce & Lovrich, 2003; Hendryx, Ahern, Lovrich, & McCurdy, 2002; Pierce, Lovrich, & Moon, 2002; Moon, Pierce, & Lovrich, 2001; Moon, Lovrich, & Pierce, 2000).

The first, third, and fifth variables, "Too many people are getting a free ride in today's society," "I believe everything is changing too fast today," and "My family income is high enough to satisfy nearly all our important desires," relate to sharing of values and fulfillment of needs (Lochner, Kawachi, & Kennedy, 1999). If the respondent feels that too many people are getting a free ride, one can assume that the respondent feels that many people in the community cannot be trusted to do their fair share to promote the general welfare. Also, respondents who think everything is changing too fast feel that they cannot trust others in the community to value the things they do (Glynn, 1981; Julian, Reisch, Carrick, & Katrencich, 1997; Perkins, Florin, Rich, Wandersman, & Chavis, 1990). Conversely, if respondents are happy with their family income they can trust in the future bringing continued wherewithal to meet the needs of their family. Staveren and Knorringa (2006) specifically address free-riding, noting that where social trust is high many people will not engage in free-ride behavior.

The second variable, "Most public officials today are only interested in the people with money," gauges respondents' views of their influence in the community, political efficacy, and trust of community leaders. Agreement with this statement implies that the respondent feels not all members can contribute to local politics unless they have money. This may lead to feelings that elected officials do not represent the views of respondents

and that public officials are ineffective, which is similar to measures used by Eng and Parker (1994). If many community members feel this way, social capital is likely to be low (Glynn 1981; Davidson & Cotter, 1986; Davidson & Cotter, 1991; Chavis, Hogge, & McMillan, 1981; Julien et al., 1997).

Variables four and six, "I would much rather spend a quiet evening at home than go out somewhere" and "I get most of my entertainment from watching television" both measure emotional connection to the community and social interaction with community members, attitudes which relate to social trust. Affirmative responses to these questions show that respondents' may not have many friends in the community or people who they trust enough to interact with on a regular basis (Glynn, 1981; Julian et al., 1997).

"Human nature being what it is, there must always be war and conflict" and "The best way to handle people is to tell them what they want to hear" fall under the categories of effective communication and conflict containment described by Lochner, Kawachi, and Kennedy (1999). In communities with high social capital, community members feel that they can express unpopular or dissenting opinions and then work together to solve their problems (Eng & Parker, 1994). Variables seven and eight represent the opposite of the previous statement.

Interpretation of Independent Measures

After examining all of the psychographic measures in the media market studies and basing the selection of measures on prior literature, three direct measures of gender attitudes and eight social capital measures were decided upon (Leigh Stowell and Company Media Market Studies, 1989-2002).

The three direct measures of gender attitudes are:

1. **I believe the women's rights issue has received too much attention.**

NOTE: Agreement indicates traditional gender attitudes; disagreement signifies nontraditional gender attitudes. (The responses of both men and women are combined)

2. **I feel that women have not been active enough in politics.**

NOTE: Agreement indicates nontraditional gender attitudes; disagreement signifies traditional gender attitudes. (The responses of both men and women are combined)

3. **The roles of men and women today are too much alike.**

NOTE: Agreement indicates traditional gender role attitudes; disagreement signifies nontraditional gender role attitudes[5]. (The responses of both men and women are combined)

The eight direct measures of social capital's trust measures are:

1. **Too many people are getting a free ride in today's society.**

NOTE: Agreement indicates lack of social trust and trust in people; disagreement signifies social trust and trust in people.

2. **Most public officials today are only interested in people with money.**

NOTE: Agreement indicates lack of social trust and trust in public officials; disagreement signifies social trust and trust in public officials.

[5] This question is somewhat troublesome. There is the argument that people may agree with the statement and like the fact that the culture condones similar gender roles. Conversely, certain traditionalists may disagree on principle alone.

3. **I believe everything is changing too fast today.**

NOTE: Agreement indicates lack of social and institutional trust; disagreement signifies social and institutional trust.

4. **I would much rather spend a quiet evening at home than go out somewhere.**

NOTE: Agreement indicates lack of social and institutional trust; disagreement signifies social and institutional trust.

5. **My family income is high enough to satisfy nearly all our important desires.**

NOTE: Agreement indicates social and institutional trust; disagreement signifies lack of social and institutional trust.

6. **I get most of my entertainment from watching television.**

NOTE: Agreement indicates lack of social and institutional trust; disagreement signifies social and institutional trust.

7. **Human nature being what it is, there must always be war and conflict.**

NOTE: Agreement indicates lack of social and institutional trust; disagreement signifies social and institutional trust.

8. **The best way to handle people is to tell them what they want to hear.**

NOTE: Agreement indicates lack of social and institutional trust; disagreement signifies social and institutional trust.

Table 4.1 Measurement of Variables in the Analysis (*N* = 27).

Dependent Variables	
Sexual Assaults (Logged)	Continuous: ranging from 0 to 1.97
Physical Assaults (Logged)	Continuous: ranging from .30 to 3.20
Independent Variables	
Traditional Gender Attitudes Scale	Interval: ranging from 1 to 5
Male's Traditional Gender Attitudes Scale	Interval: ranging from 1 to 5
Female's Traditional Gender Attitudes Scale	Interval: ranging from 1 to 5
Social Capital Scale	Interval: ranging from 1 to 5
Control Variables	
South	Categorical: 1 = South; 0 = Not South
Population Density (Logged)	Continuous variable: -2.67 to 1.90
Demographic and Economic Scale	Continuous variable: -11.60 to 10.19

Control Variables

Demographic variables were retrieved from the 2000 U.S. Census (U. S. Census Bureau, 2000). Age, race and ethnicity, education level, income, employment status, county of residence, family composition, population density, and a location in the South will be included as controls because the literature has identified these factors as valid and necessary control variables that affect individuals' gender role attitudes (Kalichman et al., 2005; Nayak et al., 2003; Boxley, Lawrance, & Gruchow, 1995; Haj-Yahia, 2002; Tang, 2003; Glick et al., 2002; Reitzel-Jaffe & Wolfe, 2001). More specifically, the control variables being used in the study are: the percent of people between the ages of 15 and 24 since they account for the majority of violent crimes committed (U.S. Department of Justice, 200; U.S. Department of Justice, 1997), the minority race and ethnicity of the county population (Black and African American, Asian, American Indian and Alaskan Native, Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islander, and Other or Mixed Race and Ethnicity), the percentage of males and females without a college degree or higher, the percentage of

the population below the poverty line which is often used to measure income inequality and poverty (Kelly, 2000; Patterson, 1991; Messner & Blau, 1986), the percentage of males unemployed, the percentage of households with a female head of household and no husband present, the population density, and whether or not the county is located in the South. Table 4.2 lists the descriptive statistics for all of the independent variables. See Appendix B for detailed demographic and economic descriptions of the variables for each county.

Table 4.2 Descriptive Statistics – Independent Variables

	Traditional Gender Attitudes	Male Gender Attitudes	Female Gender Attitudes	Social Capital	South	Demographic / Economic	Pop. Density Logged
N	27	27	27	27	27	27	27
Mean	2.75	2.83	2.68	3.18	.44	-.04	00
Median	2.76	2.85	2.66	3.21	.00	-.28	-.11
Mode	2.73	2.85*	2.62*	3.27	.00	-11.6*	-2.67*
Std. Deviation	.114	.103	.145	.134	.506	.477	1.00
Skewness	-.14	-.66	.62	-.10	.24	.13	-.25
Minimum	.30	2.59	2.46	2.94	.00	-11.6	-2.67
Maximum	3.20	2.98	3.01	3.43	1.00	10.19	1.90

* Multiple modes exist. The smallest value is shown.

Dependent Variables - Violence against Women

There are two measures of violence against women which are found in the National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS): forcible sex offenses and domestic violence. Homicide rates will not be included in this study since very few counties had any male-perpetrated homicides with female victims, and, out of those with the homicides present, they also had physical assaults classified as the secondary offense.

Forcible sex offenses include rape, sodomy, sexual assault with an object, and forcible fondling. The physical and/or domestic violence measure is made up of aggravated assaults, simple assaults, and intimidation of a female victim by a male perpetrator (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2000).

These particular measures of violence against women perpetrated by males are quite consistent with the patriarchal literature arguing that the dominant male or head of the household often will subordinate females or all other members of the household with violence if their expectations are not met (Holter, 1984). Since all of these measures can include male victims as well, male victims and „unknown sex' victims will be excluded from the analyses carried out for this study.

The definitions for the NIBRS offenses, including those used in this study, were derived from the Uniform Crime Reporting Handbook (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 1998), the common-law definitions in *Black's Law Dictionary,* and the National Crime Information Center (NCIC) Uniform Offense Classifications. The first measure of violence against women is forcible sex offenses. This crime is defined as "any sexual act directed against another person, forcibly and/or against that person's will or not forc*ibly or against the per*son's will in instances where the victim is incapable of giving consent." This measure incorporates rape, sodomy, sexual assault with an object, and forcible fondling. Forcible rape is defined by the FBI as "the carnal knowledge of a person, forcibly and/or against that person's will or not forcibly or against the person's will in instances where the victim is incapable of giving consent because of his/her temporary or permanent mental or physical incapacity." For this crime definition to apply, force must be either used or explicitly threatened.

Forcible sodomy is the second component of the forcible sex offenses measure and is defined as "oral or anal sexual intercourse with another person, forcibly and/or against that person's will or not forcibly or against the person's will in instances where the victim is incapable of giving consent because of his/her youth or because of his/her temporary or permanent mental or physical incapacity." Third, sexual assault with an object, meaning "to use an object or instrument to unlawfully penetrate, however slightly, the genital or anal opening of the body of another person, forcibly and/or against that person's will or not forcibly or against the person's will in instances where the victim is incapable of giving consent because of his/her youth or because of his/her temporary or permanent mental or physical incapacity" is included as well. „Objects or instruments' refers to anything other than the offender's genitalia, such as a „finger, bottle, handgun or a stick' (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 1998).

The last variable included in the forcible sex offense measure is forcible fondling. The FBI defines forcible fondling as "the touching of the private body parts of another person for the purpose of sexual gratification, forcibly and/or against that person's will or not forcibly or against the person's will in instances where the victim is incapable of giving consent because of his/her youth or because of his/her temporary or permanent mental or physical incapacity." This offense includes indecent liberties and child molestation. This crime is only reported as such when it does not include rape, sodomy or sexual assault with an object.

The second measure of violence against women is physical and/or domestic violence, which is "an unlawful attack by one person upon another." This measure does not include attempts. The first variable in this measure is aggravated assault, defined as "an unlawful attack by one person upon another wherein the offender uses a weapon or

displays it in a threatening manner, or the victim suffers obvious severe or aggravated bodily injury involving apparent broken bones, loss of teeth, possible internal injury, severe laceration, or loss of consciousness." Weapons, within this definition, are not limited to traditional concepts such as knives or guns, but rather to any item used to inflict pain upon another.

The next variable included in physical and/or domestic violence is simple assaults, an offense involving "an unlawful physical attack by one person upon another where neither the offender displays a weapon, nor the victim suffers obvious severe or aggravated bodily injury involving apparent broken bones, loss of teeth, possible internal injury, severe laceration, or loss of consciousness." Lastly, intimidation "to unlawfully place another person in reasonable fear of bodily harm through the use of threatening words and/or other conduct but without displaying a weapon or subjecting the victim to actual physical attack" is included. This variable includes the stalking statistics as well as other threatening behaviors (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 1998).

Table 4.3 Descriptive Statistics – Dependent Variables

	Sexual Assaults logged	Physical Assaults logged
N	27	27
Mean	.89	1.92
Median	.92	1.90
Mode	.12*	.30*
Std.Deviation	.55	.71
Skewness	-.04	-.54
Minimum	-.17	.30
Maximum	1.97	3.2

* Multiple modes exist. The smallest value is shown

RELIABILITY OF SCALES

Since this research takes into account respondents' personal gender attitudes and social capital, several questions were asked to gauge the same concept. This is an original psychographic assessment in that no other studies have examined traditional gender attitudes using a survey instrument in an aggregate study. This means that this assessment was built upon researcher knowledge of the theoretical and research literature regarding traditional gender attitudes. The social capital measures have been utilized by other researchers and proven to be valid. Furthermore, it was necessary to gather demographic and economic information that may be confounding or highly correlated.

Index variables were created by summing the values of the responses and dividing by the number of questions making up the scale. Two independent variables and one control variable are scales consisting of three or more questions. For social capital and traditional gender attitudes, the scales were devised by summing the values (1 to 5) and dividing by the number of questions included in the scale. This means that these two scales range from 1 to 5, with higher values being more negative. For the demographic and economic scale, all questions making up this scale were converted to z-scores, summed, and divided by the number of questions. These values range from -11.6 to 10.19.

In order to determine the reliability of the created scales, Cronbach's Alpha was determined to specify the level of inter-item consistency. Cronbach's Alpha will be higher with homogenous scale items. When constructing multi-item scale constructs, the alpha coefficients should be around .80 when there are over five items, and an alpha of .55 is considered acceptable for scales with fewer than five items (Field, 2005). Reliability coefficients for those variables placed in a scale are provided below.

Questions with a positive response were reverse coded to ensure that the higher numbers were negative and those questions are denoted with a (R) in the scale tables.

Traditional Gender Attitudes Scale

Gender attitudes were measured by three questions listed in Table 4.4 to determine whether or not the respondent was a traditionalist in regard to gender and gender roles. The Cronbach's Alpha for gender attitudes is .66. Since there are only three questions, this makes the scale relatively strong. The Pearson's correlations were only moderate, which may explain the lower alpha as well.

Table 4.4 Questions Formulating Gender Attitudes Scales

Cronbach's alpha = .66 [n of cases= 27] (R) = question was reverse-coded.

1. I believe the women's rights issue has received too much attention.
2. I feel that women have not been active enough in politics. (R)
3. The roles of men and women today are too much alike.

Social Capital Scale

Social capital is measured by eight questions to measure the extent to which respondents trust the community and its members, and feel connected to and active in their community (see Table 4.5). With a Cronbah's Alpha of .91, there is very strong reliability. All of the eight questions correlated strongly with one another.

Table 4.5 Questions Formulating Social Capital Scale

Cronbach's alpha = .91 [n of cases= 27] (R) = question was reverse-coded.

1. Too many people are getting a free ride in today's society.
2. Most public officials today are only interested in people with money.
3. I believe everything is changing too fast today.
4. I would much rather spend a quiet evening at home than go out somewhere.
5. My family income is high enough to satisfy nearly all our important desires. (R)
6. I get most of my entertainment from watching television.
7. Human nature being what it is, there must always be war and conflict.
8. The best way to handle people is to tell them what they want to hear.

Demographic and Economic Scale

The demographic and economic scale is composed of six measures gauging age, race, education, employment status, poverty status, and female heads of households. The specific variables are listed in Table 4.6. All of these variables were highly correlated with one another. The Cronbach's Alpha is .83, showing very strong inter-item consistency.

Table 4.6 Measures Formulating Demographic and Economic Scale

Cronbach's alpha = .83 [n of cases= 27]

1. Percent below the poverty line.
2. Percentage of males unemployed.
3. Persons between the ages of 15 to 24, percent.
4. Percent without a college degree or higher.
5. Minority, percent.
6. Female householder- no husband present, percent.

METHODOLOGY

The forthcoming analysis focuses on a group of items related to traditional gender attitudes and related social capital measures taken from the psychographic measures in the Stowell Dataset (Leigh Stowell and Company Media Market Studies, 1989-2002). Respondents were read several statements and asked whether they agree completely, agree somewhat, neutral, disagree somewhat, or disagree completely. The order of statements and responses differed somewhat across counties and across the years of the survey.

An aggregate community-level measure for traditional gender attitudes and social capital will be developed using the individual scores. In this way, an overall county cohesion score will be obtained. As Buckner (1988, p.775) states:

> "…it is important to distinguish between an individual variable which is used to measure an individual level attribute and an aggregate individual variable (a mean) which is used to infer a neighborhood-level attribute… if these individual-level scores are aggregated and averaged the resultant mean score (an aggregate individual-level variable) is said to form a measure of the cohesiveness of that collective of neighborhood residents."

Lochner, Kawachi, and Kennedy (1999) also agree that this is an appropriate method used by many researchers to achieve a sound cohesion score.

Crime rates will be determined for each year using NIBRS. Of course, with all such official data, some validity concerns are present. That said, however, NIBRS is a much more efficient and valid data collection system than the Uniform Crime Reports (Addington, 2004). Unfortunately, NIBRS has only been implemented in 20 states thus

far, with 12 more working to improve their data collection processes. This combination of cases provides 27 counties for study in this research.

Several different analyses will be conducted. At first, simple frequency distributions and correlations and scatterplot diagrams will be used to determine the correlations among the variables of interest, including traditional gender attitudes and social capital measures. These variables will be looked at individually, and then in various combinations.

Subsequently, ordinary least-squares linear regression modeling will be used to describe the relationship between traditional gender attitudes with the social capital indicators and with violence against women. During this step of the analyses controls for potential confounding variables will be introduced. Then, change models will be created using the social capital and traditional gender attitude measures. Furthermore, models will be created for each class of violence against women crime. This analytic strategy is similar to the analysis used by Galea, Karpati, and Kennedy (2002).

RESULTS OF PRIOR FEASIBILITY ANALYSES

A feasibility analysis was the first step undertaken in the preparation of the dissertation prospectus. This analysis was performed with the purpose of determining if the psychographic measures of gender role attitudes and social capital are present in enough counties over a sufficient number of years to allow for a generalizable statistical examination. This also ensures that the measures being employed in the study possess sufficient validity and reliability.

These results were merely the groundwork for determining if the dissertation as a whole would be feasible. For a county to be considered feasible, it had to have data for at

least two of the traditional gender role psychographic measures and four measures of social capital, although almost all of the gender and social capital variables were present in the feasible counties. The reasoning for this cutoff is that it ensures at least two direct measures of gender role attitudes will be included. Furthermore, counties were expelled from the study if they were Canadian, since the study is limited to the U.S., and where there were fewer than 100 responses for each question to ensure there are sufficient data to make strong comparisons and conclusions.

Fortunately, most of the variables have data for at least three years. Also, crime data has to be available for the two violence against women measures in NIBRS for a county to be included. Overall, the feasibility analysis indicated that the study can proceed as planned. A total of 74 counties were included in the feasibility analyses; 27 cities are eligible for inclusion in the study[6] and 47 are not. As for the 47 non-feasible counties, they were excluded for the above-stated reasons.

A total of 23 of the feasible counties have data for all fourteen of the original variables being studied. Overall, 17 counties have data for five years or more, and 10 have between one and three years of data. Despite this limitation, there are still 23 counties with all fourteen variables present for three or more years. In this regard, no county has fewer than 11 variables present, and, of the four counties with 11 or 13 variables, they have all of the variables present for other years.

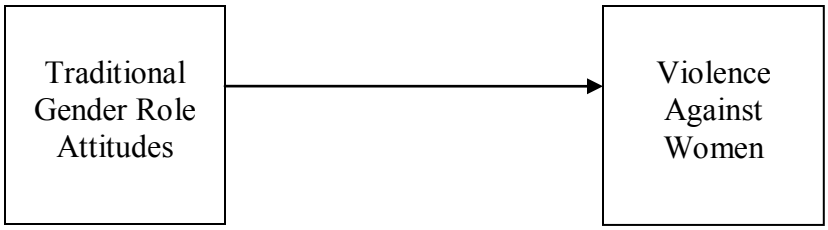
[6] A full list of the feasible counties is provided in Appendix A.

CENTRAL THEORETICAL HYPOTHESES

Research Question 1: In general, are traditional beliefs about gender roles associated with increased levels of violence against women?

According to the theoretical and empirical literature reviewed in Chapter Two, Figure 4.1 exemplifies the predicted conceptual model. This model will be evaluated using ordinary least-squares linear regression. As the model shows, the prevalence of traditional gender attitudes is hypothesized to predict rates of violence against women such as sexual assault and physical/domestic violence while controlling for relevant demographic measures.

Figure 4.1 Violence Against Women Predicted by Traditional Gender Attitudes



This hypothesis is based in the theoretical literature linking traditional gender attitudes and violence against women (Esqueda & Harrison, 2005; Hilton, Harris, & Rice, 2003; Kilmartin, 2000; Marciniak, 1998; Johnson, 1997; Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997; Willis, Hallinan, & Melby, 1996; Walker, Rowe, & Quinsey, 1993; Bookwala, Frieze, Smith, & Ryan, 1992; Russell, 1975). This hypothesis is also supported in the limited

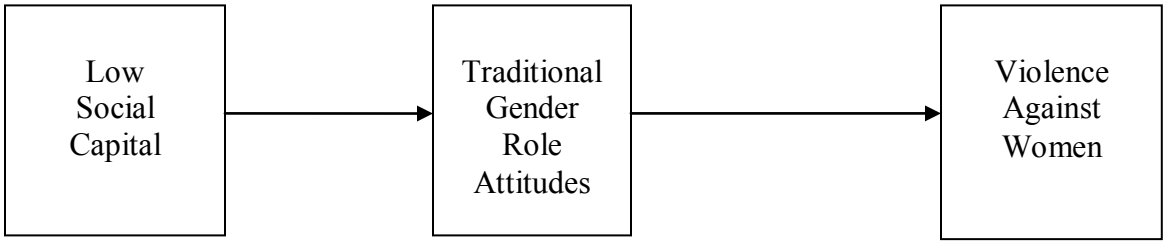
amount of empirical research studying this linkage (Haywood & Mac an Ghaill, 2003; Johnson, Kuck, & Schander, 1997; Kopper, 1996; Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994; Kandel-Englander, 1992; Shotland & Goodstein, 1983). Based on the theoretical arguments and the empirical research, this study tests the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis 1: There will be a positive direct relationship between traditional gender attitudes and violence against women as measured by sexual assault and domestic/physical violence.

Research Question 2: How does social capital interact with traditional gender role attitudes? Specifically, is the effect of traditional gender role attitudes on violence against women mitigated or enhanced by social capital factors?

Based on social capital theory and the supporting empirical evidence, it is hypothesized that social capital and social trust will serve as a mitigating factor on the effect of traditional gender attitudes on violence against women. This is exemplified in the fourth conceptual model displayed as Figure 4.2. Similar to hypothesis one, a positive direct relationship between traditional gender attitudes and violence against women is shown. However in this model, counties with high numbers of respondents showing traditional gender attitudes will not show higher rates of violence against women when the counties show strong signs of social capital and generalized trust.

Figure 4.2 Violence Against Women Mitigated by Social Capital



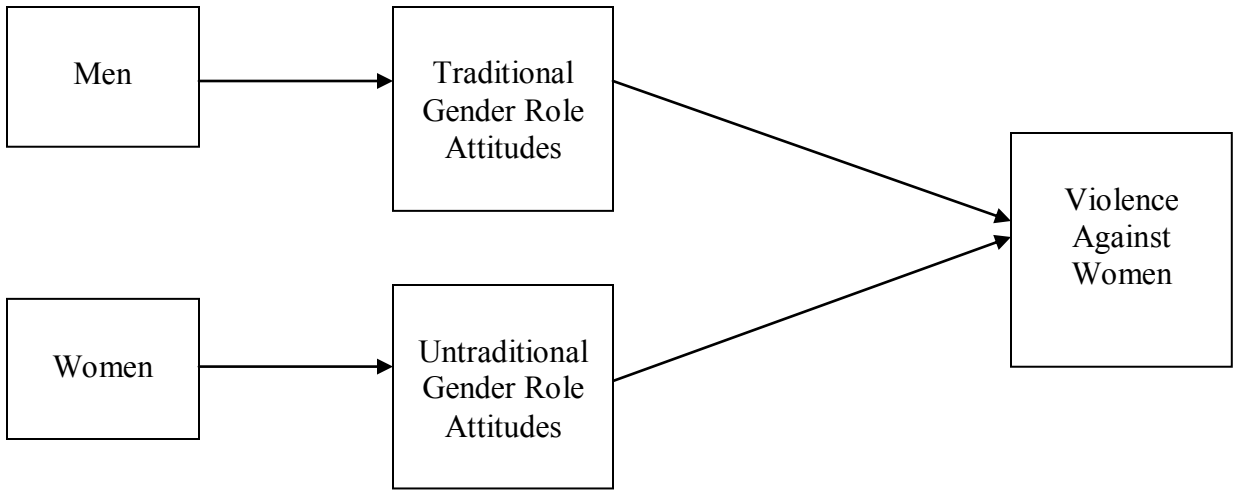
Social capital theory asserts that areas with higher levels of social capital or localized trust have lower rates of violent crime and empirical research supports this hypothesis (Sampson & Raudenbusch 1999; Sampson, Morenoff, & Earls, 1999; Kawachi, Kennedy, & Wilkinson, 1999; Wilkinson, Kawachi, & Kennedy, 1998; Sampson, Raudenbusch, & Earls, 1997). This has been found true as it relates to the two relevant expressions of violence against women for this study- namely, physical assaults (Browning, 2002; Zolotor & Runyan, 2006) and sexual aggression (Burchfield & Mingus, 2008; Kruger, Hutchison, & Monroe, 2007; Bursik & Grasmick, 1993).

Hypothesis 2: Social capital will serve as a mitigating factor in the effects of traditional gender role attitudes on violence against women.

Research Question 3: Are men's traditional gender attitudes more predictive of violence against women in cross-sectional comparisons by county than differences in women's traditional gender attitudes?

Figure 4.3 presents conceptual model three which represents the hypothesized relationship in regard to research question three. This model will be evaluated using ordinary least-squares linear regression and comparing this relationship in several cross-sectional analyses.

Figure 4.3 Violence Against Women Predicted by Men and Women with Strong Traditional Gender Attitudes



Due to socialization processes prevailing in American society, males are taught to be strong, independent, competitive, aggressive, initiators of sexual interactions, and dominant in regard to females while females are encouraged to be passive, dependent, relationship-oriented, and physically and emotionally weaker than men (Martin, 1995). This sets an ideal scene for violence against women to be played out. Much of the empirical research would seem to agree that sexually aggressive males and males who are violent toward women are more likely to embrace traditional gender roles (Lackie & de Man, 1997; Loh, Gidycz, Lobo, & Luthra, 2005; Muehlenhard & Linton, 1987; Sigelman, Berry, & Wiles, 1984; Truman, Tokar, & Fischer, 1996). As seen in Figure

4.3 above, counties with a higher numbers of men holding traditional gender role attitudes will result in higher rates of violence against women.

When women do not meet the traditional gender role expectations, some men feel a sense of entitlement and become physically aggressive with females (Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997). In this way, Figure 4.3 illustrates counties with larger numbers of women with untraditional gender role attitudes will experience higher levels of violence against women. This hypothesis relies somewhat on Russell's (1975) ‚backlash' theory that claims men will respond violently to a loss in status or power in relationships with respect to women. Despite women's gender role attitudes, it is hypothesized that men's attitudes will be more predictive of violence against women. Based on the theoretical literature, if high numbers of women hold untraditional gender role attitudes in an area where men also hold these untraditional gender role attitudes there will not be an increase in violence against women.

Hypothesis 3a: Men's traditional gender attitudes will be more predictive of violence against women than women's gender attitudes?

Hypothesis 3b: Men's traditional gender attitudes will predict violence against women while women's untraditional gender attitudes will predict violence against women.

IMPORTANCE OF STUDY

This research is extremely important for several reasons. First, it provides increased generalizabilty over prior research because the sample for citizen attitudes and psychographic orientations is rather large and the survey data were obtained through a

random selection process. As mentioned previously, very few of the studies conducted in this area of research have produced generalizable findings due to the type of sample or weak research design employed. Second, this study will contribute to the literature by focusing on the connection between traditional gender attitudes and violence against women in U.S. counties (and possibly in several Canadian cities/provinces at some point in time in the future). Few studies have researched this topic in North America and, out of those that have done so, many use convenience samples or only have a small number of respondents. Third, social and institutional trust variables associated with the social capital literature have been included in the study to provide an even more complete picture. This dissertation will determine their influence on violence against women crimes alone, and working in consort with the traditional gender variables.

Finally, since there are no prior studies of this kind present in the criminological literature, this study will add importantly to our overall understanding of sexual assault and domestic violence in the field of criminal justice. If the hypothesis that traditional beliefs about gender roles cause increased levels of sexual assault and/or domestic violence is supported, important policy implications would emerge on how to reduce violence against women. Whatever the outcome, this research will make an important contribution to the current literature on gender role attitudes, social capital, and violence against women.

CHAPTER FIVE

RESULTS

INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides the findings of multiple statistical analyses examining the relationship among traditional gender attitudes, social capital, physical and domestic violence, and sexual assaults. These relationships have been tested using a series of ordinary least squares (OLS) regression analyses. More specifically, the following research questions were addressed: 1) In general, are traditional beliefs about gender roles associated with increased levels of violence against women across all counties? 2) How does social capital interact with traditional gender role attitudes? Specifically, is the effect of traditional gender role attitudes on violence against women mitigated or enhanced by social capital factors? 3) Are men's traditional gender attitudes more predictive of violence against women in cross-sectional comparisons than differences in women's traditional gender attitudes?

ANALYTICAL APPROACH

OLS regression was conducted to examine the relationships between traditional gender attitudes, social capital, physical and domestic violence, and sexual assaults. Separate regression models were constructed for the different dependent variables, physical/domestic violence and sexual assaults. Due to skewness, both dependent variables were logged. Each model included the traditional gender attitude index. The social capital index was incorporated into relevant models. In order to thoroughly examine the relationships between the independent and dependent variables, control

variables relating to demographics, economics, and regional differences were added to the models. One of these variables is a dummy variable identifying whether or not a particular county is located in the southern part of the U.S. (44.4% of counties are located in the South). This variable was coded as a 1 if the county is located in the South and a 0 if it is not. The second control variable is the population density per square mile of land area for each county, and this is a continuous variable. This variable was logged because of skewness. The final control variable is the demographic and economic index. This index consists of the percentage of the population unemployed, without a college degree or higher, between the ages of 15 and 24, in poverty, with minority status, and the percentage of single female heads of household.

For each of the regression models, residuals were examined carefully to ensure there were no problems with heteroscedasticity or error patterns. The residuals proved to be homoscedastic with no autocorrelation or troublesome pattern in the distribution of error forms. All standardized residuals had a mean close to zero and a standard deviation close to 1.

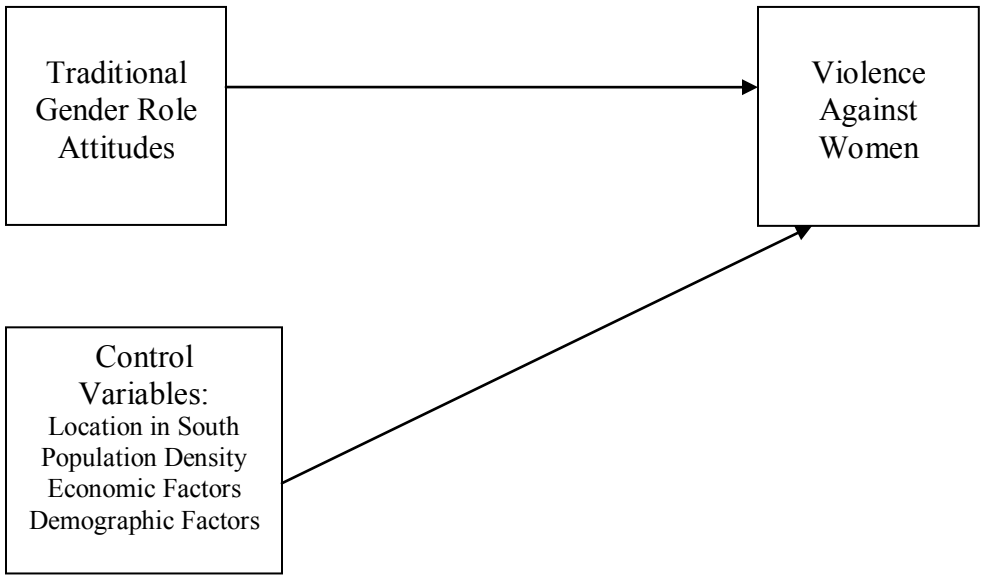
RESEARCH QUESTION 1:

In general, are traditional beliefs about gender roles associated with increased levels of violence against women nationwide?

In order to assess the relationship between traditional gender attitudes and violence against women, the hypothesized path model was tested (see Figure 5.1). As Model 1 shows, the prevalence of traditional gender attitudes is hypothesized to predict rates of violence against women such as sexual assault and physical/domestic violence while controlling for population density, a location in the South, and demographic and

economic factors. The research literature discussed in the previous four chapters illuminate the importance of these controlling variables since they are shown to influence crime rates, especially crimes involving the perpetration of violence against women by men.

Figure 5.1 Violence Against Women Predicted by Traditional Gender Attitudes



First, the effects of traditional gender attitudes on sexual assaults were examined[7]. When looking at Table 5.1, it can be seen that Model 1 examined the effects of only traditional gender attitudes on sexual assaults. Traditional gender attitudes significantly predict sexual assaults at the .01 level and the overall model is statistically significant at the .01 level with an R^2 of .27.

[7] The Durbin-Watson statistic for every analysis in this chapter was so close to two that the assumption of independent errors is met. After examining simple frequency distributions, correlations, VIF statistics, tolerance statistics, and scatterplot diagrams, it was determined that there were no outliers or collinearity problems except where noted in the text. In other words, all the assumption of OLS regression were satisfied.

Table 5.1: Traditional Gender Attitudes Predicting Sexual Assaults (N = 27)

Predictor Variable	Model 1
Traditional Gender Attitudes Scale	0.55**
Pop. Density logged	———
South	———
Demographic and Economic Scale	———
Constant	-6.26**
Model *F*	10.33**
Adjusted R^2	.27
Std. Error of Estimate	.468

NOTE: Coefficients are displayed as standardized coefficients.
* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, and *** $p < .001$

Model 2 in Table 5.2 includes population density logged and a location in the South predictor variables. The model is statistically significant at the .01 level and it is more predictive than Model 1 ($R^2 = .36$). The traditional gender attitudes scale is the only statistically significant predictor in this model and this effect is in the expected direction.

Table 5.2: Traditional Gender Attitudes with County Controls Predicting Sexual Assaults (N = 27)

Predictor Variable	Model 1	Model 2
Traditional Gender Attitudes Scale	0.55**	0.58**
Pop. Density logged	———	-0.30
South	———	-0.33
Demographic and Economic Scale	———	———
Constant	-6.26**	-6.46*
Model *F*	10.33**	5.62**
Adjusted R^2	.27	.36
Std. Error of Estimate	.468	.439

NOTE: Coefficients are displayed as standardized coefficients.
* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, and *** $p < .001$

As seen in table 5.3, Model 3 included the demographic and economic scale, and the predictive power of the model is higher than Model 1, but less than Model 2 (R^2 = .33). Once again, traditional gender attitudes scale is the only significant predictor of sexual assaults at the .01 level. As the traditional gender attitude scale increases by one standard deviation, sexual assaults increase by .58 of a standard deviation. This set of findings shows that counties with more traditional gender attitudes have higher rates of sexual assaults.

Table 5.3: Traditional Gender Attitudes with All Controls Predicting Sexual Assaults (N = 27)

Predictor Variable	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Traditional Gender Attitudes Scale	0.55**	0.58**	0.58**
Pop. Density Logged	———	-0.30	-0.30
South	———	-0.33	-0.35
Demographic and Economic Scale	———	———	0.03
Constant	-6.26**	-6.46*	-6.53*
Model *F*	10.33**	5.62**	4.04*
Adjusted R^2	.27	.36	.33
Std. Error of Estimate	.468	.439	.449

NOTE: Coefficients are displayed as standardized coefficients.
* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, and *** $p < .001$

Next, the effects of traditional gender attitudes on physical assaults or acts of domestic violence were examined. Table 5.4 presents the results of the OLS regression. Model 1 only examined the effects of traditional gender attitudes on physical assaults. Traditional attitudes significantly predict sexual assaults at the .001 level. The overall model has an impressive statistical significance at the .001 level, and gender attitudes alone appear to be more predictive of physical assaults ($R^2 = .31$) than sexual assaults ($R^2 = .27$).

Table 5.4: Traditional Gender Attitudes Predicting Physical Assaults (N = 27)

Predictor Variable	Model 1
Traditional Gender Attitudes Scale	0.58***
Pop. Density Logged	———
South	———
Demographic and Economic Scale	———
Constant	-8.09**
Model *F*	12.83***
Adjusted R^2	.31
Std. Error of Estimate	.588

NOTE: Coefficients are displayed as standardized coefficients.
* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, and *** $p < .001$

Model 2 incorporates the predictor variables population density logged and a location in the South into the analysis. The model is statistically significant at the .05 level and is slightly less predictive than Model 1 ($R^2 = .28$). Once more, the traditional gender attitudes scale is the only statistically significant predictor in this model at the .01 level, and the effect is in the expected direction.

Table 5.5: Traditional Gender Attitudes with County Controls Predicting Physical Assaults (N = 27)

Predictor Variable	Model 1	Model 2
Traditional Gender Attitudes Scale	0.58***	0.55**
Pop. Density Logged	———	-0.16
South	———	-0.07
Demographic and Economic Scale	———	———
Constant	-8.09**	-7.52*
Model *F*	12.83***	4.30*
Adjusted R^2	.31	.28
Std. Error of Estimate	.588	.604

NOTE: Coefficients are displayed as standardized coefficients.
* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, and *** $p < .001$

The predictive power of Model 3 in Table 5.6 includes the demographic and economic scale and is even less predictive than Model 1 and Model 2 ($R^2 = .25$). Models 2 and 3 show that traditional gender attitudes are less predictive of physical assaults (Table 5.6) than sexual assaults (Table 5.3) when control variables are added to the analyses. Similar to the analyses on sexual assaults, traditional gender attitudes are the only significant predictors of physical assaults in all models. As the traditional gender attitude scale increases by one standard deviation, physical assaults increase by .53 of a standard deviation when all control variables are considered.

Table 5.6: Traditional Gender Attitudes with All Controls Predicting Physical Assaults (N = 27)

Predictor Variable	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Traditional Gender Attitudes Scale	0.58***	0.55**	0.53*
Pop. Density Logged	———	-0.16	-0.15
South	———	-0.07	-0.23
Demographic and Economic Scale	———	———	-0.08
Constant	-8.09**	-7.52*	-7.18*
Model *F*	12.83***	4.30*	3.15*
Adjusted R^2	.31	.28	.25
Std. Error of Estimate	.588	.604	.615

NOTE: Coefficients are displayed as standardized coefficients.
* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, and *** $p < .001$

This set of findings lend support for the hypothesis that the prevalence of traditional gender attitudes in counties significantly, positively predicts their rates of violence against women, specifically sexual assault and physical/domestic violence. This finding is robust for it remains strong while controlling for population density, a location in the South, and demographic and economic factors.

Control Variables Predicting Traditional Gender Attitudes

There is the possibility that population density, a location in the South, and demographic and economic factors predict traditional gender attitudes. To test this assumption, two OLS regression models were run. Based on the literature, a location in

the South is expected to predict traditional gender and gender role attitudes. Model 1 in Table 5.7 confirms the research literature. The model is significant at the .05 level with an R^2 of .18 and a location in the South is significantly predicting traditional gender attitudes at the .05 level.

Model 2 includes all of the control variables used in this dissertation. Once more, the model is significant at the .05 level and a location in the South is significantly predicting traditional gender attitudes at the .05 level again. No other control variables are statistically significant, but Model 2 ($R^2 = .19$) has more predictive power than Model 1 ($R^2 = .15$). More than any other variable, a location in the South is significantly correlated with the presence of traditional gender attitudes. The control variables are not only predicting violence against women, but they are also predicting the actual presence of traditional gender attitudes as well.

Table 5.7: Control Variables Predicting Traditional Gender Attitudes (N =27)

Predictor Variable	Model 1	Model 2
Pop. Density Logged	———	-0.23
South	0.42*	0.44*
Demographic and Economic Scale	———	-0.24
Constant	2.71***	2.71***
Model *F*	5.39*	3.06*
Adjusted R^2	.15	.19
Std. Error of Estimate	.105	.102

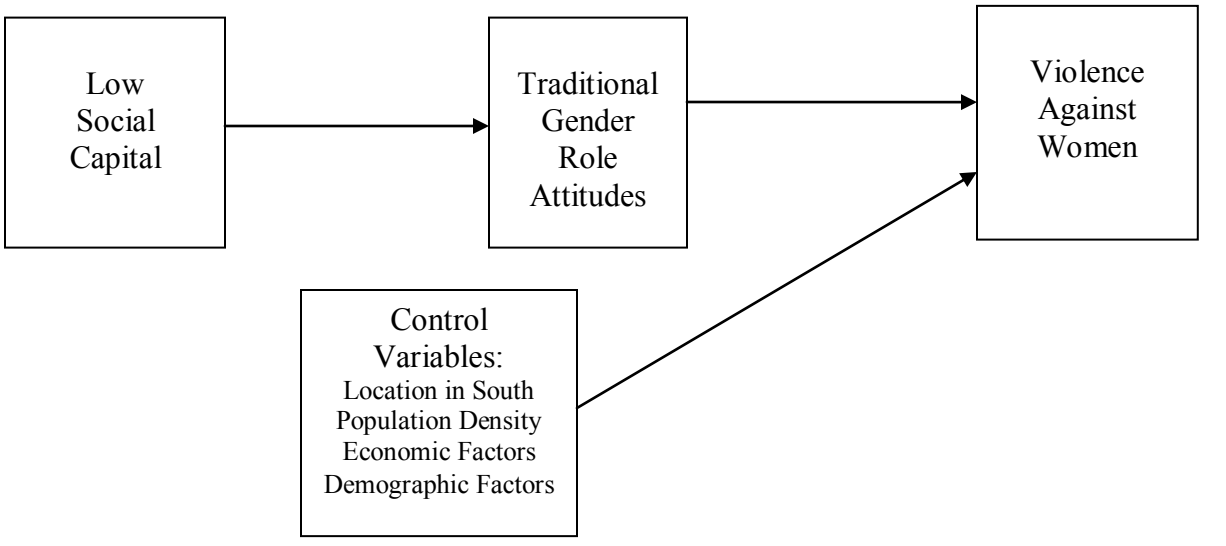
*Coefficients are displayed as standardized coefficients.
* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, and *** $p < .001$

RESEARCH QUESTION 2:

How does social capital interact with traditional gender role attitudes? Specifically, is the effect of traditional gender role attitudes on violence against women mitigated or enhanced by social capital factors?

To investigate the relationship between traditional gender attitudes and violence against women, the hypothesized path model was tested (see Figure 5.2). As Model 1 shows, social capital is hypothesized to serve as a mitigating factor in the effects of traditional gender role attitudes on violence against women such as sexual assault and physical/domestic violence while controlling for population density, a location in the South, and demographic and economic factors. This is based on the empirical research discussed in Chapter Three asserting that areas with higher levels of social capital or localized trust have lower rates of violent crime.

Figure 5.2 Violence Against Women Mitigated by Social Capital



The first series of models examines the effects of social capital on traditional gender attitudes and sexual assaults. Table 5.8 compares the previous finding of traditional gender attitudes alone on sexual assaults (Model 1) with an analysis including social capital (Model 2). Traditional attitudes significantly predict sexual assaults at the .01 level in both models, and both overall models are statistically significant at the .01 level with an R^2 of .27. There does not appear to be much change in Model 2 with the addition of social capital except for an increase in the standardized coefficient for traditional gender attitudes.

Table 5.8: Traditional Gender Attitudes and Social Capital Predicting Sexual Assaults (N = 27)

Predictor Variable	Model 1	Model 2
Traditional Gender Attitudes Scale	0.55**	0.73**
Social Capital Scale		-0.24
Pop. Density logged		
South		
Demographic and Economic Scale		
Constant	-6.26**	-5.40*
Model *F*	10.33**	5.62**
Adjusted R^2	.27	.27
Std. Error of Estimate	.468	.468

NOTE: Coefficients are displayed as standardized coefficients.
* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, and *** $p < .001$

Table 5.9 introduces Model 3, which added population density and a location in

the South into the analyses. This model added more predictive power of sexual assaults ($R^2 = .33$). Traditional gender attitudes lost its significance, and the standardized coefficient became smaller. It appears that social capital is mitigating the effects of traditional gender attitudes on sexual assault in the expected direction. In other words, in counties with more social capital there are fewer crimes of sexual assault.

Table 5.9: Traditional Gender Attitudes and Social Capital Predicting Sexual Assaults with County Controls (N = 27)

Predictor Variable	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Traditional Gender Attitudes Scale	0.55**	0.73**	0.51
Social Capital Scale	———	-0.24	0.10
Pop. Density logged	———	———	-0.32
South	———	———	-0.38
Demographic and Economic Scale	———	———	———
Constant	-6.26**	-5.40*	-6.89*
Model *F*	10.33**	5.62**	4.07*
Adjusted R^2	.27	.27	.33
Std. Error of Estimate	.468	.468	.449

NOTE: Coefficients are displayed as standardized coefficients.
* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, and *** $p < .001$

Table 5.10 adds the last model for predicting sexual assaults, which includes the demographic and economic scale variable. Model 4 is significant at the .05 level and has less predictive power of sexual assaults ($R^2 = .30$) than Model 3, but more than Model 1

and Model 2. Traditional gender attitudes is not statistically significant and the standardized coefficient is the same as Model 3 while the standardized coefficient for social capital increased without statistical significance. Once again, social capital is mitigating the effects of traditional gender attitudes on sexual assault in the expected direction.

Table 5.10: Traditional Gender Attitudes and Social Capital Predicting Sexual Assaults with All Controls (N = 27)

Predictor Variable	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Traditional Gender Attitudes Scale	0.55**	0.73**	0.51	0.51
Social Capital Scale	———	-0.24	0.10	1.10
Pop. Density logged	———	———	-0.32	-0.32
South	———	———	-0.38	-0.38
Demographic and Economic Scale	———	———	———	0.00
Constant	-6.26**	-5.40*	-6.89*	-6.89*
Model *F*	10.33**	5.62**	4.07*	3.10*
Adjusted R^2	.27	.27	.33	.30
Std. Error of Estimate	.468	.468	.449	.460

NOTE: Coefficients are displayed as standardized coefficients.
* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, and *** $p < .001$

The next step in the analyses was to see if the same results were true when predicting physical/domestic assaults. When comparing Model 1 in Table 5.11 where traditional gender attitudes alone are included in the model with Model 2 in which social capital was added, the traditional gender attitudes measure maintains its statistical

significance at the .01 level. The R^2 slightly decreases from .31 in Model 1 to .29 in Model 2.

Table 5.11: Traditional Gender Attitudes and Social Capital Predicting Physical Assaults (N = 27)

Predictor Variable	Model 1	Model 2
Traditional Gender Attitudes Scale	0.58***	0.65**
Social Capital Scale	———	-0.09
Pop. Density Logged	———	———
South	———	———
Demographic and Economic Scale	———	———
Constant	-8.09**	-7.63*
Model *F*	12.83***	6.28**
Adjusted R^2	.31	.29
Std. Error of Estimate	.588	.599

NOTE: Coefficients are displayed as standardized coefficients.
* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, and *** $p < .001$

Table 5.12 presents Model 3, which includes a location in the South and population density. The overall model is statistically significant at the .05 level. Surprisingly, the traditional gender attitudes measure maintains statistical significance at the .05 level, although the predictive power of the overall model continues to decrease ($R^2 = .24$). Interestingly, the social capital scale, even though it is not statistically significant, has a negative sign in Model 2 and Model 3. This is contrary to expectations

since social capital is coded in such a way that the higher the number the less social capital a county has.

Table 5.12: Traditional Gender Attitudes and Social Capital Predicting Physical Assaults with County Controls (N = 27)

Predictor Variable	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Traditional Gender Attitudes Scale	0.58***	0.65**	0.58*
Social Capital Scale	———	-0.09	-0.04
Pop. Density Logged	———	———	-0.15
South	———	———	-0.05
Demographic and Economic Scale	———	———	———
Constant	-8.09**	-7.63*	-7.24
Model *F*	12.83***	6.28**	3.09*
Adjusted R^2	.31	.29	.24
Std. Error of Estimate	.588	.599	.617

NOTE: Coefficients are displayed as standardized coefficients.
* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, and *** $p < .001$

The last model is added to Table 5.13 and contains the demographic and economic scale variable. Model 4 is not statistically significant and social capital is not statistically significant in any of the models. However, it is apparent that the predictive power of the models decrease with each change. These findings do not support the proposed hypothesis as strongly as the findings for sexual assaults.

Table 5.13: Traditional Gender Attitudes and Social Capital Predicting Physical Assaults with All Controls (N=27)

Predictor Variable	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Traditional Gender Attitudes Scale	0.58***	0.65**	0.58*	0.49
Social Capital Scale	———	-0.09	-0.04	0.06
Pop. Density Logged	———	———	-0.15	-0.78
South	———	———	-0.05	-.015
Demographic and Economic Scale	———	———	———	-.10
Constant	-8.09**	-7.63*	-7.24	-7.47
Model *F*	12.83***	6.28**	3.09*	2.41
Adjusted R^2	.31	.29	.24	.21
Std. Error of Estimate	.588	.599	.617	.629

NOTE: Coefficients are displayed as standardized coefficients.
* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, and *** $p < .001$

Social capital interacts with traditional gender role attitudes differently depending on the type of violence. More specifically, the effect of traditional gender role attitudes on sexual assaults was mitigated by social capital factors except in models without control variables. Conversely, social capital appeared to reduce the predictive power of the models for physical assaults, but the index of traditional gender attitudes maintained and increased its standardized coefficient in different models containing social capital. Although, in the full model of physical assaults (Model 4) containing all relevant control variables, social capital clearly shows a mediating effect. In general, this observation provides support for the hypothesis that social capital serves as a mitigating factor in the effects of traditional gender role attitudes on violence against women.

Social Capital Predicting Traditional Gender Attitudes

When thinking of reverse influences, Table 5.7 shows that a location in the South is significantly predicting traditional gender attitudes at the .05 level. No other control variables were statistically significant, but Model 2 ($R^2 = .19$) with all control variables has more predictive power than Model 1 ($R^2 = .15$). This makes it important to determine whether or not social capital is influencing traditional gender attitudes as well.

Model 1 in Table 5.14 examines the effect of social capital alone on traditional gender attitudes. The model is significant at the .001 level with an impressive R^2 of .46. The lack of social capital is significantly predicting traditional gender attitudes at the .001 level. This may suggest that those counties featuring less social capital have a diminished ability to transform its citizens' ideas about women and women's roles.

Model 2 includes all of the control variables and social capital. Once more, the model is significant at the .001 level and a location in the South is no longer significantly predicting traditional gender attitudes when social capital is introduced into the model. Social capital and the demographic and economic scale variables are statistically significant at the .001 level, and Model 2 has more predictive power than Model 1 with a notable R^2 equaling .67. More specifically, as social capital decreases by one standard deviation, traditional gender attitudes increase by .91 of a standard deviation. This is the expected theoretical direction for social capital, while the direction of the demographic and economic scale is contrary to the anticipated direction. This finding shows that a lack of social capital is an extremely strong predictor of traditional gender attitudes.

Table 5.14: Social Capital Predicting Traditional Gender Attitudes (N = 27)

Predictor Variable	Model 1	Model 2
Social Capital Scale	0.70***	0.91***
Pop. Density Logged	———	-0.24
South	———	-0.05
Demographic and Economic Scale	———	-0.47***
Constant	0.87*	0.31
Model *F*	23.3***	14.3***
Adjusted R^2	.46	.67
Std. Error of Estimate	.083	.065

*Coefficients are displayed as standardized coefficients.
* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, and *** $p < .001$

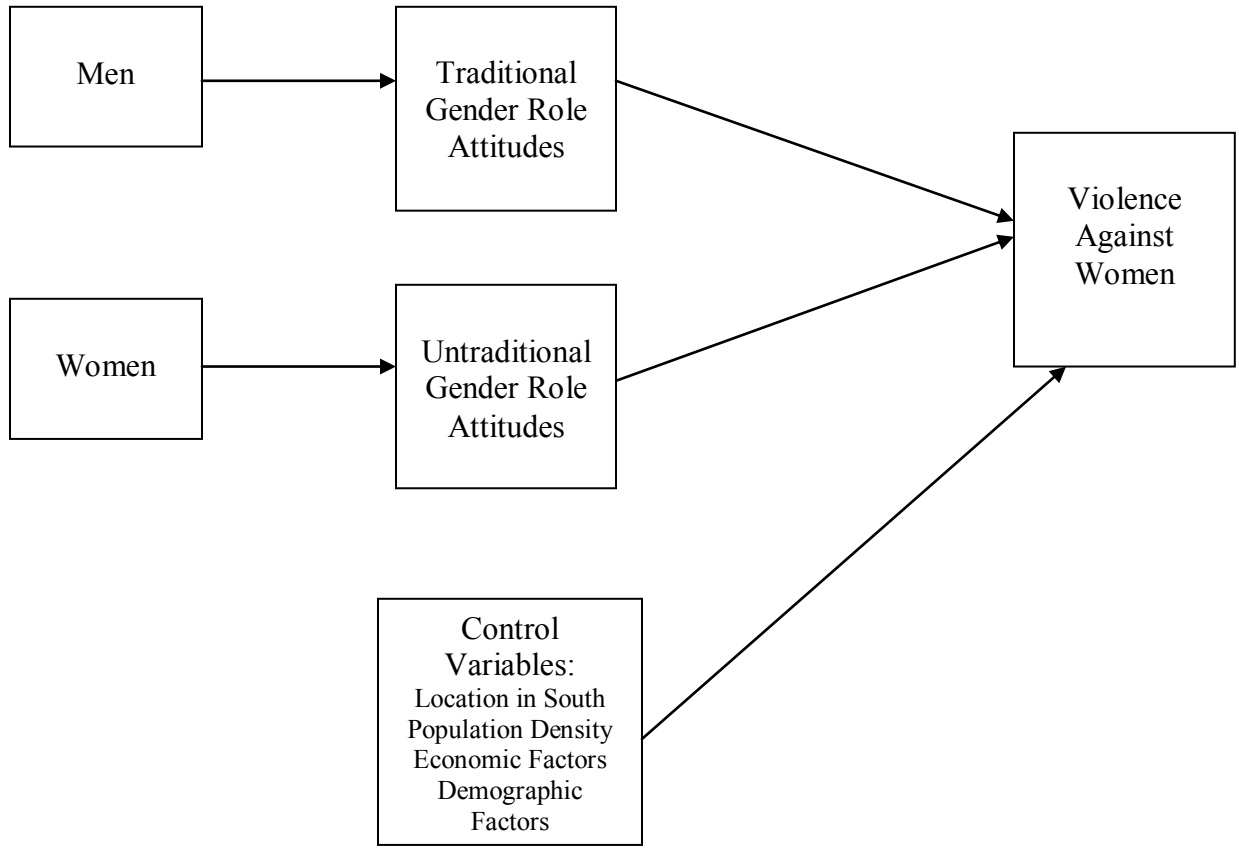
RESEARCH QUESTION 3:

Are men's traditional gender attitudes more predictive of violence against women in cross-sectional analyses of counties than differences in women's traditional gender attitudes?

In order to investigate the relationship between males' and females' traditional gender attitudes and violence against women, the hypothesized path model was tested (see Figure 5.3). It is hypothesized that men's traditional gender attitudes will be more predictive of violence against women in cross-sectional analyses than women's gender attitudes while controlling for population density, a location in the South, and key demographic and economic factors. Furthermore, Model 1 shows the hypothesis that men's traditional gender attitudes will predict violence against women while women's

untraditional gender attitudes will predict violence against women as suggested by the empirical research discussed in Chapters One and Two.

Figure 5.3 Violence Against Women Predicted by Men and Women with Strong Traditional Gender Attitudes



The first step in determining the gender differences in the prediction of violence against women is to compare the gender attitudes of males and females separately for the crime of sexual assault. This was done in a step-by-step process first looking at only male or female gender attitudes (Models 1 and 4), then adding county control variables (Models 2 and 5), and lastly including all control variables (Models 3 and 6).

As shown in Table 5.15, all models were statistically significant for males and females. The most predictive model for males is Model 2 (R^2 = .27) and Model 5 for the females (R^2 = .32) showing that women have the most powerful overall model. Both of these models contained all variables except for the demographic and economic scale variable. Females also have higher standardized coefficients and $R^{2'}$s than the males for all models. This suggests that women's traditional gender attitudes are more predictive of sexual assaults than men's gender attitudes, albeit only slightly.

Table 5.15: Gender Differences Predicting Sexual Assaults (N=27)

Predictor Variable	M 1	M 2	M 3	M 4	M 5	M 6
Males' Traditional Gender Attitudes Scale	0.48*	0.44*	0.44*	———	———	———
Females' Traditional Gender Attitudes Scale	———	———	———	0.51**	0.54*	0.55*
Pop. Density Logged	———	-0.35	-0.35	———	-0.32	-0.33
South	———	-0.24	-0.23	———	-0.35	-0.36
Demographic and Economic Scale	———	———	-0.01	———	———	0.02
Constant	-6.26*	-5.47	-5.46	-4.14*	-4.35*	-4.38*
Model *F*	7.27*	4.02*	2.88*	8.23**	4.94**	3.54*
Adjusted R^2	.20	.27	.23	.22	.32	.29
Std. Error of Estimate	.490	.470	.481	.483	.452	.462

NOTE: Coefficients are displayed as standardized coefficients.
* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, and *** $p < .001$

The second step in examining the gender differences in the prediction of violence

against women is to compare the gender attitudes of males and females separately for the crime of physical assault. This was also done in a step-by-step process first looking at only male or female gender attitudes (Models 1 and 4), then adding county control variables (Models 2 and 5), and lastly including all control variables (Models 3 and 6).

Table 5.16 shows all models for females and only Model 1 for the males as statistically significant. The most predictive model for males is Model 1 ($R^2 = .19$) and Model 4 for the females ($R^2 = .31$) showing once again that women have the most powerful overall model. Both of these models excluded all control variables. Once more, females also have higher standardized coefficients and R^2's than the males for all models. This finding suggests that women's traditional gender attitudes are statistically more significant predictors of physical assaults than men's gender attitudes.

Table 5.16: Gender Differences Predicting Physical Assaults (N=27)

Predictor Variable	M 1	M 2	M 3	M 4	M 5	M 6
Males' Traditional Gender Attitudes Scale	0.47*	0.39	0.37	———	———	———
Females' Traditional Gender Attitudes Scale	———	———	———	0.58***	0.56**	0.54*
Pop. Density Logged	———	-0.20	-0.19	———	-0.17	-0.16
South	———	0.03	0.10	———	-0.09	-0.05
Demographic and Economic Scale	———	———	-0.15	———	———	-0.09
Constant	-7.19*	-5.76	-5.32	-5.70*	-5.39*	-5.13
Model *F*	6.91*	2.65	2.08	12.73***	4.36*	3.21*
Adjusted R^2	.19	.16	.14	.31	.28	.25
Std. Error of Estimate	.641	.650	.657	.589	.602	.613

NOTE: Coefficients are displayed as standardized coefficients.
* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, and *** $p < .001$

The third step in discerning the gender differences in the prediction of violence against women is to compare the gender attitudes of males and females combined with those of males and females separately for the crime of sexual assault. No controls are added at this point in the analyses.

As shown in Table 5.17, all models are statistically significant. The most predictive model is the traditional gender attitudes of males and females combined ($R^2 = .27$) in Model 1 followed by Model 3 with only female traditional gender attitudes ($R^2 = .22$) with males having slightly less predictive power ($R^2 = .20$). This order proves true for the standardized coefficients as well. This implies that both men's and women's

collective traditional gender attitudes are statistically more significant predictors of sexual assaults than men's or women's gender attitudes alone.

Table 5.17: Gender Predicting Sexual Assaults (N = 27)

Predictor Variable	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Traditional Gender Attitudes Scale	0.55**	———	———
Males' Traditional Gender Attitudes Scale	———	0.48*	———
Females' Traditional Gender Attitudes Scale	———	———	0.51**
Constant	-6.26**	-6.26*	-4.14*
Model *F*	10.33**	7.27*	8.23**
Adjusted R^2	.27	.20	.22
Std. Error of Estimate	.468	.490	.483

NOTE: Coefficients are displayed as standardized coefficients.
* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, and *** $p < .001$

The fourth step in distinguishing the gender differences in the prediction of violence against women is to compare the gender attitudes of males and females together with those of males and females separately for the crime of physical assault. Again, no controls are added at this point in the analyses. Table 5.18 presents the three statistically significant models. The traditional gender attitudes of males and females combined in Model 1 shares the same predictive quality as Model 3 featuring only females' traditional gender attitudes ($R^2 = .31$). The males' traditional gender attitudes have quite a bit less predictive power ($R^2 = .19$) as seen in Model 2. This is also true of the standardized coefficients as well. This suggests that only women's and both men's and women's

collective traditional gender attitudes are statistically more significant predictors of physical assaults than men's gender attitudes alone.

Table 5.18: Gender Predicting Physical Assaults (N = 27)

Predictor Variable	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Traditional Gender Attitudes Scale	0.58***	———	———
Males' Traditional Gender Attitudes Scale	———	0.47*	———
Females' Traditional Gender Attitudes Scale	———	———	0.58***
Constant	-8.09**	-7.19*	-5.70*
Model *F*	12.83***	6.91*	12.73***
Adjusted R^2	.31	.19	.31
Std. Error of Estimate	.588	.641	.589

NOTE: Coefficients are displayed as standardized coefficients.
* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, and *** $p < .001$

The fifth step in the analysis is to compare the gender attitudes of males and females combined with those of males and females separately for the crime of sexual assault, adding all of the control variables into the analyses. All models in Table 5.19 are statistically significant at the .05 level. The most predictive model is the traditional gender attitudes of males and females together ($R^2 = .33$), followed by Model 3 with only females' traditional gender attitudes ($R^2 = .29$). One increase in the standard deviation by both men's and women's collective traditional gender attitudes results in a .58 increase in sexual assaults.

Table 5.19: Gender Predicting Sexual Assaults with Controls (N = 27)

Predictor Variable	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Traditional Gender Attitudes Scale	0.58**		
Males' Traditional Gender Attitudes Scale		0.44*	
Females' Traditional Gender Attitudes Scale			0.55*
Pop. Density logged	-0.30	-0.35	-0.33
South	-0.35	-0.23	-0.36
Demographic and Economic Scale	0.03	-0.01	0.02
Constant	-6.53*	-5.46	-4.38*
Model *F*	4.04*	2.88*	3.54*
Adjusted R^2	.33	.23	.29
Std. Error of Estimate	.449	.481	.462

NOTE: Coefficients are displayed as standardized coefficients.
* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, and *** $p < .001$

The last step evaluates the gender attitudes of males and females together with those of males and females separately for the crime of physical assault incorporating all control variables. In Table 5.20, Model 2 featuring male traditional gender attitudes is the only model not statistically significant. The traditional gender attitudes of males and females combined in Model 1 has the same predictive power as female's traditional gender attitudes alone ($R^2 = .25$). Yet again, both men's and women's collective traditional gender attitudes and women's alone are statistically more significant predictors of physical assaults than the gender attitudes of men.

Table 5.20: Gender Predicting Physical Assaults with Controls (N = 27)

Predictor Variable	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Traditional Gender Attitudes Scale	0.53*	———	———
Males' Traditional Gender Attitudes Scale	———	0.37	———
Females' Traditional Gender Attitudes Scale	———	———	0.54*
Pop. Density Logged	-0.15	-0.19	-0.16
South	-0.23	0.10	-0.05
Demographic and Economic Scale	-0.08	-0.15	-0.09
Constant	-7.18*	-5.32	-5.13
Model *F*	3.15*	2.08	3.21*
Adjusted R^2	.25	.14	.25
Std. Error of Estimate	.615	.657	.613

NOTE: Coefficients are displayed as standardized coefficients.
* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, and *** $p < .001$

Hypothesis 3a stated that men's traditional gender attitudes would be more predictive of violence against women than women's gender attitudes. This was not proven true by any of the analyses, either for sexual assault or for physical assault. Hypothesis 3b declared that men's traditional gender attitudes would predict violence against women while women's untraditional gender attitudes would predict violence against women. The first part of this hypothesis is true. Men's traditional gender attitudes consistently predicted both sexual and physical assaults; however, it was also women's traditional gender attitudes that predicted the crimes of violence against women.

Gender Differences Predicting Violence Against Women with Social Capital

It is also important to examine the effect of social capital on gender differences in the prediction of violence against women. This was accomplished by first looking at male or female gender attitudes together and alone with social capital (Models 1 through 3) and then incorporating all control variables (Models 4 through 6) using sexual assaults as the dependent variable. Interestingly, there were severe collinearity problems between the social capital scale and the female's traditional gender attitudes scale. Model 3 had collinearity issues in which social capital and female's traditional gender attitudes had VIF scores of 2.97 and Tolerance scores of .34. Model 6 in Table 5.21 also had a VIF score of 8.79 and a Tolerance score of .11 for social capital and a VIF score of 7.24 and a Tolerance score of .14 for female's traditional gender attitudes. Consequently, the findings of these models should be interpreted with considerable caution.

All models set forth in Table 5.21 achieve statistical significance. The combination of male and female traditional gender attitudes ($R^2 = .27$) is most predictive, followed by women alone ($R^2 = .24$); however, female traditional gender attitudes has a higher standardized coefficient (.80) than both genders together (.73). When comparing Table 5.21 with Table 5.17 and 5.19, it appears that social capital is having a mitigating effect on male's traditional gender attitudes' influence on sexual assaults by reducing the R^2 from .20 to .17 in Model 2, the standardized coefficients from .48 to .45 in Model 2, and the standardized coefficients from .44 to .29 in Model 5.

It appears that social capital is actually enhancing female's traditional gender attitudes' influence on sexual assaults by increasing the R^2 from .22 to .24 and the standardized coefficient from .51 to .80 in Model 3. This finding is completely opposite when controls are added in Model 6. Social capital is now mitigating female's traditional

gender attitudes' influence on sexual assaults by decreasing the R^2 from .29 to .25 and reducing the standardized coefficient from .55 to .50. The collinearity problems present make the findings in regard to female's traditional gender attitudes and social capital erroneous.

Table 5.21: Gender Predicting Sexual Assaults with Social Capital (N = 27)

Predictor Variable	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6
Traditional Gender Attitudes Scale	0.73**	———	———	0.51	———	———
Males' Traditional Gender Attitudes Scale	———	0.45*	———	———	0.29	———
Females' Traditional Gender Attitudes Scale	———	———	0.80*	———	———	0.50
Social Capital Scale	-0.24	0.08	-0.36	1.10	0.39	0.06
Pop. Density logged	———	———	———	-0.32	-0.39	-0.34
South	———	———	———	-0.38	-0.40	-0.37
Demographic and Economic Scale	———	———	———	0.00	-0.12	-0.00
Constant	-5.40*	-6.71*	-2.32	-6.89*	-8.31*	-4.69
Model *F*	5.62**	3.57*	4.92*	3.10*	2.93*	2.70*
Adjusted R^2	.27	.17	.24	.30	.28	.25
Std. Error of Estimate	.468	.499	.478	.460	.466	.473

NOTE: Coefficients are displayed as standardized coefficients.
* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, and *** $p < .001$

Collinearity problems were also present between the social capital scale and the female's traditional gender attitudes scale in Model 6 of Table 5.22. The social capital

scale had a VIF score of 8.12 and a Tolerance score of .12 and female's traditional gender attitudes had a VIF score of 6.17 and a Tolerance score of .16. Model 6 also had additional collinearity issues in which social capital and female's traditional gender attitudes had VIF scores of 2.97 and Tolerance scores of .34. The findings of this particular model should be interpreted with due caution.

Models 1 through 3 in Table 5.21 are statistically significant. These models only look at the different gender traditional gender attitudes influence on physical assaults. Women's traditional gender attitudes alone ($R^2 = .31$) are most predictive (Model 3), followed by the combination of male and female traditional gender attitudes ($R^2 = .29$) (Model 1). The females' traditional gender attitudes scale has a higher standardized coefficient (.76) than both genders together (.65) as well. When comparing Table 5.22 with Table 5.18 and 5.20 , social capital is having a mitigating effect on male's traditional gender attitudes' influence on physical assaults by reducing the R^2 from .19 to .18 in Model 2, the standardized coefficients from .47 to .38 in Model 2, and the standardized coefficients from .37 to .23 in Model 5.

When comparing Table 5.22 with Table 5.18 and 5.20 , it appears that social capital is having a conflicting influence on the effects of female's traditional gender attitudes' influence on physical assaults by maintaining the R^2 of .31 and increasing the standardized coefficient from .58 to .76 in Model 3. This finding is altered when controls are added in Model 6. Social capital is now mitigating female's traditional gender attitudes' influence on physical assaults by decreasing the R^2 from .25 to .22, but the standardized coefficient increased from .54 to .68. The substantial collinearity problems make this model somewhat flawed, of course.

Table 5.22: Gender Predicting Physical Assaults with Social Capital (N=27)

Predictor Variable	M1	M2	M3	M 4	M5	M6
Traditional Gender Attitudes Scale	0.65**	———	———	0.49	———	———
Males' Traditional Gender Attitudes Scale	———	0.38	———	———	0.23	———
Females' Traditional Gender Attitudes Scale	———	———	0.76**	———	———	0.68
Social Capital Scale	-0.09	0.18	-0.23	0.06	0.37	-0.18
Pop. Density	———	———	———	-0.78	-0.23	-0.13
South	———	———	———	-.015	-0.06	-0.01
Demographic and Economic Scale	———	———	———	-.10	-0.26	-0.01
Constant	-7.63*	-8.66*	-4.15	-7.47	-8.83	-3.90
Model *F*	6.28**	3.86*	6.70**	2.41	2.09	2.49
Adjusted R^2	.29	.18	.31	.21	.17	.22
Std. Error of Estimate	.599	.643	.592	.629	.645	.626

NOTE: Coefficients are displayed as standardized coefficients.
* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, and *** $p < .001$

SUPPLEMENTAL ANALYSES

Social Capital and Violence Against Women

Excluding traditional gender attitudes, it is quite pertinent to determine the effects of social capital alone on the violence against women measures. In Model 1 of Table 5.23, the social capital scale is significantly predicting sexual assaults at the .05 level. This is in the expected direction. Counties with lower levels of social capital have

increased rates of sexual assaults. The overall model is statistically significant at the .05 level, as well with an R^2 of .25. Population density exerts statistical significance in Model 1 as well. The direction of the standardized coefficient is interesting because a one standard deviation increase in population density results in a .46 decrease in sexual assaults.

Social capital is not statistically significant in predicting physical assaults in Model 2, although the social capital scale and the overall model was very close to reaching significance at the .05 level. Both of these analyses (Model 1 and 2) met the assumptions of OLS regression.

Table 5.23: Social Capital Predicting Sexual Assaults (SA) and Physical Assaults (PA) (N = 27)

Predictor Variable	SA-Model 1	PA-Model 2
Social Capital Scale	0.55*	.50
Pop. Density logged	-0.46*	-0.28
South	-0.41	-0.06
Demographic and Economic Scale	-0.19	-0.34
Constant	-6.14	-6.53
Model *F*	3.08*	2.33
Adjusted R^2	.25	.17
Std. Error of Estimate	.475	.647

NOTE: Coefficients are displayed as standardized coefficients.
* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, and *** $p < .001$

Gender and Social Capital Predicting UCR Index 1 Crimes

To ensure the validity of the proceeding analyses, it is important to test the traditional gender attitudes scale, the social capital scale and all control variables with the UCR Index 1 crimes consisting of murder, forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assaults/battery, burglary, theft, theft of motor vehicle, and arson. The question to be answered is whether or not, at the county-level, do traditional gender attitudes have the same relationship to index crimes as they demonstrate with the violence against women crimes. The crimes included both male and female perpetrators and victims.

The findings resulting from of this analysis are shown in Table 5.24. Slight collinearity problems were present with respect to the measures for social capital and traditional gender attitudes in this statistical model. With that limitation being stated, it can be declared that traditional gender attitudes were not predictive of all the Index 1 crimes, and neither was social capital. As should be expected, the demographic and economic scale was positively related and statistically significant at the .001 level. Since this scale contains many of the variables associated with social disorganization theory, this finding is not surprising. This set of findings could be interpreted to mean that these types of societal conditions variables are quite foretelling of overall crimes, and are not highly predictive of violence against women crimes. In contrast, traditional gender attitudes and the level of social capital are more relevant in the prediction of crimes of violence against women.

Table 5.24: Gender, Social Capital and All Controls Predicting UCR Index 1 Crimes

(N=27)

Predictor Variable	
Traditional Gender Attitudes Scale	-0.23
Social Capital Scale	-0.32
Pop. Density	0.20
South	0.08
Demographic and Economic Scale	0.74***
Constant	15259.08*
Model *F*	9.67***
Adjusted R^2	.63
Std. Error of Estimate	1020.67

NOTE: Coefficients are displayed as standardized coefficients.
* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, and *** $p < .001$

SUMMARY

This chapter presented the results of a series of OLS regression analyses. These findings indicate that traditional gender attitudes are predictive of physical and sexual assaults. Indeed, none of the control variables even reached statistical significance in the prediction of the violence against women crimes. Furthermore, social capital appears to play a mitigation role in the effects of traditional gender attitudes on sexual assaults, and a lesser role with physical assaults. When looking at gender differences in traditional gender attitudes, men's traditional gender attitudes were not more predictive of violence against women than women's traditional gender attitudes. Men's and women's traditional gender attitudes separately predicted both sexual and physical assaults repeatedly.

CHAPTER SIX

DISCUSSION

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation has sought to elucidate the dynamics and complex relationships existing among traditional gender attitudes, social capital, sexual assault victimization, and physical assault victimization. The proceeding chapters have described the prevalence of violence against women, and located its typical context of occurrence within the patriarchal society framework. This study represents the first attempt to combine the traditional gender attitudes and social capital theories in an analytic approach intended to advance our understanding of violence against women. This chapter presents a summation of the research and its results, and a discussion of the theoretical and policy implications derived along with some guidance for future research endeavors.

SUMMARY OF PRIOR RESEARCH

Decades of theoretical research has found that men who cling to traditional conceptions of gender roles and masculinity learn and embrace norms through socialization within the patriarchal culture that reflects the belief that male control over women is socially desirable. Strict adherence to traditional gender roles leads to the belief that violence against women is at times acceptable, in good part because women are to be considered of inferior social status when compared to men and need to "stay in their proper place" for social stability to be maintained. Physical assaults, some of which may even lead to homicides, and sexual aggression are clearly some of the most violent and extreme expressions of crimes of violence against women. Males with rigid gender

role expectations, hypermasculinity traits, social support for violence against women, and/or a fixation upon power and control issues are the most likely men to commit these violent acts (Haywood & Mac an Ghaill, 2003; Kandel-Englander, 1992; Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997).

While the patriarchal society framework would seem convincing, there are inconsistencies sprinkled throughout the empirical literature examining traditional gender role attitudes and crimes of violence against women. Inconsistencies in methodology, in sample size and composition, and in location of studies likely contribute to the inconsistencies in conclusions drawn. Moreover, it is noteworthy that most of these studies involve individuals whereas this study was carried out on the county-level. In the testing of theories related to the alleged connection between traditional gender attitudes and behavior, sound social science theories should have "leverage" applied at multiple levels of aggregation – at the level of individuals, counties, states and nation states. The current research is especially important to validate the theory of patriarchal society and assess its generalizability.

With respect to hypothesized mediating conditions, social capital has been suggested as a concept worthy of study in this area. Social capital is the capability of a collectivity through trust, reciprocity and shared values and understandings to achieve effective cooperative action in addressing broadly shared community needs and problems. Social trust is a fundamental aspect of social capital and refers to a general inclination to trust fellow community members. The presence of trust facilitates people working together toward achieving a shared goal or interest. Advocates of the theory of social capital express the belief that areas featuring high levels of social capital or localized trust have lower rates of crime; the empirical research available tends to support

this hypothesis (Sampson & Raudenbusch 1999; Sampson, Morenoff, & Earls, 1999; Kawachi, Kennedy, & Wilkinson, 1999; Wilkinson, Kawachi, & Kennedy, 1998; Sampson, Raudenbusch, & Earls, 1997). Evidence of this hypothesized relationship has been found with respect to crimes of violence against women – namely, physical assaults (Browning, 2002; Zolotor & Runyan, 2006) and sexual aggression (Burchfield & Mingus, 2008; Kruger, Hutchison, & Monroe, 2007; Bursik & Grasmick, 1993).

Social capital is another area of research where the "leverage" of a key concept must be shown applicable at multiple levels of social aggregation. Although a plethora of social capital studies exist examining different levels of aggregation, very few studies have investigated the relationship between social capital and the crimes of domestic violence and sexual assault. Additionally, since most studies did not look specifically at female victims and male perpetrators, and no prior social capital study has incorporated the area of traditional gender attitudes, the present study adds significantly to the literature by determining whether or not social capital and trust serve as a community-level protective factor for the commission of violent crimes against women.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

In order to gain better insight into the relationships among traditional gender attitudes, social capital, and violence against women, three specific research questions were investigated: 1) In general, are traditional beliefs about gender roles associated with increased levels of violence against women across counties? 2) How does social capital interact with traditional gender role attitudes? Specifically, is the effect of traditional gender role attitudes on violence against women mitigated or enhanced by social capital factors? and 3) Are men's traditional gender attitudes more predictive of violence against

women in cross-sectional analyses of counties than differences in women's traditional gender attitudes?

The first hypothesis was confirmed in that the prevalence of traditional gender attitudes predicted rates of violence against women, specifically sexual assault and physical/domestic violence while controlling for population density, a location in the South, and demographic and economic factors. It is important to note that a measure representing traditional gender attitudes was **the only statistically significant predictor of both sexual and physical assaults of women** even when all control variables were included in the analyses. These findings document the fact that counties whose citizens have more traditional gender role attitudes will have higher rates of physical and sexual violence against women, even after controlling for socio-demographic conditions. This finding is consistent with the theoretical literature linking traditional gender attitudes and violence against women (Esqueda & Harrison, 2005; Hilton, Harris, & Rice, 2003; Kilmartin, 2000; Marciniak, 1998; Johnson, 1997; Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997; Willis, Hallinan, & Melby, 1996; Walker, Rowe, & Quinsey, 1993; Bookwala, Frieze, Smith, & Ryan, 1992; Russell, 1975) and the limited amount of empirical research studying this widely suspected linkage (Haywood & Mac an Ghaill, 2003; Johnson, Kuck, & Schander, 1997; Kopper, 1996; Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994; Kandel-Englander, 1992; Shotland & Goodstein, 1983).

Social capital was hypothesized to serve as a mitigating factor in the effects of traditional gender role attitudes on violence against women in the form of sexual assaults and physical/domestic violence while controlling for population density, a location in the South, and demographic and economic factors. The analyses provided support for the hypothesis when all control variables were taken into consideration. In counties with less

social capital and more traditional gender attitudes, sexual and physical assaults inflicted upon the women by men were more numerous than in counties with higher social capital and more progressive gender attitudes. This outcome is in line with the social capital literature claiming that areas with high levels of social capital or localized trust will be likely to have lower rates of crime in general (Sampson & Raudenbusch 1999; Sampson, Morenoff, & Earls, 1999; Kawachi, Kennedy, & Wilkinson, 1999; Wilkinson, Kawachi, & Kennedy, 1998; Sampson, Raudenbusch, & Earls, 1997), of physical assaults (Zolotor & Runyan, 2006; Browning, 2002), and of sexual aassaults (Burchfield & Mingus, 2008; Kruger, Hutchison, & Monroe, 2007; Bursik & Grasmick, 1993). Social capital was shown to have a mitigating effect on male traditional gender attitudes' influence on physical and sexual assaults. For the most part, social capital also mitigated female traditional gender attitudes' influence on sexual and physical assaults, but the collinearity problems made this particular finding uncertain.

Hypothesis 3a claimed that men's traditional gender attitudes would be more predictive of violence against women than women's gender attitudes. This hypothesized claim was not proven true by any of the analyses conducted for either sexual assault or physical assault. Since men are primarily the individuals who choose to commit violent acts toward women, it was presumed that traditional gender attitudes held by men would be more predictive than those held by women. For physical assaults, male's traditional gender attitudes did not even reach statistical significance when all control variables were included in the analysis, whereas the female's traditional gender attitudes were found to be statistically significant.

Oftentimes, the unfortunate victims of intimate partner violence are criticized for not leaving the abusive relationships in which they find themselves involved. LaViolette

and Barnett (2000) identified several understandable reasons explaining why women often choose not to leave violent relationships. These reasons could explain why women's traditional gender attitudes are more predictive of violence than the male's traditional gender attitudes in regard to domestic and physical violence. Women are socialized to adhere to traditional gender role expectations and embrace their "supportive" role in the family, which requires them to please their partner and to be a "good wife" by being "forgiving" and "self-sacrificing." Many battered women blame themselves for their partner's violence because they feel they did not meet certain gender role expectations (e.g., cleaning, cooking, taking care of kids, pleasing the husband). Often, women in domestically violent relationships are committed to making their marriage or long-term relationship work, and this desire is generally reinforced by society (i.e., family, friends, song lyrics, literature, religion and media).

As explained previously, the *cycle of violence* often leads battered women to feel that their partners will change in time and that they are truly remorseful for their violent behavior. Most commonly, the abuse starts with minor incidences of violence, which in time lead to a major violent outburst. Nevertheless, it is the so-called "honeymoon phase" and fear of retribution that keeps a battered woman from leaving the relationship because, in this part of the cycle, the batterer will typically cry, apologize, buy gifts, promise to change, or tell the victim he is participating in treatment or is seeking help from some type of counselor (LaViolette & Barnett, 2000; Websdale, 1999). Over time many battered women become disillusioned through "learned hopefulness," a state of mind in which they truly believe their partner will never again repeat the abusive behavior they displayed in the past.

Other reasons for not leaving abusive partners include one or more of the following conditions: legal bonds, woman does not want to hurt their partner, fear of being alone, fear of retaliation and/or fear of not finding anyone better, believing that she can bring about change in her partner, believing she/he can make the relationship better by changing her behavior, does not want to be a quitter, needs to protect the children or parents, and/or religious convictions (Barnett & LaViolette, 2000; Websdale, 1999). Despite the many possible reasons for victims staying with abusive partners, there are many people who blame the victims for their own victimization. It may very well be the socialization of women that ingrains the traditional gender role beliefs which imprisons women by preventing them from leaving relationships and situations that lead to their physical victimization.

In the current study, both male and female traditional gender attitudes aggregated at the level of county were shown to be statistically significant in the prediction of county-level sexual assaults, but the attitudes of women were shown to be more predictive. There is the common argument that patriarchal gender socialization produces a power dynamic of male domination and female submission (Franklin, 2008; Russell, 1975). The fact that American society socializes men to behave in masculine ways through the promotion of physical dominating behaviors and aggression is one of the fundamental causes of violence against women (Kilmartin, 2000). This explains why male traditional gender attitudes were predictors of sexual assaults, but does not explain why the attitudes of women are also predictive of female victimization. Some speculation is clearly in order to account for this finding.

Some 75 percent of rapes and sexual assaults are perpetrated by offenders known to the victim, such as an acquaintance, a long-term friend, a dating partner, or an intimate

partner (Gross, Winslett,Miguel, & Gohm, 2006; Ullman, Filipas, Townsend, & Starzynski, 2006; Tjaden & Thoenes, 2000). In counties where both men and women have strong traditional gender attitudes, it may be the case that men realize that the women with whom they are familiar are likely to be passive and submissive in the face of aggressive behavior, leading them to take advantage of the women sexually. When women do not agree to engage in sexual activity with the males, the men may feel a sense of both entitlement and feel that sexually aggressive behavior will be met by submissive compliance.

Hypothesis 3b stated that men's traditional gender attitudes would predict violence against women while women's untraditional gender attitudes would predict retributive violence against women. The first part of this hypothesis was confirmed in the various statistical analyses reported. Traditional gender attitudes held by men consistently predicted both sexual and physical assaults at the county-level; however, it was also the case that traditional gender attitudes held by women predicted the two types of crimes of violence against women as well. The second part of the hypothesis relied on Russell's (1975) ‚backlash' theory positing that many men will respond with violence to a loss in status or power in their relationships with women. This supposition was not confirmed in the analyses reported here. This finding is not entirely surprising since the backlash theory has only gained mixed and partial support in previous studies (Whaley & Messner, 2002; Nagin & Rosenfeld, 1975). Perhaps it is the case that these types of backlash crimes may appear at first, but decline as men either become accustomed or reserved to the new shifts in power toward greater gender equality. Since the data for the present study were collected in 1995 and beyond, these gender challenges backlash phenomena may have already fizzled out.

The control variables developed for this study not only predicted violence against women, but they explained the presence of traditional gender attitudes as well. More so than any other variable, a location in the South was significantly correlated with the presence of traditional gender attitudes. This observed relationship is well supported by the empirical literature. Whaley and Messner (2002) found mixed support for the „backlash' theory in their study of homicide in 191 large U.S. cities. The extent of gender equality present generally was not associated with female (and other male) murders committed by males, but *in Southern cities* this relationship was present even when controlling for structural predictors. In another study Avakame (1998) found limited support for the culture of violence theory, a proposition which claims that strong cultural norms legitimating violence allow for the acceptance of the use of violence to resolve interpersonal disagreements between men and women. This argument stands in opposition to the claims that because the American South is economically poorer, has more minorities, and features more economic inequality in contrast to the rest of the country, violent crimes will more prevalent. Avakame (1998) found that the culture of violence was more prevalent among Southern whites than among minorities, a finding which may be related to their more conservative traditional patriarchal sex roles.

Social capital is an extremely strong predictor of traditional gender attitudes. The lower the level of social capital in a county, the more traditional gender attitudes dominate. This finding is not surprising since social capital is clearly closely tied to mutual respect-based social norms. These norms are seldom presented in a concrete, observable and absolute form, but they are deeply ingrained within a community's consciousness and community members are compelled to adhere to them (Coleman, 1988). The research reported here suggests that counties lacking in social capital also

lack norms of gender equality, leading citizens in those counties to maintain and reproduce traditional patriarchal conceptions of gender roles. When social capital is present, the effects of a location in the South are mitigated. This finding suggests that the lack of social capital is a greater predictor of traditional gender attitudes than is location in the South.

When looking at the effects of social capital and control variables alone on the incidence of violence against women, counties with lower levels of social capital showed increased rates of sexual assaults. This could be due to the fact that there is less supervision of community members by fellow citizens in these counties allowing the opportunity to sexually assault women without social consequence in one's community. Interestingly, social capital was not statistically significant in predicting physical assaults. The domestic violence and patriarchal literature claims that social and cultural acceptance of traditional gender roles plays an important role in the prediction of violence toward women (Ben-David & Schneider, 2005). In other words, social capital may not be relevant in this particular type of behavior since some communities with social capital may overlook domestic violence whereas other communities with social capital may strongly oppose physical assaults of women.

Since sexual assaults are considered more severe than physical assaults, the presence of social capital may be more relevant in preventing those types of crimes. This conclusion is evidenced by the fact that rapes and sexual assaults were considered legal offenses long before domestic violence became a matter of criminal violation in American law. Under the common law, rapes were considered criminal theft because women were considered property of their fathers or husbands while domestic violence was acceptable under the „rule of thumb' concept – an understanding that women could

be beaten with sticks so long as they were no thicker than one's thumb. Furthermore, the general public, police, and judges have certain ideals that rape is more heinous than domestic violence because of the ‚classic rape' myth that proposes most rapes are committed by strangers in deserted public areas (Burt, 1980; Weis & Borges, 1973). The fact of the matter is, however, that 75 percent of rapes and sexual assaults are perpetrated by offenders who are known to the victim (Gross, Winslett,Miguel, & Gohm, 2006; Ullman, Filipas, Townsend, & Starzynski, 2006; Tjaden & Thoenes, 2000). On the other hand, the prevailing belief in regard to domestic violence is that it is committed by people known to the victim, making it a more "endurable" crime.

To validate the findings examining traditional gender attitudes, social capital, and physical and sexual assaults, all of these measures and control variables were tested predicting the UCR Index 1 crimes consisting of -- murder, forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assaults/battery, burglary, theft, theft of motor vehicle, and arson. The Index 1 crimes included both male and female perpetrators and victims. Neither the traditional gender attitudes scale nor the social capital scale was predictive of the Index 1 crimes. As strongly suggested by research inspired by disorganization theory in the criminology literature, the demographic and economic scale was positively related to UCR crimes. This scale encompasses many of the variables associated with social disorganization theory – minority status, percent below the poverty level, percentage of female headed households, percentage of males unemployed, percentage of the population with only a high school degree or less, and percentage of the population between the ages of 15 and 24. These types of variables are quite foretelling of overall crimes, but did not demonstrate statistically significant predictions for crimes of violence against women. This finding goes a long way in supporting the patriarchal society theoretical arguments

which hold that traditional gender attitudes are more relevant in the prediction of violence against women crimes than traditional criminological theories such as social disorganization. This finding also provides evidence of the utility of the NIBRS crime data, a source of crime occurrence which provides victim, offender, and offenses information for instances of crime.

THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS

Several important theoretical implications emerge from the forgoing discussion of findings. Whereas past research on traditional gender role attitudes and violence against women have employed small samples of individuals, relied upon convenience samples, or involved the study of populations located outside of the United States, the current study provides county-level aggregate findings confirming the theoretical argument that traditional beliefs about gender roles are associated with increased levels of violence against women net of control variables. Despite the advances toward gender equity in the course of the last few decades, the patriarchal society literature, especially as it relates to traditional gender roles, is still relevant in the U.S. Patriarchy plays a pivotal role in creating a climate conducive to the perpetration of violence against women. The system of maintaining traditional gender role adherence starts early in life with socialization into gender roles and continues throughout adulthood. In a societal or community structure infused with patriarchy and strong traditional gender role beliefs, violence aimed at the least powerful people in society often can be considered permissible and is normalized as a way of preserving "traditions" and protecting an established culture (Kandel-Englander, 1992).

Additionally, since there are few studies of this kind in the criminological literature, the findings of this research add to the overall understanding of violence against women in the field of criminal justice. Criminological theories such as social disorganization do not offer adequate explanations for the occurrence of violent crimes against women. Given the evidence presented in this study, it seems clear that gender role attitudes should be considered a relevant predictor of sexual assaults and domestic violence/physical assaults inflicted on women by men. Such factors ought to be incorporated into criminological theory discussions and future scholarship in this area.

Finally, this study included social capital, a variable never before considered in conjunction with traditional gender attitudes. The effect of traditional gender role attitudes on violence against women was shown to be mitigated by social capital factors. Social capital, as operationalized by community trust, interacted with traditional gender role attitudes in such a way that areas with more localized trust and less traditional gender attitudes had less violence inflicted upon women. This outcome shows that the patriarchal society literature, specifically in regard to traditional gender role beliefs, should not be ignored in criminal justice. An integrated theory using both social capital and traditional gender role attitudes was shown to be highly appropriate for studying the incidence of violent crimes committed on female victims.

The presence of social capital, without traditional gender attitudes, was associated with fewer sexual assaults of women but not fewer physical assaults. This finding presents some serious theoretical implications. The presence of social capital alone may not reduce all types of violence against women. It is likely important to consider other values and other norms of the community members along with the social capital heritage of generalized trust. The literature on social capital posits two types of social capital –

namely, *bonding* and *bridging*. It may be possible that communities where strong male bonds exist, there is a lack of mixed-gender bridging ties. In such a setting there may be a high tolerance for men controlling their women – in the workplace, in the home, and in their relationships.

FUTURE RESEARCH DIRECTIONS

There are numerous suggestions for fruitful future research based on the findings of this study. Despite the abundance of theoretical literature detailing the connection between traditional gender role beliefs and violence against women, there are relatively few empirical articles present in the scholarly journals. Future research studying this relationship should incorporate more counties from NIBRS as they are added into their archival datasets. Currently, NIBRS does not have all police agencies for their included counties reporting, which is a serious limitation of the current research. As stated by the FBI "data is still not pervasive enough to make broad generalizations about crime in the United States" (http://www.fbi.gov/ucr/ucr.htm). Despite this noteworthy limitation, however, this study does provide more generalizability than most existing studies examining these relationships. For a more accurate picture of relationships with violence against women crimes, the study should be replicated as more agencies begin to report their crime statistics to NIBRS for the 27 counties included in this research.

To further validate the findings of this study, future research should incorporate other criminological theories into the analyses. For instance, social strain theory might be predictive of violence against women. Also, the Leigh Stowell and Company datasets have psychographic data for Canada, and future research should test the same hypotheses from this study to see if the findings are similar for a neighboring country. Studies could

look at traditional gender attitudes and violence against women alone and/or in conjunction with social capital in Canadian cities or provinces. It would be interesting to see how results in their sub-provincial areas compare with U.S. counties.

Since this study did not find support for Russell's (1975) „backlash' theory which asserts that men will respond violently to a loss in status or power in relationships with women. Future studies should examine this theory specifically to determine if it remains relevant. These sorts of backlash crimes may have happened when women were making more noticeable advancements beyond traditionalism, but men may now be familiarized with and largely reserved to the advent of greater gender equality.

Since social capital was found to mitigate the effects of traditional gender role attitudes on violence against women, it is imperative to test this relationship in additional studies to ensure that the findings reported here hold up using a different unit of analysis and crime data. This finding could be tested using violence against women data obtained from the UCR's, victimization surveys, self-report surveys, or government and/or service agency statistics. The inclusion of different populations or counties in continued studies of the social capital and traditional gender attitudes connection would also increase the reliability of the findings reported here.

It would be quite beneficial to supplement these quantitative analyses with qualitative data in future research. Looking at each county individually, and interviewing members of the community to ascertain their perceptions about the violence against women crimes of sexual assault and domestic violence/physical assault may provide valuable insights and illustrative anecdotal information. This would also clear up some of the confusion surrounding the mixed results of social capital on these crimes. The

distinction between bonding and bridging social capital could be determined in such qualitative follow-up studies.

Lastly, there were predictive relationships among some of the independent variables. More specifically, a location in the South and social capital were quite predictive of traditional gender attitudes. Structural equation modeling, using the same data from this study, would most likely illuminate the relationships more clearly. Future research endeavors should utilize this statistical method to determine causation and produce path models specific to contextual factors.

POLICY IMPLICATIONS

Several policy implications emerge from this study and its principal findings. Traditional gender role attitudes appear to be highly predictive of violence against women. In order to reduce violence against women, community deprecating beliefs about inequitable gender roles need to be transformed. This goal can be accomplished in a variety of ways. Education is crucial in developing more equitable gender role beliefs and attitudes, and in specifying which behaviors are to be considered unacceptable. Much of a child's socialization comes from his or her school experiences, and an emphasis on gender equality in the schools can transform a community's conception of gender roles. This goal can be advanced by granting females prominent leadership positions, through the encouragement of co-ed sports, and through the provision of equal participation on the part of male and females in traditionally male- or female-dominated fields. This also requires the transformation of faculty attitudes and informal behaviors surrounding teaching and socialization techniques.

Students need to be taught consistently throughout their school years that violence against women is wrong and undeserved. At the appropriate age, students should be educated to understand the cultural context for such violence, explaining why such unacceptable acts occur. This training will hopefully help reduce its occurrence. Currently, many colleges offer formal "Violence Against Women" course offerings. If this type of course was to be considered a requirement, the physical and sexual assaults (including date rape) of women on the college campus might be reduced appreciably. Of course, there are monetary and faculty time considerations associated with these types of education policy suggestions and forceful leadership action on the part of educational leaders will be necessary for the actions to take place.

Even with these changes in education, sexist ideology that reinforces the patriarchal structure of society leading to the socialization of traditional gender roles will not be diminished unless communities are willing to challenge those structures that enable these deprecating female stereotypes to persist (i.e. mass media, organized religion, and governmental politics). When communities develop social networks with mutual assistance and localized trust, they can facilitate action and cooperation in challenging the status quo of inequitable gender relations. The research reported here suggests that the enhancement of social capital can possibly mitigate the effects of gender role socialization and counteract the effects of these inequitable beliefs to reduce crimes of violence committed by men against women.

In this regard, citizens in local communities can band together to combat violence against women in different ways. They can support the formation of coordinated community response teams. These teams usually include police officers, legal and victim advocates, crime victim service providers, and prosecutors. These people often work

together to adjudicate the offenders, closely supervise the parole and probation of offenders, aid with risk management of arrested offenders, and help victims develop safety plans (Campbell et al., 2003). The coordinated community response teams frequently increase the number of cases that will be prosecuted, beyond the relatively few cases prosecuted in the past (Hirschel, Hutchison, & Dean, 1992). This type of prosecution sends a potent message to community members that sexual and physical violence inflicted on women is unacceptable in their community. Local communities can also run public service announcements on the television and radio condemning violence against women behaviors, and/or hold public forums and smaller neighborhood meetings to discuss these issues.

CONCLUSION

The present research has provided a comprehensive examination of the dynamics associated with traditional gender attitudes and social capital in predicting violence against women. Using the patriarchal social context (Anderson & Collins, 2004; Goldrick-Jones, 2002; Belknap, 2001; Johnson, 2000; Johnson, 1997; Freeman, 1995; Merlo & Pollock, 1995; Eisenstein, 1980), traditional gender role socialization (Lips, 1995; Martin, 1995; West & Zimmerman, 1989; Block, 1984; Frankel & Rollins, 1983), and social capital theory (Arneil, 2006; Putnam, 2000; Fukuyama, 1995; Putnam, 1995; Putnam, 1993; Coleman, 1990; Coleman, 1988), findings of the current research show that traditional gender attitudes are predictive of sexual and physical assaults of women by men. Social capital serves as a mitigating factor in reducing the odds that traditional gender attitudes will materialize into the commission of these crimes. Furthermore, the backlash theory did not find support in this study.

The results of this study generate important theoretical, research and policy implications. Theoretically, this research lends support to patriarchal theories about traditional gender role attitudes and their active linkage to violence against women in a more generalizable study than has ever been done to date. Social capital is also shown to be an important consideration in predicting violence against women, and it was shown to be capable of mitigating the undesirable effects of traditional gender attitudes with respect to the victimizations of women. Future research should continue to examine the effects of social capital in this context because of these noteworthy connections. As for policy implications, communities wishing to reduce or eliminate violence inflicted upon women should educate their citizens - both in their schools and in their public education activities - about the causes of male on female violence. It is necessary and proper to teach our youth that such behavior is wrong, and that mutual respect and equitable treatment are the proper foundations for relationships between boys and girls and men and women. Communities can also bring together citizens, service groups, churches, and government agencies to combat these crimes in effective collaborative efforts.

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APPENDIX A: RESULTS OF THE FEASIBILITY ANALYSIS

County	Number of Years	Number of Variables	Feasible or Not
Faulkner, AR	2	14	Yes
Jefferson, AR	2	14	Yes
Arapahoe, CO	5	14	Yes
Boulder, CO	5	14	Yes
Denver, CO	5	14	Yes
Douglas, CO	5	14	Yes
Jefferson, CO	5	14	Yes
Hartford, CT	3	13-14	Yes
Cobb, GA	9	11-14	Yes
Jackson, KS	8	13-14	Yes
Caddo Parish, LA	3	14	Yes
Genessee, MI	1	14	Yes
Butler, OH	8	14	Yes
Clark, OH	11	14	Yes
Clermont, OH	7	14	Yes
Cuyahoga, OH	3	14	Yes
Franklin, OH	6	13-14	Yes
Greene, OH	11	14	Yes
Lake, OH	3	14	Yes
Berkeley, SC	3	14	Yes
Charleston, SC	3	14	Yes
Dorchester, SC	3	14	Yes
Anderson, TN	6	14	Yes
Blount, TN	6	14	Yes
Hamblen, TN	6	14	Yes
Jefferson, TN	6	14	Yes
Knox, TN	6	14	Yes

APPENDIX B: COUNTY DEMOGRAPHICS

TABLE 1: POPULATIONS SIZE AND GENDER

COUNTY	TOTAL POPULATION SIZE	MALES (percent)	FEMALES (percent)
Faulkner, AR	86014	48.8	51.2
Jefferson, AR	84278	48.9	51.1
Arapahoe, CO	487967	49.3	50.7
Boulder, CO	291288	50.6	49.4
Denver, CO	554636	50.5	49.5
Douglas, CO	175766	49.9	50.1
Jefferson, CO	527056	49.8	50.2
Hartford, CT	857183	48.1	51.9
Cobb, GA	607751	49.6	50.4
Jackson, KS	12657	49.2	50.8
Caddo Parish, LA	252161	47.3	52.7
Genessee, MI	436141	48.1	51.9
Butler, OH	332807	48.8	51.2
Clark, OH	144742	48.1	51.9
Clermont, OH	177977	49.1	50.9
Cuyahoga, OH	1393978	47.2	52.8
Franklin, OH	1068978	48.6	51.4
Greene, OH	147886	48.7	51.3
Lake, OH	227511	48.6	51.4
Berkeley, SC	142651	50.8	49.2
Charleston, SC	309969	48.3	51.7
Dorchester, SC	96413	48.9	51.1
Anderson, TN	71330	47.7	52.3
Blount, TN	105823	48.4	51.6
Hamblen, TN	58128	49.3	50.7
Jefferson, TN	44294	49.4	50.6
Knox, TN	382032	48.3	51.7

TABLE 2: RACE

COUNTY	WHITE	BLACK/ AFRICAN AMERICAN	AMERICAN INDIAN OR ALASKAN NATIVE	ASIAN	NATIVE HAWAIIAN OR PACIFIC ISLANDER	OTHER RACE OR COMBINATION
Faulkner, AR	88.3	8.5	0.5	0.7	0	1.9
Jefferson, AR	48.5	49.6	0.2	0.7	0	1.1
Arapahoe, CO	79.9	7.7	0.7	3.9	0.1	7.7
Boulder, CO	88.5	0.9	0.6	3.1	0.1	6.9
Denver, CO	65.3	11.1	1.3	2.8	0.1	19.3
Douglas, CO	92.8	1	0.4	2.5	0.1	3.3
Jefferson, CO	90.6	0.9	0.8	2.3	0.1	5.4
Hartford, CT	76.9	11.7	0.2	2.4	0	8.7
Cobb, GA	72.4	18.8	0.3	3.1	0	5.5
Jackson, KS	90.2	0.5	6.8	0.2	0	2.2
Caddo Parish, LA	52.9	44.6	0.4	0.7	0	1.4
Genessee, MI	75.3	20.4	0.6	0.8	0	3
Butler, OH	91.2	5.3	0.2	1.5	0	1.7
Clark, OH	88.1	8.9	0.3	0.5	0	2.1
Clermont, OH	97.1	0.9	0.2	0.6	0	1.2
Cuyahoga, OH	67.4	27.4	0.2	1.8	0	3.2
Franklin, OH	75.5	17.9	0.3	3.1	0	3.2
Greene, OH	89.2	6.4	0.3	2	0	2.1
Lake, OH	95.4	2	0.1	0.9	0	1.6
Berkeley, SC	68	26.6	0.5	1.9	0.1	2.9
Charleston, SC	61.9	34.5	0.3	1.1	0.1	2.2
Dorchester, SC	71	25.1	0.7	1.1	0.1	2
Anderson, TN	93.4	3.9	0.3	0.8	0	1.6
Blount, TN	94.7	2.9	0.3	0.7	0	1.3
Hamblen, TN	90.7	4.1	0.2	0.6	0.1	4.3
Jefferson, TN	95.7	2.3	0.3	0.3	0	1.4
Knox, TN	88.1	8.6	0.3	1.3	0	1.7

***All data is in percentages**

TABLE 3: AGE AND EDUCATION

COUNTY	PERSONS BETWEEN THE AGES 15 AND 24	MALES WITH HIGH SCHOOL DEGREE OR HIGHER	FEMALES WITH HIGH SCHOOL DEGREE OR HIGHER	MALES WITH COLLEGE DEGREE OR HIGHER	FEMALES WITH COLLEGE DEGREE OR HIGHER
Faulkner, AR	19.6	83.6	83.1	25.6	24.9
Jefferson, AR	15.6	74.6	75	14.6	16.7
Arapahoe, CO	13.2	90.5	90.8	40.3	34
Boulder, CO	17.2	92.6	93	55.3	49.5
Denver, CO	14	78	79.8	35	33.9
Douglas, CO	9	97.1	96.8	57.6	46.3
Jefferson, CO	12.6	91.7	91.9	39.6	33.6
Hartford, CT	11.8	82.2	82.5	32.1	27.4
Cobb, GA	13.2	88.3	89.2	43.1	36.6
Jackson, KS	12.1	87.6	87.9	14.2	16.6
Caddo Parish, LA	15	78.8	78.5	21.4	19.8
Genessee, MI	13.3	82.5	83.7	17.3	15.3
Butler, OH	16.3	83.7	82.9	26.6	20.7
Clark, OH	13.5	80.5	81.8	15.9	14
Clermont, OH	13	81.7	82.4	23.3	18.4
Cuyahoga, OH	12.1	82	81.3	27.9	22.8
Franklin, OH	15.6	85.9	85.6	35	29
Greene, OH	18	88.8	87	35.6	27
Lake, OH	11.5	86.7	86.2	23.9	19.4
Berkeley, SC	16.5	80.8	79.6	14	14.8
Charleston, SC	15.9	80.7	82.2	32.5	29.2
Dorchester, SC	12.8	81.5	82.8	22.3	20.6
Anderson, TN	11.6	79.5	78.3	23.7	18.2
Blount, TN	12.2	78.3	78.5	19.2	16.8
Hamblen, TN	12.8	68.5	70.1	14	12.6
Jefferson, TN	14.6	70.4	71.7	13.6	12.1
Knox, TN	15.3	83	82.2	32.2	26.2
***All data is in percentages**					

TABLE 4: POVERTY STATUS, UNEMPLOYMENT, AND HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION

COUNTY	BELOW THE POVERTY LINE	FEMALES UNEMPLOYED	MALES UNEMPLOYED	MARRIED COUPLES	FEMALED HEADED HOUSEHOLDS
Faulkner, AR	12.5	4.4	4.9	56.7	10.2
Jefferson, AR	20.5	4.7	4.6	47.4	18.8
Arapahoe, CO	5.8	2.1	2.7	51.2	10.6
Boulder, CO	9.5	2.8	3.6	48.9	7.7
Denver, CO	14.3	3.5	4.2	34.7	10.8
Douglas, CO	2.1	1.4	1.3	73.8	5.7
Jefferson, CO	5.2	2.2	2.4	55.1	9.1
Hartford, CT	9.3	3.5	4.6	49.2	13.5
Cobb, GA	6.5	2.8	2.8	54.3	10.7
Jackson, KS	8.8	2	2.6	62.3	8.2
Caddo Parish, LA	21.1	5.3	5.9	42.2	19.8
Genessee, MI	13.1	3.8	5.3	47.4	16.3
Butler, OH	8.7	2.2	3.2	57	10.7
Clark, OH	10.7	3.5	4	52.6	12.8
Clermont, OH	7.1	2.3	2.6	60.4	10
Cuyahoga, OH	13.1	3.2	4.6	42.4	15.7
Franklin, OH	11.6	2.7	3.3	43	13
Greene, OH	8.5	3.2	3.4	58	9.6
Lake, OH	5.1	2	2.9	56.1	10
Berkeley, SC	11.8	3.3	2.7	56.7	14.2
Charleston, SC	16.4	3.4	4	43.2	15.9
Dorchester, SC	9.7	3.3	2.9	57.2	14.6
Anderson, TN	13.1	3.1	3	53.8	11.5
Blount, TN	9.7	2.6	3.1	58.4	10
Hamblen, TN	14.4	2.5	2.6	56.1	11.3
Jefferson, TN	13.4	3.4	3.3	59.9	9.8
Knox, TN	12.6	2.8	3.4	49.8	10.9

***All data is in percentages**