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Sociology Senior Seminar Papers. 62.
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A Reason for the Rampage: Aggrieved Entitlement and White Masculinities

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Word Count = 12,486

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A Reason for the Rampage: Aggrieved Entitlement and White Masculinities

ABSTRACT

As mass shootings events continue to occur with alarming frequency in the United States, scholars search for explanations, turning frequently to a dynamic referred to as aggrieved entitlement to explain why shooters are so often white men. This study attempts to continue work expanding the concept of aggrieved entitlement and its applicability across continuums of violence by proposing a preliminary quantitative measure for the dynamic. Survey data from the 1996 General Social Survey is utilized to create an index of aggrieved entitlement which is then compared with sex, race, region, and religion. It is hypothesized that on an index of aggrieved entitlement individuals who are white will score higher than those who are not white, individuals who are male will score higher than those who are female, and individuals who are both white and male will score higher than those who are only white, only male, or neither. The study yielded no statistically significant correlation between the aggrieved entitlement index and gender or race, offering no concrete support for any hypotheses. This study does, however, indicate that future, more effective quantitative measures of aggrieved entitlement could be both plausible in execution and useful in broadening the application of the concept.

Key Words: Aggrieved Entitlement, Masculinity, White Supremacy, Violence, Threat

REFLEXIVITY STATEMENT

Like much of my generation, the order of operations in a school-shooter lockdown drill was second nature to me by the time I headed off to college. Accustomed to seeing mass shooter events saturating the media, I spent much of middle and high school wondering, with some resentment, why nobody was paying attention to what felt like a wildly clear pattern of perpetrator identities. This research project grew from those long-standing curiosities and frustrations.

As a white woman with American citizenship, I hope to employ both Laura Nader's conception of studying up (1972), and Kimberly Tallbear's elaboration of studying across (2014) in this work. Focusing on masculinity, given my identity as a woman, satisfies goals of studying up towards power and domination. It also paradoxically affects the reach of my understanding in that while I do not identify with masculinity, and thus do not have access to the knowledge of that lived experience, I do have a wealth of first-hand experience being subordinated by masculinity. Studying whiteness, given my white identity, fulfils both Nader's and Tallbear's ideals, as it positions me studying my own community *and* the location of power.

Therefore my focus in this work on the interwoven forces of whiteness and masculinity, as someone who is both disenfranchised and privileged by varying forces at play, leaves me with a standpoint from which I am both positioned, though not best positioned, and inhibited, though not most inhibited, in my understanding of the content I address. I have attempted, as called for by Ann Russo (1991), to place responsibility appropriately on the oppressors in this work, though I am certain I have not managed to do so perfectly. As such, I come to this project from an understanding that any knowledge produced is partial (Collins 2008), in progress, and a product of my positionality.

A REASON FOR THE RAMPAGE: AGGRIEVED ENTITLEMENT AND WHITE MASCULINITIES

Though much of the mass media would try to convince you otherwise, mass shootings are not random acts of violence, (Duxbury, Frizzell, and Lindsay 2018; Klein 2005; Madfis 2017; Muschert 2007) as a growing body of scholarship in the United States has established that framing mass shootings within a lens of gender and race establishes the typical perpetrator as a white man (Fox and Levin 1998; Kimmel and Leek 2014; Kimmel and Mahler 2003; McGee and Debernardo 1999; Muschert 2007; Watson 2007). If we only look at individual shooters, we miss these patterns of sociological interest. What about the identities (white, male, and beyond) of these shooters is at the root of the rampage, and are the positionality dynamics at play in mass shootings applicable to other instances of violence? To answer these specific questions, we must ask a broader one: What happens when individuals whose social locations offer them power and privilege, feel disenfranchised or threatened? This research creates and tests a potential quantitative measure for “aggrieved entitlement” (Kalish and Kimmel 2010; Kimmel 2008), one theory for the underlying motivations of mass shooting events.

Aggrieved entitlement is the concept that when individuals who have power by way of their social location(s) feel that their power is somehow threatened or disrupted they: a) are at a loss for how to handle the feeling of disenfranchisement, having never previously experienced it, b) feel entitled to their power and entitled to taking it back, and c) do so by way of re-affirming the identities that have been undermined, which with a context of whiteness and masculinity often results in violence. The phenomenon’s roots in identities associated with power, specifically whiteness and masculinity, locates the actions it fuels within systems of white supremacy and continuums of gender-based violence. Studying aggrieved entitlement through

the lens of mass shootings offers us the opportunity to better understand constructions of, and socializations to white masculinities within a U.S. context. Additionally, if we examine aggrieved entitlement not only as it applies to mass shootings but also how it applies to the mass shooter archetype in general, we are better able to contextualize and place mass shootings within continuums of violence and explore how aggrieved entitlement might function in other situations. This research utilizes frameworks of gender as performance, violence as a continuum, social identity theory, and symbolic interactionism, and intersectionality, and builds upon various existing scales and codes of entitlement and masculinities in an effort to create and test a preliminary quantitative measure for aggrieved entitlement.

Continued and creative investigation of aggrieved entitlement dynamics is important for several reasons. In the long term, if we better understand the process by which we socialize individuals to whiteness and masculinity we set up a foundation upon which those processes might grow and evolve to produce healthier outcomes. Within a more immediate timeframe, understanding and quantifiably measuring aggrieved entitlement could help clarify its prevalence, and develop effective mechanisms for de-escalating harmful situations in which it is a factor. This research seeks to identify ways of quantitatively measuring concepts already well-established in qualitative research.

The current study will draw on previous qualitative explorations of aggrieved entitlement to propose a potential quantitative measure using data from the General Social Survey (GSS). Correspondence between the proposed index and the demographics that theory suggests it should correlate to, would provide some evidence that the scale might be valid. I hypothesize that on an index of aggrieved entitlement 1) individuals who are white will score higher than those who are not white, 2) individuals who are male will score higher than those who are female, and 3)

individuals who are both white and male will score higher than those who are only white or only male or neither.

LITERATURE REVIEW

This research investigates the connections between white hegemonic masculinities and aggrieved entitlement, a common predecessor of white men's violence. To understand recent relevant scholarship and the research presented in this study, we must start from a basic comprehension of theoretical frameworks of gender - specifically masculinities, race – specifically whiteness, threat, and violence. I will begin with an overview of how hegemonic masculinity and white supremacy are constructed and interconnected as systems of domination. Then, I will describe what exactly comprises threat to the aforementioned identities. Finally, I will explain common responses to those threats, paying particular attention to violence, and how responses are an embodiment of the entitlement afforded individuals by their masculine and white identities.

Hegemonic Masculinity

In 1987, West and Zimmerman established that gender is something we do rather than something we are. They emphasize that while gender is a performance and accomplishment on the individual level, such actions are situated in an institutional and societal context, and that the individual act of doing gender serves to legitimate social divisions of groups. It is from this understanding that gender is actively done rather than statically ascribed, that we can begin to investigate specific gender identities, the ways they are enacted, and how they function when situated in various contexts.

Many scholars have applied this sense of “doing” gender to masculinities and in particular to hegemonic masculinity (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005; Munsch and Gruys 2018; Vandello et al. 2008). Hegemonic masculinity lends itself particularly well to the concept of action because by very definition it is an unachievable ideal (Carrigan, Connell, and Lee 1985; Connell and Messerschmidt 1995; Connell and Messerschmidt 2005). Not common or normal but rather existing in opposition to masculinities which are, hegemonic masculinity is a revered standard which men must strive towards but never succeed entirely in attaining (Carrigan, Connell, and Lee 1985). Thus, this particular type of masculinity, as both unachievable and desperately desired, is paradoxical and constantly woven into gender performance for those who seek it.

It is important to note that the particularities of the values comprising hegemonic masculinity are not a-historic or universal but rather particular to local, regional, and historical contexts (Connell and Messerschmidt 1995). The shared trait of hegemonic masculinities is that the hegemonic masculinity is the dominant masculinity, not only over femininity, but over other masculinities as well. In this way hegemony is “a set of circumstances in which power is won and held” (Carrigan, Connell, and Lee 1985:594), and the existence of a hegemonic masculinity requires the existence of other, subordinated masculinities. Dominant masculinities are constructed simultaneously to subordinated masculinities, because they are constructed in relation to one another (Pyke 1996). It is unfortunately beyond the scope of the current study to fully investigate and outline the vast array of masculinities subordinated by hegemony, and as such this work will focus on the relations of hegemonic dominance rather than the specific construction of the masculinities being subordinated. For this paper, the hegemonic masculinity described is a 20th and 21st century, white, hegemonic masculinity within a U.S. context. This

particular iteration of masculinity is built upon values of heterosexuality (Carrigan, Connell, and Lee 1985), honor (Mingus and Zopf 2010), provision, aggression (Stubbs-Richardson et al. 2018), and violence (Langman 2020; Stroud 2012).

In an interview conducted for Kimmel's book "Guyland," women, when asked to describe what it means to be a woman, gave a litany of answers, often centering their responses around the ability to define their identity for themselves and have womanhood mean whatever they want it to mean, while men asked the same question about being a man gave a notably specific list of characteristics (Kimmel 2008). Kimmel has also asked men about what it means to be a "good man" and what it means to be a "real man", gleaned different, and often fundamentally at odds, descriptions for the two (Kimmel and Wade 2018). Being a "good man" meant being generous, and responsible, while being a "real man" was being tough and void of emotion or weakness. Kimmel describes being "good man" as an abstract concept and being a "real man" as being an active performance (Kimmel and Wade 2018). As such, various different scholars have attempted to outline these codes, rules, or sets of characteristics that comprise being a "real man" in an effort to describe hegemonic masculinity (in the current U.S. context). In 1976 David and Brannon developed four rules for masculinity: 1) "no sissy stuff" (don't be perceived as weak, feminine, or gay), 2) "be a big wheel" (be wealthy and powerful to achieve high status), 3) "be a sturdy oak" (be reliable in a crisis), and 4) "give 'em hell" (be aggressive, take risks). Each of David and Brannon's rules describes some aspect(s) of hegemonic masculine ideals. A few decades later Michael Kimmel wrote a slightly longer "Guy Code" consisting of ten ideals: 1) "Boys don't cry," 2) "It's better to be mad than sad," 3) "Don't get mad, get even," 4) "Take it like a man," 5) "He who has the most toys when he dies, wins," 6) "Just do it" or "Ride or die," 7) "Size matters," 8) "Don't stop to ask for directions," 9) "Good guys finish last,"

and 10) “It’s all good” (Kimmel 2008:45). Ten years after that, Kathryn Farr described what she calls, “Adolescent Insider Masculinity” as having four the defining categories of 1) being cool, 2) proving heterosexuality, 3) repudiating femininity, and 4) being tough (Farr 2018). It is important to note that there is significant overlap between Brannon’s rules, Kimmel’s code, and Farr’s categories, as each set is a slightly different description of a U.S. hegemonic masculinity of our current era - an unattainable ideal, defined by its situation of power over other masculinities and femininity.

The term “fragile masculinity” has become commonplace in the United States. It is this out of reach, idealistic characteristic of hegemonic masculinity that renders all masculinities unstable, as those attempting to attain and achieve hegemonic masculinity run an almost entirely inevitable risk of failing to do so (Munsch and Gruys 2018). Drawing upon this instability, some scholars refer to hegemonic masculinity as “Precarious Manhood” referencing that it exists in a precarious state and needs to continuously be reaffirmed through social proof and validation (Vandello et al. 2008). Such constant insecurity leaves the identity vulnerable to feeling more threatened when met with challenges to its validity (Vandello et al. 2008). It also means that, as something nobody can truly actually have, hegemonic masculinity is often expressed symbolically (Munsch and Gruys 2018). Gun ownership has been cited as a common example of how this symbolic expression manifests, with studies demonstrating connections between threats to masculinity and gun ownership, and between threats to masculinity and support for less-restrictive gun sales policies (Cassino and Besen-Cassino 2020; Stroud 2012).

Stemming from conceptions of masculinities as precarious and fragile, are conceptions of masculinities as compensatory –enacted intentionally to reject threat and re-affirm hegemonic ideals (Cassino and Besen-Cassino 2020; Langman 2020; Willer et al. 2013). Because femininity

is subordinated by masculinity, the latter is positioned to have more to lose, and thus more motivation and need to overcompensate (Carian and Sobotka 2018). This compensation takes many forms (the span of which will be discussed in a moment), but across variation in specific actions and cultural contexts compensatory masculinities function as a symbolic way to reassert hegemonic masculinity over femininity and subordinate masculinities, not just men over women (Carian and Sobotka 2018).

Some scholars have critiqued Connell's original conception of hegemonic masculinity and the vast array of scholarship grounded upon his ideas, calling for additional complexity. These scholars have described a masculine bloc (Demetrious 2001) and hybrid masculinities (Bridges 2014; Cheng 1999; Coles 2008), both backed by claims that hegemonic masculinity is in a constant state of reconfiguring itself to maintain dominance and perpetuate patriarchy, at times incorporating values associated with subordinate masculinities or femininities to do so. Hybrid or bloc masculinities also create circumstances in which masculinity can be express in new ways within systems of power and inequality without actually challenging the systems of power and inequality themselves (Bridges 2014; Coles 2008). One scholar writes, "hybrid masculinities work in ways that not only reproduce contemporary systems of gendered, raced, and sexual inequalities but also obscure this process as it is happening" (Bridges 2014:247). These conceptions of masculinity as a shape-shifting entity of dominance may sound familiar to those familiar with New Racism, a term used to identify the ways in which racism can shift and adapt to be maintained in new circumstances (Collins 2004; Bonilla-Silva 2003; Sniderman et al. 1991).

White Supremacy and the Far Right

Racism, new and old, is also a key context to aggrieved entitlement. To understand modern racism and white supremacy, it is imperative to understand the history of whiteness and the social construction of race. Biologically, race is not real. Socially however, it very much exists (Smedley and Smedley 2005). Race was created during colonization as a systematic justification for white domination. Whiteness specifically, developed in tandem with the implementation of chattel slavery to justify domination and exploitation (Harris 1993:1717).

Taking these logics one step further, scholar Cheryl I. Harris finds that whiteness is property, as through both the exploitation of Black labor and classification of Black humans as property by way of forced enslavement, and the invalidation of indigenous claims to land, whiteness is positioned as the *only* ownership (1993). Both interactions, and it is key that race was constructed as a mechanism for interactions, are firmly grounded in an ideology asserting whiteness as property (Harris 1993:1716). These particular justifications – ownership of land, labor, and all non-white humanity - also solidified a connection between social constructions of race, and white economic domination (Harris 1993). Through Harris' work, it becomes clear that whiteness is prone to entitlement because its very construction is of owning and dominating. Whiteness does not *have* power; whiteness, by definition, *is* power. Thus, there is no whiteness without white supremacy (Harris 1993).

The understanding of whiteness that we glean from these historical contexts is still applicable today (Bonds and Inwood 2015). Scholar Andrea Smith (2016) describes white supremacy as consisting of three interconnected pillars: slavery/capitalism, genocide/colonialism, and orientalism/war, each of which has a firm foundation in dominating, taking, exploiting, owning, and defending the right to do so. This foundation, Smith argues, is firmly entrenched in heteropatriarchy, and the naturalization of the hierarchies which drive

systems of domination (2016:71-72). In this way, heteropatriarchy provides a framework which legitimizes the racialized construction of the United States and all three stipulated pillars of white supremacy. bell hooks provides an example of the connection, explaining, “if boys are not socialized to embrace patriarchal masculinity and its concomitant violence, then they will not have the mindset needed to wage imperialist war” (hooks 1952:35). Going a step beyond simply identifying white supremacy’s origins in heteropatriarchy, hooks argues that heteropatriarchy and white supremacy (as well as other systems of dominance) are interwoven in a manner that they cannot be parsed apart and uses the term “imperialist white supremacist capitalist patriarchy” almost exclusively when referring to the U.S. political context (hooks 1952:4). More generally, these blended and fused oppressive forces are often referred to as a matrix of domination (Collins 1990), and experiences of their oppression as intersectionality (Crenshaw 2015).

Hegemonic masculinity and white supremacy are similar in that they both exist not so much by attributions but rather by way of constant action and negotiation. In the same way that hegemonic masculinity is a constant process of doing gender and reaching for an unattainable ideal (Connell 1987), white supremacy is a never-ending process of exercising domination and exploitation (Leonardo 2004). As both concepts exist through interaction and are defined by domination, both leave individuals who they privilege feeling entitled to power, vulnerable to the threat of losing it, and determined to reclaim it if it becomes at all unstable.

Additionally, the “imperialist white supremacist capitalist patriarchy” and all of the interlocking systems it encompasses are dependent upon and upheld by complicity from subordinated and marginalized identities. Smith explains that a key theoretical contribution of the three pillars theory of white supremacy is that different groups and individuals are

marginalized in different ways, and that this variance ensures that any attempt to knock down a pillar which does not address the system in its entirety likely relies upon the re-affirmation of one of the other pillars and will inherently be unsuccessful (Smith 2016). Similarly, though some masculinities must be subordinated for hegemonic masculinity to function, the existence of hegemonic masculinity implies at least some level of complicity in patriarchy from individuals who are marginalized by other identities and thus enact subordinated masculinities (Carrigan, Connell, and Lee 1985; Connell and Messerschmidt 1995). These analyses blend victimhood and complicity as characteristics of the participation of subordinated groups within dominating systems.

Modern white supremacy and the far right are still clearly entrenched in these complex politics of masculinities. White supremacy groups recruit, often explicitly, upon the idea that both whiteness and more specifically white masculinity, are under attack and need to be re-established as dominant (Ferber and Kimmel 2005; Kimmel 2010). Though the current study is grounded within a U.S. context, there is much to glean from the manifesto of the 2019 Christchurch mosque shooter in New Zealand. The perpetrator of that attack left an extensive document, specifically describing a perceived “ethnic replacement” indicated by white and European birth rates dropping, and mass immigration rising (Moses 2019). The racism and xenophobia in the Christchurch manifesto are mirrored by the racism and sexism of the Isla Vista Shooting manifesto, in which the shooter described an innate superiority of whiteness, and a subsequent racial hierarchy for romantic and sexual intimacy in which white, blonde women were more desirable, and white men more deserving of being with them (Vito 2017). Both manifestos offer a useful yet horrifying window into the twisted logic of mass violence, and its firm foundation in various “isms” and interlocking systems of oppression.

Threat

Having established that the unattainable nature of hegemonic masculinity – in the context of this study white hegemonic masculinity - renders it particularly vulnerable to being threatened, it is important to substantiate what exactly those threats consist of. Individuals perceive an abundance of threats to white hegemonic masculinity on both an individual and systemic level, and from both in-group and out-group members (Brandscombe 1999; Tajfel 1981). When considering the possibility of receiving identity threat from in-group members, it is important to remember that hegemonic masculinity is by nature situated over other masculinities, not just over femininity. Some scholars divide the two into internal and external hegemonies, though they are grounded in the same frameworks and often occur simultaneously (Demetrious 2001). However, much of what threatens masculinity is about the comparisons among masculinities, and a failure to live up to revered hegemonic ideals (Funk and Werhun 2011; Vito, Admire, and Hughes 2018). Threats to an individual's masculinity can be also be external in that they are identified by other people, one example being what Michael Kimmel calls the “gender police” (2008), or internal in that they are self-assessed and thus self-imposed, as demonstrated in a study showing elevated cortisol responses for men who perceived losing social influence in the presence of other men (Taylor 2014).

Individual Threat

Previous scholarship has identified various threats to hegemonic masculinity occurring on an individual level, with one key interpersonal threat to masculinity being an association with femininity. Behaviors and characteristics including participating in feminine behaviors (Munsch

and Gruys 2018), having a feminine appearance (Munsch and Gruys 2018), not possessing sufficient athleticism (Munsch and Gruys 2018), not having an attractive appearance according to social standards (Munsch and Gruys 2018), or physical inadequacy in some other way (Eisler and Skidmore 1987) can lead to an individual perceiving a threat to their masculinity, either internally or as identified by an outside observer.

Some threats fall more into a social realm, examples being intellectual inferiority (Eisler and Skidmore 1987; Munsch and Gruys 2018) potentially manifesting in academic failure (Muschert 2007), consequences or discipline for misconduct (Langman 2020; McGee and Debernardo 1999), interpersonal conflict (Langman 2020), and social isolation or marginalization (Fox and Levin 1998; Leary, Kowalski, and Phillips 2003; Muschert 2007) often as a result of teasing or bullying (Farr 2018; Kimmel 2010; Kimmel and Mahler 2003; Leary, Kowalski, and Phillips 2003; Muschert 2007; Oliffe et al. 2015). Scholars have identified that the content of this teasing and bullying is often homophobic in nature, consisting of gay baiting or harassment (Kimmel and Mahler 2003; Klein 2006; Munsch and Gruys 2018) and thus challenging the heterosexual ideal of hegemonic masculinity. Kimmel describes how homophobia manifests as a threat, explaining, “Homophobia is the fear that other men will unmask us, emasculate us, reveal to us and the world that we do not measure up, that we are not real men. We are afraid to let other men see that fear. Fear makes us ashamed” (Kimmel 1994:147).

Shortcomings in one’s ability to be a provider in the way that is expected within traditional heteropatriarchal society can also threaten hegemonic norms. Manifestations of failure to meet this hegemonic ideal include financial insecurity or inability to provide for one’s self or one’s family (Kennedy-Kollar 2013; Peralta and Tuttle 2013), and performance failures

involving work or inability to hold a job as, similar to the gun possession described earlier, employment can function as a symbolic resource (Eisler and Skidmore 1987; MacMillan and Gartner 1999).

Though hegemonic masculinity is threatened by the concept of being alike to femininity, it is also reliant on an ability to possess and control femininity, in part by way of sexual and/or romantic intimacy. These relationships function as a symbolic resource, as has been described already, and an inability to have them and have control over them constitutes threat. Specific manifestations of romantic and sexual threat to masculinity include failure to attract new partners or start new relationships (Kennedy-Kollar 2013; Munsch and Gruys 2018), romantic rejection (Klein 2005; Langman 2020; Leary, Kowalski, and Phillips 2003; McGee and Debernardo 1999; Muschert 2007), and being “whipped” a colloquial term for the inability of a man to exert dominance and authority over a partner (Kennedy-Kollar 2013; Munsch and Gruys 2018).

Systemic Threat

Threats to powerful and privileged identities can arise on systemic and group levels as well. Maas et al. argues that our self-concept, at least in part, is rooted in the status of groups we belong to (2003). Thus, in an aggrieved entitlement dynamic, a threat targeting a dominating group can function similarly to an individual one. Particularly useful to understanding systemic level threats is group position theory is the idea that in-group members adopt pro-in-group preferences when perceiving a threat to the group’s position (Carian and Sobotka 2018). Previous scholarship has shown that increased enfranchisement for marginalized groups (women, minorities, immigrants etc.) presents a systemic level threat to those in power (Eisler and Skidmore 1987; Ferber and Kimmel 2005; Kimmel 2010). Similarly, rising skepticism in the

legitimacy of a dominant group's power, such as men's higher social status being seen as increasingly less valid, can also present a threat (Maas et al. 2003).

Drawing from Strain Theory, Silver, Horgan, and Gill (2019) have described the ways in which threats can be both acute, like a particular event or experience, and chronic, like continuous bullying or gradual shifting socio-political dynamics. Building upon this application of Strain Theory to threat, Levin and Madfis (2009) theorize that these different strains can compound upon one another and in their study on mass murder, they identify a specific progression in which chronic strain becomes uncontrolled strain, and then a specific instance of acute strain triggers violence.

Response to Threat

It is important to note that people do not passively receive the identity threats outlined above. Rather, threatened humans actively participate in preserving and restoring the identity at risk (Cheryan et al. 2015). Conceptualizing of threat as something that individuals actively interact with is key to understanding responses to it. Building upon group position theory, researchers have found that when dominant group members perceive an outgroup to be taking resources the dominant group feels entitled to, intergroup violence increases (Claassen 2014). Demonstrated examples of this connection include research showing that the social empowerment of women, signified through growing abortion rates or increased participation in the labor force, directly boosts right wing terrorism (Piazza 2017), as well as scholarship connecting threats to the economy and gun ownership among men (Cassino and Besen-Cassino 2020), and a theory that downward mobility for the lower and middle classes could be a factor increasing the frequency of mass murder events (Madfis 2014). Violence is a common response

to individual level threats as well as their systemic counterparts (Kimmel and Mahler 2003). In an experimental setting, Maass et al. found that threatened men were more likely to harass women (2003). On a more ideological level, threatened men were observed to engage in fantasies of retribution and more intense idealization of violent hegemonic masculinity (Tonso 2009). They also reported more support for war (Willer et al. 2013) and increased sexist and homophobic attitudes (Weaver and Vescio 2015; Willer et al. 2013).

Not every threat response is necessarily violent, but even non-violent responses are often still grounded in the re-affirmation of hegemonic masculinity (Funk and Werhun 2011; Kennedy-Kollar 2013; Willer et al 2013). In an experimental setting, men in a threatened condition exaggerate masculine characteristics like height and number of past relationships in a way that non-threatened men do not (Cheryan et al. 2015). Threatened men also show less interest in and more negative attitudes towards things that society deems feminine (Cheryan et al. 2015), such as learning a language (Chaffee et al. 2020) and have compromised cognitive ability and weakened self-control (Funk and Werhun 2011).

Entitlement

Violence stemming from perceived threats, in both systemic and individual realms, is often grounded in a sense of entitlement. Entitlement differs from deservingness in that deservingness leads individuals to expect rewards for their own efforts while entitlement prompts individuals to expect rewards solely as the result of a social contract (Campbell 2004). Due in part to this foundation in presumed societal agreements, entitled individuals are much more prone to blame outside sources for setbacks they experience (McGee and Debernardo 1999; Silver, Horgan, and Gill 2019). Grievances for entitled individuals thus result in more than just

anger – they create a desire or mission to right whatever wrong is being perceived, often by way of retaliation or revenge (Klein 2006; McGee and Debernardo 1999; Oliffe et al. 2015; Silver, Horgan and Gill 2019).

Demonstrating the application of entitlement to instances of intimate partner violence, researchers have connected higher scores on self-reported scales of entitlement not only to more aggressive responses to threats in general (Campbell 2004), but also specifically to more rape-supportive attitudes and increased sexual aggression (Bouffard 2010). Other entitlement-driven examples of sexual violence include sending “dick pics” (Hayes and Dragiewicz 2018) and catcalling (Logan 2015). These behaviors of sexual entitlement serve to re-establish and confirm the role of women as sexual objects available to men (Logan 2015), and as objects existing for the sole purpose of raising men’s status (Myketiak 2016).

Various social factors leave white men particularly prone to entitlement. Their privilege and power in society leads them to feel as though they merit dominance and reward simply by existing (Schiele and Stewart 2001). In terms of entitlement arising from gendered forces, discourses of natural entitlement and biological essentialism reinforce the idea that men dominate because that is simply how the world, and gender, is designed (Adams, Towns, and Gavey 1995). According to Kimmel, sufficient execution of and adherence to the “Guy Code” promises power on top of the baseline entitlement of existing as a man (2008). Additionally, in terms of socioeconomic entitlement, individuals who experienced financial comfort in childhood, report feeling more entitled than those who did not (Côté et al. 2020).

Very much akin to masculinity, whiteness increases entitlement (Ferber and Kimmel 2005). Beyond the everyday entitlement of embodying a white identity, self-proclaimed white supremacists report feeling entitled to power from their whiteness because of historical legacies

of white supremacy, and beliefs in biological destiny and moral legitimacy of such domination (Ferber and Kimmel 2005). Eric Madfis combines these three proclivities into the idea of Triple Entitlement (2014), created to reflect the intersecting oppressions of Kimberle Crenshaw's theory of intersectionality in the realm of the oppressor (Crenshaw 1989).

Madfis argues that any type of disenfranchisement under triple entitlement is confusing and upsetting for the individual experiencing it (Madfis 2014). Other scholars describe the experience as feeling cheated, wronged, and humiliated (Kimmel 2008; Langman 2020; McGee and Debernardo 1999; Tonso 2009). These intense emotional reactions occur not only because entitlement leads individuals to feel exempt from struggle, but also because privileged individuals are unaccustomed to feeling disenfranchised at all, and the sensation is a new one. One particularly salient example of this sense of losing power or reward not actually earned, occurs with involuntarily celibate or "incel" communities among men who are unable to secure sexual relations. Men feel entitled to sex with women (Kimmel 2008), and some men who are unable to find sex partners participate in online groups in which they express frustration with romantic and sexual rejection, and frequently engage in sexist and racist discourse (Scaptura and Boyle 2019; Vito, Admire, and Hughes 2018). Several mass shooters are known to have participated in these "incel" communities, exemplifying the connection that exists between gendered and racialized senses of entitlement and violence (Scaptura and Boyle 2019; Vito, Admire, and Hughes 2018).

Violence

Individuals who are accorded privilege by society, and who then perceive themselves to be wronged in some way, feel driven to avenge these wrongs and re-assert the identities that they

believe ought to merit them power (Klein 2006). Thus, the violence derived from entitlement is often grounded in ideas of revenge and retribution for the loss of something that privileged individuals feel they inherently deserve to have. Kimmel (2008) call this dynamic “aggrieved entitlement” and to understand how it works, we must first understand violence more generally.

With examples as far back and as widely known as the Bible and the Iliad, we can see that shame, guilt, and humiliation precede violence and pride (Gilligan 2003; Kimmel 2010). In a contemporary interview about aggrieved entitlement, one individual enacting violence said, “I am malicious because I am miserable” (Kimmel 2010:88), demonstrating the mechanism of displacing feelings that are undesirable and uncomfortable with ones that, for lack of a better phrase, feel better to feel (Kimmel 2008). Violence functions as a way to restore, reestablish, reclaim, and re-affirm, in the face of a loss of power and control (Ferber and Kimmel 2005; Levin and Madfis 2009; Myketiak 2016; Olife et al. 2015; Vandello et al. 2008; Vito, Admire, and Hughes 2018). It establishes dominance, as can be seen in cases of sexual assault and harassment (Kelly, Hanmer, and Maynard 1987), restores honor, as can be seen in cases of terrorism (Ferber and Kimmel 2005), and enacts revenge, as can be seen in cases of murder by proxy (Fox and Levin 1998; Gilligan 2003). In relation to hegemonic masculinities and white supremacy, violence is one of many ways that cultural discourses of power play out on an interpersonal level (Pyke 1995).

Violence can be symbolic as well as physical, and as a characteristic of hegemonic masculinity, violence becomes a praxis of masculine gender performance in both its literal and figurative forms (Haider 2016; Kimmel 2008). Several scholars have formed and demonstrated linear connections between white hegemonic masculinity, entitlement, and violence (Ferber and Kimmel 2005, Kalish and Kimmel 2010, Kimmel 2008, Levin and Madfis 2009, Schiele and

Stewart 2001). Research on these connections is sometimes grounded in strain theory, and scholars have shown a pattern of chronic strain, uncontrolled strain, and acute strain (in that order) leading up to a planning stage and then a massacre (Levin and Madfis 2009). Though identified here in relation to mass shooting events, this type of progression is applicable across continuums of violence (Kelly, Hanmer, and Maynard 1987).

Kimmel (2008) describes aggrieved entitlement specifically in relation to school shootings committed by young white boys who have been culturally marginalized because of their failure to enact specific codes of masculinity. Hayes and Dragiewicz (2018) identify the same dynamic of aggrieved entitlement in relation to catcalling and “dick pics”. These enactments – mass murder and sexual harassment – are seemingly disparate violences. Yet theorizing about connections between the two, some scholars have identified links between actions occurring at vastly different points on a continuum of violence, for example demonstrating that a history of violence against women is often a precursor to lone wolf type terrorism and mass murder events (Marganski 2019; McCulloch et al. 2019). This continuum-based research blurs the line between violence occurring in the private and public spheres and shows that violence occurring at drastically different frequencies and intensities can grow from the same seed. In summary, the dynamic of white men perceiving a decrease in what they believe is rightfully theirs and then becoming violent in some combination of an effort to re-claim power, re-affirm a damaged identity, and take revenge is applicable across many situations (Schiele and Stewart 2001). Though it’s perhaps easiest to see in mass murders or other highly visible events, aggrieved entitlement is not exclusive to them.

And so, as we come back to Kimmel’s term (2008), we can describe aggrieved entitlement as what occurs when individuals who are used to having power afforded to them by

their social location, feel that their power is somehow threatened or removed. Coined specifically in regard to the white masculinity of many mass shooters (though applicable in other circumstances as well), a summary of the theory is that when faced with challenges to power, privileged individuals a) are at a loss for how to handle the feeling of disenfranchisement, having never previously experienced it, b) feel entitled to their power and entitled to taking it back, and c) do so by way of re-affirming the identities that have been undermined, which with a context of whiteness and masculinity often results in violence.

The Current Study

The current study seeks to aid in the in-progress process of applying the concept of aggrieved entitlement beyond the circumstance of mass shootings. Stemming from an understanding that violence is a continuum of different acts, ordered not by severity but by prevalence in society, (Kelly, Hanmer, and Maynard 1987) my research is intended to compliment the growing body of work showing that aggrieved entitlement is at play not only at the (relatively) infrequent level of mass shootings, but also at the quotidian level of every-day experiences. Existing scholarship working on this expansion, like most work on aggrieved entitlement, has been largely qualitative in nature thus far. Though it is a preliminary effort at appropriate measurement, this research will hopefully start the process of finding ways to measure dynamics of aggrieved entitlement across a more diverse array of methodologies. Several scales and indexes measuring both masculinity and entitlement quantitatively exist (Campbell 2004; Eisler and Skidmore 1987). Notably, in an experimental setting, researchers were able to show links between scores on the Psychological Entitlement Scale (PES) and aggression following an ego threat. As existing measures are primarily self-report type scales

developed in the field of psychology, the General Social Survey used for the current study does not contain questions perfectly mirroring those in many existing scales. However, existing self-reported survey items set an important precedent for quantitative study on topics of aggrieved entitlement, and the current study begins the work of finding ways to mirror such quantitative measurements utilizing slightly different methodologies.

METHODS

In 1996 the General Social Survey did a special one-year-only module on feelings. The deployment of questions such as, “How many days in the past seven days have you felt outraged?” provides insight beyond external events and facts to internal reactions and lived realities. When utilized in combination with the more typical belief and experience-based items on the survey, the feelings module allows for a unique simultaneous analysis of externally driven experiences (like threats) and internal ones (like emotions). Thus, despite its more dated nature, the 1996 GSS provides better material for studying dynamics of aggrieved entitlement than a more recent year of the same survey.

The 1996 GSS utilized a multi-stage area full probability sample to the block or segment level at which point it employed quota sampling based on age, sex, and employment status. The data was collected in person via a surveyor who, as of 1996, only surveyed English speaking adults in non-institutionalized settings. In 1996 the response rate was 76% yielding a net sample of 3814 (Smith, Marsden, and Hout 1996). After eliminating all missing data list-wise, the sample size for the current study is 593 cases. The data provides an individual unit of analysis. For more information on the 1996 GSS, sampling methods, and data collection visit <https://gssdataexplorer.norc.org/>.

The current study investigates the effects of independent variables, sex¹ and race, while controlling for age, region, and religion. This research conceptualizes its dependent variable of aggrieved entitlement by investigating a) various threats to the power associated with dominant social identities, b) a sense of entitlement to said power or aggrievement that said power has been changed, and c) various mechanisms for re-affirming undermined identities and re-establishing threatened or lost power.

In selecting survey items to represent variables, threats to power are operationalized in categories of financial (a recent negative to R's financial situation), social (how often R feels lonely), structural (scales for racist and sexist beliefs that would prime R to feel threatened by the enfranchisement of women and people of color), and romantic (scale for romantic threats). A sense of entitlement to power is operationalized utilizing variables regarding feelings of anger (how often R has felt outraged and/or angry and/or mad at someone or something) and proclivity to revenge (if R thought about how to get revenge when they were angry or annoyed). Re-affirmation and re-establishment mechanisms are operationalized in categories of symbolic power (if R owns a gun), and violence (if R is proud of the U.S. military, if R yelled or hit something when they were angry or annoyed). See Appendix 2.

Once all missing data for the above variables were removed, but before compiling the aggrieved entitlement index, each dependent variable with coding that did not place a higher numerical value on answers more consistent with aggrieved entitlement was recoded so that all response codes were directionally affiliated. After re-coding, lower numerical response codes

¹ The 1996 GSS does not differentiate sex and gender, nor does it allow for responses outside of a binary. The limitations and implications of this structure are addressed in the discussion section.

represent answers less consistent with ideas of aggrieved entitlement and higher numerical response codes represent answers more consistent with ideas of aggrieved entitlement.

To create a single proposed index for aggrieved entitlement, 13 variables were compiled, split among eight theme categories. Of the eight themes, five were represented by single survey questions (social threat, romantic threat, financial threat, entitlement, and violent re-affirmation) and three were sub-indexes comprised of multiple survey questions (racism, sexism, and anger.) Sub-indexes were created in such a way that each individual variable was worth an equal portion of the sub-index. The same logic was applied to the creation of the final index; each of the eight themes is weighted the same. This multi-step process produced an index of 960 points, which was then divided by 24 to render a 40-point scale for easier interpretation. Though the scale technically spans 40 points, actual cases in the dataset ranged from a score of 16.96 to a score of 37.29.

The index and sub-indexes have a variety of internal reliability. The sexism sub-index has a Cronbach's alpha of .260, indicating low reliability, the racism sub-index has a Cronbach's alpha of .477, indicating low to moderate reliability, and the anger sub-index has a Cronbach's alpha of .832 indicating high reliability. The final index for aggrieved entitlement has a Cronbach's alpha of .147 indicating low reliability. These (mostly) low Cronbach's alpha scores are unsurprising given that the index is comprised of 13 different variables with questions across a range of topics, and thus the use of the proposed index is grounded in a theoretical approach. Rationale behind the variable choices was driven primarily by existing literature and conceptions of aggrieved entitlement and also significantly by a need to maintain an analyzable sample size. As such this index provides a primary sketch of what could be a much more expansive and internally reliable design with a significantly larger dataset.

Once all variables were formatted and prepared for analysis, SPSS Statistics was used to run univariate, bivariate, and multivariate analyses. First, means, medians, and standard deviations were produced for the variables in the study. Then, utilizing a crosstabulation, each variable was compared with every other variable for correlation. Finally, I ran an iterative linear regression, beginning by running a simple linear regression with only the aggrieved entitlement index and the white variable, and then adding the variables for male, West, South, Midwest, Jewish, no religion, and other religion one by one and in that order, producing fresh regression outputs for each model.

FINDINGS

Univariate Findings

The dependent variable, my constructed aggrieved entitlement index, has a mean of 24.050 (calculated from scores ranging from 16.96 to 37.29 on a scale with a maximum value of 40). The distribution of respondent scores on this index created a fairly traditional bell curve, slightly skewed towards lower scores. See Figure 1. The standard deviation for the index is 3.13.

A univariate analysis of independent variables sex and race show that respondents are more likely to be female (coded as 0), with females comprising 57% of the sample and men (coded as 1) comprising 44%. The dummied variable for male has a standard deviation of .50. Respondents are most likely to be white, with white individuals comprising 83% of the sample, Black individuals comprising 13%, and other races comprising only 5%. The dummied variable for white has a standard deviation of .38.

In terms of control variables, respondents were fairly evenly split across regions, with the most – 32% of interviews - taking place in the South, 24% in the Midwest, 23% in the West, and

20% in the Northeast. An overwhelming majority of respondents – 79% - identified with some sort of Christianity, 3% were Jewish, 13% didn't identify with a religion, and 5% identified with some other religion.

Bivariate Findings

A bivariate analysis of the aggrieved entitlement index and independent and control variables produced no issues of multicollinearity, as there were no values exceeding .7 (See Table 2). There are few statistically significant correlations on this bivariate level for the current study, and the statistically significant correlations that do occur are incredibly weak. The aggrieved entitlement index is only statistically significantly correlated with one variable, that being a very weak (.087) positive correlation with the white variable ($p < .05$), meaning that white individuals are ever so slightly more likely to score higher on the index of aggrieved entitlement at a bivariate level of analysis. Across independent and control variables there are only two other statistically significant correlations: a very weak positive correlation between the white variable and the West variable, meaning that individuals sampled from the Western region are very slightly more likely to be white, and a very weak correlation between the Jewish variable and the Midwest variable, meaning that individuals sampled from the midwestern region are very slightly more likely to be Jewish. Though not telling of aggrieved entitlement on the bivariate level, the correlation between the white and west variables will be important to remember as we move on to the regression analysis. All other bivariate correlations between variables are either not statistically significant, or irrelevant as they derive from related categories – for example individuals sampled from the Southern region are less likely to have been sampled from the Midwestern region and vice versa.

Multivariate Findings – Iterative Linear Regression

An iterative regression of the aggrieved entitlement index produces one statistically significant regression coefficient in initial models but has no statistically significant coefficients once all control variables are introduced. Similarly, the F test for the first regression model is statistically significant at the .05 level, indicating that the first model is significantly different than a model consisting only of the constant, but ceases to be statistically significant in subsequent models with all variables included. The F value of the constant hovers around 23.5 for all models, which is similar to both the mean (24.050) and the median (23.667) of the aggrieved entitlement index. The R^2 value incrementally increases with each additional control category with the first model explaining .08% of the variation in the Aggrieved Entitlement index and the final model explaining 1.8%.

The one variable initially showing a statistically significant effect is the white variable, indicating that whiteness has positive impact on aggrieved entitlement ($B = .718^*$). This statistically significant positive effect remains when controlling for the male variable, but resolves once the controls for region are introduced. This change is likely due at least in part to the effects of the statistically significant correlation between the white variable and the West variable (see Table 2.), which would suggest that region partially mediates the relationship between whiteness and aggrieved entitlement.

It is important to note that while the white coefficient ceases to be statistically significant as control variables are introduced, it remains incredibly close to statistically significant at the .05 level throughout, ending up at .055, and would likely be statistically significant if the sample size was larger. This finding hints at, but does not fully achieve, support for hypothesis one – that white individuals will score higher on an index of aggrieved entitlement than non-white

individuals. As no other variables achieve or approach statistical significance, hypothesis two and three are also not supported by the current study.

DISCUSSION

Given the context of previous scholarship, it is not surprising that the white variable approaches correlation with aggrieved entitlement. Though many scholars identify a correlation between white supremacy and aggrieved entitlement, much of the existing literature focuses more on gender than on race. The current study indicates a need for the re-evaluation of that focus toward an both emphasis on the cumulative and interactive forces of gender and race together, as described in Madfis' work on triple entitlement as a domination realm reflection of the concept of intersectionality (2014), as well as a more expansive analysis of whiteness overall and its implications for dynamics of aggrieved entitlement. The proposal of revamping focus towards a more racially intersectional analysis has precedent in the literature, not only in the work of Madfis (2014), but also in that of Collins (1990), Crenshaw (1989), and hook's (1992) conceptions of the inseparability of systems of oppression. Existing work has not analyzed aggrieved entitlements outside of racial implications, it simply hasn't fully acknowledged the dynamics that are more than certainly taking place.

In addition, while the results of the current study did not show significant support for any of the hypotheses, they do demonstrate initial potential for a quantitative analysis of aggrieved entitlement in future scholarship. Even with a research design utilizing secondary analysis of existing data not taken with the current study in mind and small sample, the index constructed did approach significant correlation with one independent variable, and the model, though not statistically significant, did explain more than one percent of variation in aggrieved entitlement.

Given the expansive - arguably infinite - number of factors impacting where any given individual falls on such a complex index, this 1.8% is not an altogether shockingly small number, nor is it necessarily a disappointing one. With a survey more attuned to the particularities of aggrieved entitlement, we would be very much within reason to expect to see both the explanatory power and the statistical significance of the model grow beyond what is demonstrated here. A more ideal future research design might utilize a self-report measure similar to the Psychological Entitlement Scale, with questions specifically designed to address the multiple components, and chronological nature of an aggrieved entitlement dynamic. Ideally this measure would be included on a large-scale, nationally representative survey like the GSS.

The question items about anger from the GSS are a good example of why this particular survey may not have provided a perfect vehicle for an analysis of aggrieved entitlement. The three questions that comprised the anger sub-index in the current study were, “On how many days in the past 7 days have you felt angry at someone?”, “On how many days in the past 7 days have you felt outraged at something somebody had done?”, and “On how many days in the past 7 days have you felt mad at something or someone?” While dynamics of aggrieved entitlement involve anger specifically as an (arguably unjustified) response to a loss of power or privilege, the GSS survey items are open ended. As such, participants might have responded “yes” to the anger question in reference to an experience in the vein of their car breaking down, something which could potentially trigger an aggrieved entitlement type response, but is less likely to than, for instance, being stood up on a date. The current theoretical framework surrounding aggrieved entitlement would situate the date example as well within the type of romantic or sexual threat that undermines values of hegemonic masculinity in a way that would not apply as cleanly to unexpected car troubles.

The other main challenge in regard to the operationalization of aggrieved entitlement is the lack of chronological order to the survey items comprising the scale, and the subsequent inability to definitively connect particular items. The index created for the current study compiles many pieces of the puzzle of aggrieved entitlement, but in a manner more akin to tossing them into the box, than to actually putting them together one by one. For example, a survey more specific to aggrieved entitlement might ask a similar question about change in financial status, but then follow it with a question about feelings specifically in regard to the experience in question, rather than just in general. With such a survey design, researchers would be able to better connect specific actions, to specific emotional responses, to specific experiences and/or events, more accurately representing the staggered causal nature of progressions comprising aggrieved entitlement.

The survey data available for this study presents several other inherent issues. One important realm in which the GSS falls short is in its conception of sex, and perhaps more poignantly its lack of conception of gender. It seems likely that as of 1996 the GSS was in fact, conflating the two entirely, but regardless, an ideal survey measure would address gender identity beyond just a binary, and might include items about identification with conceptions of masculinity and femininity as well.

Another limitation of the current study that is absolutely essential to recognize is its small sample size ($N = 593$). This logistic posed a challenge two-fold, as it limited the statistical power of the analyses, and also because it mandated the omission of certain control variables which, when excluding missing data, would have left the sample too small to use at all. Ideally, the study would have controlled for income in an effort to address social class and the potential widespread existence of aggrieved entitlement dynamics across different socioeconomic groups,

which a theory of relative deprivation might predict (Walker and Pettigrew 1984). Also helpful would be the inclusion of a control variable addressing political beliefs, as existing scholarship on the far right would indicate political identity as a likely implicatory factor of aggrieved entitlement. Unfortunately including these variables eliminated too many responses from the sample size to justify utilizing them in the current study, but future analysis should prioritize the inclusion of control variables addressing both political and class identities in addition to the controls utilized in this research.

One realm that merits more focus in future research is that of relativity and how the specificity of experience might impact aggrieved entitlement dynamics. Previous scholarship on hegemonic masculinity more generally has established that hegemony is not static, but rather fluid through local, regional, and historical contexts (Connell and Messerschmidt 1995). As such, any effective quantitative measure for aggrieved entitlement would need to encompass an ability to address these changing dynamics and how they might affect aggrieved entitlement dynamics. For instance, given what we know about how hegemonic masculinity shifts and changes, we might apply a similar construct to dominance associated with religion. Hypothetically, an individual identifying with a religion that is subordinated on a national level, but who is socialized in a region where their religion is actually more prominent and integrated into the assumptions and structures of the society they navigate on a day-to-day basis, that individual might demonstrate more aggrieved entitlement than someone in the same regional context who identifies with the nationally dominant (but locally less prevalent – or potentially subordinated) religion. Some of this complexity could be managed with effective selection of control variables, but the fluidity of dominance is still important to keep in mind when designing future models.

CONCLUSION

This research, grounded in previous study of aggrieved entitlement dynamics prompted by mass shooting events, attempted to propose a prototype for a quantitative measure of the concept. The study's design grew out of existing scholarship on the process of aggrieved entitlement, which identifies the entitlement of hegemonic masculinity and white supremacy as a context in which threats to power and identity in various forms and on various levels triggers responses of grievement and reactions of violence. An index, consisting of 13 items from the 1996 General Social Survey, was created to represent aggrieved entitlement, and was analyzed in relation to whiteness, maleness, the region in which the interview was conducted and the religion of the respondent. Initial weak correlation was identified between the aggrieved entitlement index and whiteness, but the effects resolved as control variables were introduced into the models.

Though the current study did not offer support for the proposed hypotheses, it did introduce a new methodological strategy for investigating dynamics of aggrieved entitlement and the spheres in which such dynamics occur. Thus, this research contributes new propositions for studying the specific phenomenon of mass shootings as well as relationships between gender, race, threat, and violence more generally. Though some scholars have discussed aggrieved entitlement's applicability to the quotidian activities of everyday men (rather than just mass murderers), an effective quantitative measure could assess and evaluate the prevalence of these dynamics with expanded reach and scale. Like prior qualitative study, such an endeavor would likely identify aggrieved entitlement as a widespread phenomenon, deeply entrenched in connected systems and their corresponding identities. These interconnected constructions make

addressing and undoing aggrieved entitlement a colossal task, and one that can be best taken on with a deep understanding of how the dynamic functions and exists.

On dismantling interlocking systems, bell hooks writes, “If we only challenge one system, the other interlocking systems will remain - we must approach this work intersectionally, or the power of the dominating system will triumph” (hooks 1952:36). Continued work on aggrieved entitlement in all of its complexity is thus necessary to understand the dynamic and its reach well enough to affectively work towards its dismantling.

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APPENDIX 1. FIGURES AND TABLES

Figure 1. Aggrieved Entitlement Index Score Frequencies (N=593)

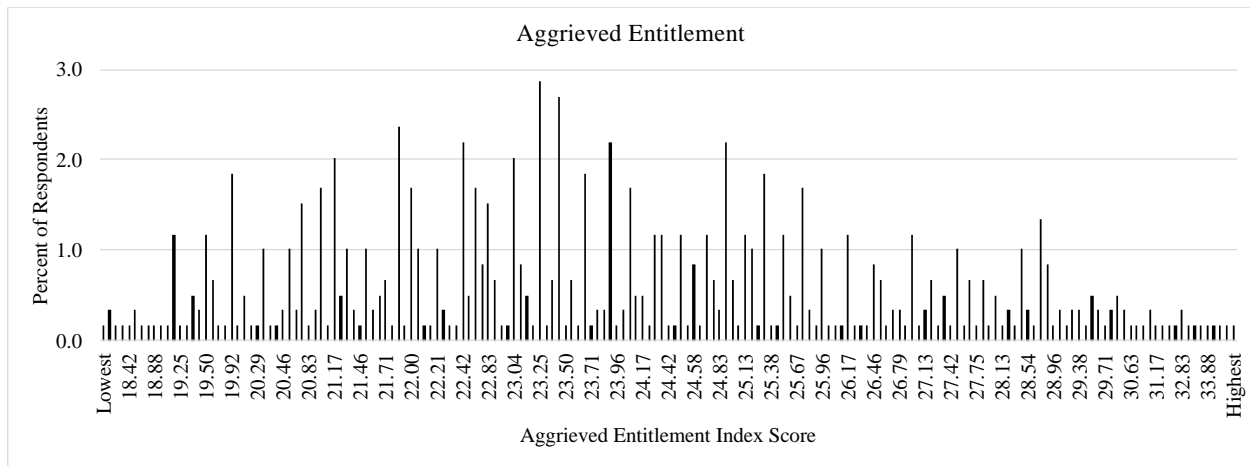


Table 1. Means, Medians, and Standard Deviations for Variables (N=593)

Variable	Mean	Median	S.D.
Aggrieved Entitlement Scale	24.050	23.667	3.13
Male	0.435	0.000	0.50
White	0.826	1.000	0.38
Age	42.550	40.000	15.26
South	0.084	0.000	0.24
West	0.062	0.000	0.24
Midwest	0.140	0.000	0.35
Jewish	0.025	0.000	0.16
Other Religion	0.051	0.000	0.22
No Religion	0.133	0.000	0.34

Table 2. Correlations (R) Between Aggrieved Entitlement and Independent and Control Variables (Listwise Deletion, Two-Tailed Test, N=593)

	Male	White	South	Midwest	West	Jewish	No Religion	Other Religion
AE	-.030	.087*	.014	.020	.072	.022	-.041	-.045
Male		.061	.027	-.001	-.015	.010	.056	.015
White			.059	.005	.100*	.046	.023	-.036
South				-.122*	-.078	-.010	-.012	.013
Midwest					-.104*	.090*	.013	-.027
West						.003	.042	-.060
Jewish							-.063	-.037
No Religion								-.090*

* $p < .05$

Table 3. Linear Regression of Aggrieved Entitlement (Unstandardized Coefficients, N=593)

Model	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Constant	23.457	23.538	23.481	23.564
White	.718*	.736*	.668	.659
Male		-.221	-.214	-.194
West			.883	.877
South			.212	.210
Midwest			.261	.247
Jewish				.228
No Religion				-.432
Other Religion				-.590
<i>F</i>	4.495*	2.609	1.643	1.306
<i>R</i> ²	.008	.009	.014	.018

APPENDIX 2. DEPENDENT VARIABLES AND THEMATIC STRUCTURE OF
AGGRIEVED ENTITLEMENT INDEX

Independent	Sex	
	Race	
Control	Age	
	Region	
	Religion	
Aggrieved Entitlement Scale	Threat (Social)	Loneliness
	Threat (Financial)	Change in Financial Situation
	Threat (Romantic)	Number of Sex Partners
	Threat (Systemic: Sexism)	Importance of Women’s Right’s Issues
		Income Provider Responsibility
		Effect of Sex on Promotion Opportunities
	Threat (Systemic: Racism)	Racial Disparities Due to Discrimination
		Racial Disparities Due to Lack of Will
	Entitlement (Anger)	Feeling Angry
		Feeling Outraged
		Feeling Mad at Someone or Something
	Entitlement (Revenge)	Thinking About Revenge
Re-Affirmation (Violence)	Yelling or Hitting Something	

APPENDIX 3. TEXT OF SURVEY ITEMS COMPRISING AGGRIEVED ENTITLEMENT INDEX

Loneliness	On how many days in the past 7 days have you felt lonely?
Change in Financial Situation	During the last few years, has your financial situation been getting better, worse, or has it stayed the same?
Number of Sex Partners	How many sex partners have you had in the last 12 months?
Importance of Women's Rights Issues	How important is the women's rights issue to you--would you say it is one of the most important, important, not very important, or not important at all?
Income Provider Responsibility	Which type of relationship would you prefer? Responsible for providing income?
Effect of Sex on Promotion Opportunities	Do you think your being a (man/woman) makes your promotion opportunities better or worse?
Racial Disparities Due to Discrimination	On the average (Negroes/Blacks/African Americans) have worse jobs, income, and housing than white people. Do you think these differences are... A) Mainly due to discrimination?
Racial Disparities Due to Lack of Will	On the average (Negroes/Blacks/African Americans) have worse jobs, income, and housing than white people. Do you think these differences are... A) Because most (Negroes/Blacks/African Americans) just don't have the motivation or will power to pull themselves up out of poverty?
Feeling Angry	On how many days in the past 7 days have you felt angry at someone?
Feeling Outraged	On how many days in the past 7 days have you felt outraged at something somebody had done?
Feeling Mad at Someone or Something	On how many days in the past 7 days have you felt mad at something or someone?
Thinking About Revenge	I'm going to show you a list of things that people sometimes do to change their feelings. Did you do any of these things after you got angry or annoyed: Thought about how to get revenge.
Yelling or Hitting Something	Did you do any of these things after you got angry or annoyed: yelled or hit something to let out my pent-up feelings.