

The copyright of this thesis vests in the author. No quotation from it or information derived from it is to be published without full acknowledgement of the source. The thesis is to be used for private study or non-commercial research purposes only.

Published by the University of Cape Town (UCT) in terms of the non-exclusive license granted to UCT by the author.

**HEGEMONIC MASCULINITY**

**AND**

**AGGRESSION IN SOUTH AFRICA**

Russell Luyt



University of Cape Town  
Department of Psychology

January, 2002

Submitted in Fulfilment of a Master of Arts Degree in Research Psychology

# CONTENTS

## Acknowledgements

## Overview

## INTRODUCTION

### Chapter One

#### The Past: Masculinity and Aggression

1.1. Male Violence as a 'History of His-story'	2 – 7
1.2. Setting the Epistemological Frame	7 – 9
1.3. Setting the Research Frame	9 – 10
1.4. Summary	10

## PART I

### Chapter Two

#### Contextualising Masculinity in South Africa

~ Abstract ~	11
2.1. Introduction	12 – 13
2.1.1. <i>Theorising Unitary Masculinity: 'Men Are Men... Are Men... Amen'</i>	13 – 16
2.1.2. <i>Theorising Multiple Masculinities: 'Many Men &amp; Mixed Milieus'</i>	16 – 19
2.1.3. <i>Local Masculinities</i>	19 – 23
2.1.4. <i>Summary</i>	23 – 24

## 2.2. Method

### 2.2.1. *Sample*

- a) Focus Group Sample 24 – 25
- b) Individual Interview Sample 25 – 26

### 2.2.2. *Procedure*

- a) Focus Group Procedure 26 – 28
- b) Individual Interview Procedure 28 – 31

### 2.2.3. *Translation of Focus Group and Interview Material* 31 – 32

### 2.2.4. *Rhetorical Analysis* 32 – 37

## 2.3. Discussion

### 2.3.1. *Rhetorical Masculinities* 37 – 39

- a) Masculine Control: “It’s basically a conquest thing” 40 – 44
- b) Masculine (Un)Emotionality: “Having a lions heart” 44 – 47
- c) Masculine Physicality & Toughness: “The iron man” 48 – 53
- d) Masculine Competition: “It’s a matter of war” 53 – 56
- e) Masculine Success: “Flying high” 56 – 60
- f) Masculine (Hetero)Sexuality: “The steam engine within” 60 – 69
- g) Masculine Responsibility: “Child-minding the world” 70 – 72

### 2.3.2. *Summary* 72 – 73

### 2.3.3. *The Defended Interview*

- a) Structuring the Interview 74 – 75
- b) The Defended Subject 75 – 77
- c) The Defended Interviewer 77 – 79

### 2.3.4. *Summary* 79

## 2.4. Conclusion 79 – 80

## PART II

### Chapter Three

#### Criticising the Male Attitude Norm Inventory

~ Abstract ~	81
<b>3.1. Introduction</b>	82
<i>3.1.1. Measuring Masculinity</i>	82 – 85
<i>3.1.2. The Male Attitude Norm Inventory</i>	85 – 88
<i>3.1.3. Summary</i>	88
<b>3.2. Discussion</b>	
<i>3.2.1. A Contextual Revision of the Male Attitude Norm Inventory</i>	88 – 91
<i>3.2.2 A Theoretical Revision of the Male Attitude Norm Inventory</i>	92 – 94
<b>3.3. Conclusion</b>	94 – 96

### Chapter Four

#### Justifying the Male Attitude Norms Inventory-II

~ Abstract ~	97
<b>4.1. Introduction</b>	98
<b>4.2. Method</b>	
<i>4.2.1. Sample</i>	98 – 100
<i>4.2.2. Procedure</i>	100
<i>4.2.3. Instruments</i>	101

<b>4.3. Results</b>	
<b>4.3.1. Measures of Construct Validity</b>	
a) Convergent Validity	101 – 102
b) Factorial Validity	102 – 104
<b>4.3.2. Measure of Reliability</b>	104 – 105
<b>4.4. Discussion</b>	105 – 108
<b>4.5. Conclusion</b>	108

## PART III

### Chapter Five

#### **Masculinities & Aggression in South Africa**

~ Abstract ~	109
<b>5.1. Introduction</b>	110
<b>5.1.1. 'Men of Fire': Local Masculinity and Violence</b>	110 – 117
<b>5.1.2. Theorising Male Aggression</b>	
a) Essentialist Explanation	118 – 119
b) Constructivist (ionist) Explanation	119 – 122
<b>5.1.3. Measuring Aggression</b>	122 – 126
<b>5.1.4. Summary</b>	126 – 127
<b>5.2. Method</b>	
<b>5.2.1. Sample</b>	127 – 131
<b>5.2.2. Procedure</b>	
a) MANI-II and Buss Aggression Procedures	131 – 135

b) Ethical Considerations	135 – 137
<b>5.2.3. Instruments</b>	
a) The Buss Aggression Machine	137
b) The Male Attitude Norms Inventory-II	137 – 138
<b>5.3. Results</b>	
<b>5.3.1. Establishing Sub-Scale Measures of Masculinity</b>	138 – 140
<b>5.3.2. Explaining Aggression</b>	
a) Correlation Matrix	140 – 141
b) Forward Stepwise Multiple Regression	141 – 143
c) Independent Samples T-Test	143 – 144
<b>5.3.3. Post-Experimental Evaluation</b>	145 – 149
<b>5.4. Discussion</b>	149 – 154
<b>5.5. Conclusion</b>	154 – 155

## CONCLUSION

### Chapter Six

#### The Future: Masculinity and Aggression

<b>6.1. Male Violence as ‘History’</b>	156 – 157
<b>6.2. Closing the Epistemological Frame</b>	158 – 159
<b>6.3. Closing the Research Frame</b>	159 – 162
<b>6.4. Summary</b>	162

<b>References</b>	163 – 182
-------------------	-----------

## **APPENDICES**

### **Appendix A**

<b>A.1. Individual Interview Schedule</b>	183
<b>A.2. Focus Group Interview Schedule</b>	184
<b>A.3. Pictorial Representations of Masculinities</b>	185 – 187

### **Appendix B**

<b>B.1. Male Attitude Norm Inventory</b>	188 – 189
<b>B.2. Male Role Norms Inventory</b>	189 – 191
<b>B.3. Male Role Norms Scale</b>	192 – 193
<b>B.4. Male Attitude Norms Inventory-II</b>	193 – 195

### **Appendix C**

<b>C.1. Revision of the Male Attitude Norm Inventory</b>	196 – 208
--	-----------

### **Appendix D**

<b>D.1. Exploratory Factor Analysis of MANI-II</b>	209
<b>D.2. Sub-Scale Analysis: Descriptive Statistical Data</b>	209 – 213

## **Appendix E**

<b>E.1. Buss Aggression Machine Systems Circuit</b>	214 – 215
---	-----------

## **Appendix F**

<b>F.1. Buss Aggression Procedure: Data Sheet</b>	216 – 217
---	-----------

<b>F.2. Buss Aggression Procedure: Trial Sheet</b>	218
--	-----

## **Appendix G**

<b>G.1. Inventaris Van Manlike Houdingsnorme-II</b>	219 – 220
---	-----------

<b>G.2. Isithethe Soluvo Samadoda Uluhlu-II</b>	220 – 222
---	-----------

## **Appendix H**

<b>H.1. Establishing Sub-Scale Structure</b>	223 – 228
--	-----------

<b>H.2. Sub-Scale Analysis: Descriptive Statistical Data</b>	229 – 232
--	-----------

## **Appendix I**

<b>I.1. Research Expenditure</b>	233 – 235
----------------------------------	-----------

## Acknowledgements

This research was undertaken in fulfilment of a Master of Arts Degree in Psychology at the University of Cape Town. Research funds were made available through the University. Thanks go to Mbulelo Jacobs, Zama Mvulane and Ben Truter for their assistance in facilitation and experimental procedures; Gillian Finchilescu and Ines Meyer for their help in statistical analysis; the Triangle Project, Gloria Mabeka and Jeffrey Xaki for their needed ‘gatekeeping’ support; Francois Luyt, Marelise van der Merwe and Thabisa Moleshe for their professional assistance in translation; Caroline Murray for her administrative help; Jenny Luyt for her unreserved encouragement; Don Foster for his overall supervisory guidance and support; and all the men who agreed to take part in the study.

## Overview

This thesis explores ‘Hegemonic Masculinity and Aggression in South Africa’. It incorporates three separate, but sequential research parts, each building on the findings of the previous part in order to realise general research aims.

**Part 1 [Chapter 2]** sought to explore the diversity of masculine expression in South Africa by drawing on groups characterised by differences in culture, social-class, and sexuality. 8 focus groups and 2 individual interviews were undertaken in order to assess masculine conceptualisation in sufficient depth. Far from providing a complete account of the country’s masculinities, an impossible task given the sheer complexity of its social negotiation, it is believed that this venture provided information rich in its descriptive utility. Rhetorical analysis helped to sketch this complexity, in which seven key ‘hegemonic metaphors’ were seen to emerge from participant debate, these providing the conceptual framework within which argument took form. Although debate predominantly served to support these normative masculine metaphors, dominant notions also found challenge, this providing a guiding blueprint of contemporary masculine construction in the country.

Drawing on information gleaned from the contextual exploration of masculinity **Part 2 [Chapters 3 and 4]** involved the revision of the Male Attitude Norm Inventory (MANI) in an attempt to ensure its content validity, and alter the instrument so as to reflect masculinity ideology; this a particular theoretical approach to the measurement of masculinity(ies) that

stresses its collective negotiation. At the outset differences in theoretical outlook were traced, and the origin of MANI were explored, before discussion surrounding the manufacture of the Male Attitude Norms Inventory-II (MANI-II). This improved measure displays greater contextual validity, and echoes to a better extent the underlying theoretical assumptions of masculinity ideology, than MANI exhibits. Two essential criteria demanded of instrument construction were fulfilled: providing (1) valuable reliability data and (2) further information supporting MANI-II's construct validity. Male students from three local universities were approached to participate. 339 of 377 questionnaires were satisfactorily returned. MANI-II appeared to contain strong construct validity, as assessed by means of convergent ( $r = 0.86$ ;  $p < 0.05$ ) and factorial techniques, in addition demonstrating solid overall ( $\alpha = 0.90$ ) and sub-scale [Toughness ( $\alpha = 0.83$ ), Control ( $\alpha = 0.83$ ), & Sexuality ( $\alpha = 0.85$ )] internal reliability scores through the use of Cronbach's Alpha.

**Part 3 [Chapter 5]** endeavoured to investigate the hypothesis that: low age and education, together with strong hegemonic masculine approval, are predictive of high aggression whilst high age and education, together with weak hegemonic masculine endorsement are predictive of low aggression. Stratified purposive sampling across three age and five education levels provided an efficient means with which to isolate 432 suitable male South African participants. Afrikaans, English and Xhosa individuals ranged between 15 and 87 years old, and averaged an approximate age of 37. The newly revised Male Attitude Norms Inventory-II (MANI-II) was utilised as a multi-dimensional measure of masculinity ideology. Three theoretically meaningful dimensions; namely 'Toughness', 'Control', and 'Sexuality'; served to guide construction of a multi-dimensional model of masculinity. This model provided a blueprint for the construction of three like sub-scales within MANI-II that demonstrated firm overall [Combined Scale ( $\alpha = 0.90$ )] and individual [Toughness Sub-Scale ( $\alpha = 0.69$ ); Control Sub-Scale ( $\alpha = 0.86$ ); Sexuality Sub-Scale ( $\alpha = 0.74$ )] internal reliability. These sub-scales proved useful in the analysis of masculinities relationship to aggression. An adaptation of the Buss Aggression procedure (Buss, 1961) was used to assess individual propensity toward aggression, in which men were required to administer electric shocks during a set task, these serving as a measure of their aggression. Three statistical procedures provided support for the core hypothesis: multiple correlation, multiple regression, and independent samples t-test. Lower social class (low education) and high endorsement of hegemonic masculinity (particularly 'sexuality') was seen to be significantly predictive of aggression. Low age, although not uniquely contributory to aggression, materialised to hold importance in an overall predictive model. It was argued that aggression plays a pivotal role in the lives of young disempowered males, enabling them to collectively display a core manly attribute, and thereby reinforce their status as 'true' men in agreement with hegemonic notions of masculinity.

# INTRODUCTION

## 1. THE PAST: MASCULINITY AND AGGRESSION

Interest in the study of masculinity over the last two-and-a-half decades is argued to have blossomed as a result of 'second wave' feminist theory and the politics of the gay liberation movement (Buchbinder, 1994). In some instances this newfound emphasis has led to the formation of Men's Studies in academic institutions (Morrell, 1998), which although not necessarily involved in enquiry that is always directly commensurate with the political aims of 'feminisms' at large, nevertheless draws on their conceptual framework in the problematisation of masculinity (Messner, 1997).

Chapter 1 attempts to locate this study within critical feminist philosophy, and in so doing stresses the importance of continual masculine problematisation, in a bid to destabilise its firm normative conceptual foundations. Traditionally:

"...when academics apply 'critical' to their own paradigm, theory or discipline, the label tends to signal two related messages: (a) the new paradigm/discipline/theory includes social analyses, particularly the analysis of social inequality; (b) the 'critical' paradigm/discipline/theory is opposing existing paradigms/disciplines/theories which, among other failings, fail to address social inequalities" (Billig, 2000: 291).

Connell (1993) notes that critical reflection does not in itself create desired change, but merely facilitates the conditions for transformation, in which the hierarchical gender order faces challenge as its ideational walls crumble. From this perspective, re-building a conceptual scaffold is a transitory undertaking that should be open to the same problematising forces that generated its construction, this accounting for the dynamism of a socially negotiated world in which nothing is ever closed to question.

The current study seeks to explore the intricacies of masculine debate in South Africa, paying particular attention to the relationship between masculinities and aggression,

given the omnipresence of violence in our society (McKendrick & Hoffmann, 1990; Morrell, 2001). Middleton (1992) underlines that critical study of masculinity has not only been spurred-on by feminist critique, but by the intense suffering that men (and women) have had to endure as a consequence of normative masculine demand; this, for example, promoting the horrors of mass interstate conflict and intrastate criminal violence. This research recognises gendered aggression as a source of great concern, in which young men are argued to feature disproportionately as both perpetrators, and victims of violence (Alder, 1992; Archer, 1994).

Toch (1969: 1) notes that for the most part research “concern with violence is directed at a myth. It demands an ocean where there are islands; it constructs a monolith in place of diversity; it calls for formulas to cover complexity; and it presumes cure-alls where we have no diagnosis”. This study does not view violence in this all-encompassing and overly simplistic fashion. Instead it isolates one island in the ocean of explanation on which to base exploration, that of gender, or more specifically the role of masculinities in fostering aggression.

### **1.1. Male Violence as a ‘History of His-story’:**

Foster (1997) notes that despite the fact that violence overwhelmingly involves men, as agents and as victims, insufficient research has been undertaken in order to account for this anomaly from a gender perspective. It is suggested that masculinity may hold significance as a pivotal factor in the genesis of both political and criminal violence (Alder, 1992; Foster, 1997).

A gender informed exploration of male violence holds obvious potential. In particular gender theorising surrounding hegemonic masculinity proves beneficial. That is to say an account of masculinity stressing its existence as a constant collective practice serving to gain individuals’ access to power and privilege, as well as reinforcing their structural domination over women and subordinate masculinities (Connell, 1987), aids an investigation into violence. In short violent practice may well exist as an integral facet of

dominant masculine expression structuring distinct relations of power. However it is clear that:

“Power...is not simply about ‘bonking someone on the head’. It is not about these relatively simple acts of aggression ...power is manifest in deeply entrenched rituals and routines which...continually place men at the centre” (Wetherell & Griffin, 1991: 389).



It is important to acknowledge the role societal institutions play in the expression of these ‘rituals and routines’, assisting in the reproduction of masculinity, and as such the continued power and dominance of males in society. Hearn (1994: 737) underlines the importance of exploring gendered violence within institutions that “are centrally concerned with power, domination, and control”. Violence may be seen as a central means through which men both maintain power within institutions, as well as preserve societal power, for example by means of the military or police establishments. The denial of emotion within rational bureaucratic organisation reinforces the use of violence by men who dominate these spaces, whereby reciprocally masculinities find close association with rationality, and hold strong symbolic connection with violence (Linstead, 1997). Thus it is argued that violence is embedded within the very structure of all societies through its institutionalisation. It may operate either implicitly within institutions, for example in Capitalist economic exploitation, or explicitly, as is the case in the military (Mertens, 1981).

The use of legally sanctioned corporal punishment serves as an example of institutionalised violence legitimated by the State. Evans (1996) stresses that throughout the medieval period whipping was the most favoured form of such punishment. In particular flogging played a pivotal role as a means of military discipline in Europe, illustrated well by its use within the English army and navy, which legally instituted its practice through the Mutiny Act of 1689. The brutality with which flogging was administered frequently led to either the psychological scarring of men or in some cases their death. It comes as no surprise that many offenders committed suicide rather than face the possibility of enduring the horrors experienced as a result of these beatings:

“For the alleged crime of aiding in an attempted mutiny, Green, without trial, was sentenced by the Governor to be ‘flogged with a boatswain’s cat until his bones were denuded of flesh.’ The flogging ...did not bring forth a single shriek from the prisoner’s lips, and the Governor...swore he would ‘make him cry out, or whip his guts out.’...The flogging was continued until the convulsions of his bowels appeared through his lacerated loins...” (Scott, 1952: 93).

Men especially trained in the ‘art’ of punishment regularly administered sentences of this kind, meted-out in many cases for the most trivial of offences. Toward the end of its use, well into the nineteenth century, judgements of up to six hundred to one thousand lashes were recorded (Scott, 1952).

It is instructive to note that the military institution plays a principle role in the dynamic of State power throughout the world (Stepan, 1988), although its influence in contemporary society is often grossly underemphasised (Regan, 1994; Shaw, 1991). Shaw (1991) suggests that the military frequently positions itself as a major agent of socio-structural influence, this progressively more so during the growth of nation states, where military service provided a means of social identification (Feld, 1977). The modern militarised State may be seen as a tool through which the interests of the ruling male elite may be actualised, reproducing specific gendered power relations in society (Williams, 1994), based on normative conceptualisations of masculinity.

Mosse (1996) notes that ‘the warrior’ continues to exist as an ideal archetype of modern masculinity, finding reinforcement in contemporary State militarism, particularly so after the First World War. The romanticism of male participation in battle has been expressed in a great deal of war poetry, amongst others, Rupert Brooke (1887-1915) articulating these values in ‘The Soldier’:

If I should die, think only this of me:  
That there’s some corner of a foreign field  
That is for ever England.

This extract highlights what “seems to be an inescapable emergent theme: the almost universal, intimate bond between warrior values and the conventional notions of

masculinity” (McCarthy, 1994: 105). On occasion voices have surfaced to underscore the misery of war, most notably, Wilfred Owen (1893-1918) in his writing ‘Dulce Et Decorum Est’ during the same period:

My friend, you would not tell with such high zest  
 To children ardent for some desperate glory,  
 The old Lie: Dulce et decorum est  
 Pro patria mori.

Noticeably opposition to the brutality of war has not often extended interrogation of war to male participation in battle itself. Despite challenging the atrocious conditions experienced by men during the First World War, Owen himself stressed that war provided an ideal arena for homosocial interaction, and the instrumental role it played in ‘making men out of boys’ (Mosse, 1996). It is the gendered nature of violence that now needs to undergo candid examination, extending debate concerning the evil of violence, to an examination into the vice of male sponsored aggression.

Gray (1996) notes the ‘enduring appeal of battle’ amongst men, which he subscribes to an essential delight in the ‘seeing’, ‘comradeship’ and ‘destruction’ of war. Although violence clearly has an enduring appeal amongst men, this study rejects essentialist notions of male aggression, locating violence as a rationalised response within the modern bureaucratic State. That is to say each man is argued to internalise aggression as a core feature of his masculinity (Jabri, 1996), which although not habitually acted-out in reality due to counter-instructive public masculine demand centred around rationality and responsibility, finds symbolic private expression in day-to-day life such as sport and fantasy (Jordan & Cowan, 1995). For example it is suggested that the growing interest in the boy scouts movement in America at the turn of last century, which stressed the ‘physical and assertive’, materialised as a countermeasure against a rising concern over the future of the country’s masculinity in rapidly changing social relations: “To Scout supporters the movement provided a character building ‘moral equivalent to war’” (Hantover, 1995: 78). Similarly Roth (1997) argues that violent and aggressive imagery, most notably seen in the American Western film genre, represents a sublimation of masculine need to indulge in their violent behaviour.

Therefore violence is said to find strong legitimation in society through actual or symbolic institutions of aggression, rendering it near invisible to critical analysis, due to its banal status. However this legitimation is said to lead to a concomitant increase in the occurrence of unlegitimated violence (Alder, 1992). Kaufman (1995) suggests that a 'triad' of men's violence exists including: violence toward other men, violence toward women, and violence toward the self.

The enactment of violence and aggression serves to consolidate an individual's status within the male group, and plays a seminal role in the attainment of masculine identity (Archer, 1994; McCarthy, 1994), which rotates around societal expectations that men remain competitive; dominating; unemotional; and action oriented (Marshall, 1993). For instance Canaan (1996) notes the importance of fighting and drinking as key means with which 'working-class' men in the British communities of Wolverhampton were able to affirm their masculinity in disempowered settings. Likewise Toch (1998) describes prison subculture as exuding 'hypermasculinity', which encourages the practice of violence by both guards and prisoners as a normative means of masculine display, exaggerated within an all-male environment in which excess is most likely to engender peer esteem and as such enhance individual self-esteem.

Although unlegitimated violent crime occurs most frequently between males, it also finds reproduction in male violence against females, this in part argued to mediate societal power relations (Alder, 1992). Masculine violence toward women most extremely manifests itself in the form of female rape; this no longer considered the behaviour of deviant men but rather an act definitive of normative masculine demand. This is well illustrated by a study undertaken by Luddy & Thompson (1997). The authors note that despite an increasingly vocal lobby against the naturalisation of rape in recent years, masculine ideology differed little between young college students and their fathers, in which traditional attitudes informed non-condemnatory evaluations of forced-sex as rape by both male groups.

Masculinity also perpetrates violence against the self. Horrocks (1994: 48) notes its contradictory nature, in which it constantly denies the feminine in an attempt to exude an

unrealistic toughness, this unobtainable ideal condemning men to the exposure of their supposedly unmanly character. In short by denying their emotions, and feeling compelled to engage in situations designed to test their physical and mental resilience, men abuse not only others but themselves.

Thus masculine violence finds institutionalisation in society, regulating aggression that is both explicitly legitimated by the State, and finds unlegitimated but implicit sanction through State approved male violence. This tends to paint a picture of men who slavishly follow the dictates of an imposing social structure. However:

“...this picture is not the only one. What about those men who do not rape, who do not engage in acts of violence? Is this a different kind of beast, more gentle and considerate perhaps? If it is a man’s ‘nature’ to be aggressive, then equally it is his ‘nature’ to be gentle” (Brittan, 1989: 10)

In an exploration of male violence it is crucial not to forget this ‘different kind of beast’ who through individual agency chooses to reject traditional societal prescriptions. Equally it is important to remember that no worthwhile evidence is said to exist that supports the notion that male violence is innate: genetically, hormonally, or psychologically. In other words both social and individual determinism should be avoided. Rather violence is seen to find expression through its institutionalisation as a legitimate means through which to solve problems, reproduced in relations of domination in all spheres of social life (Kaufman, 1995), these in turn open to contestation and change.

## 1.2. Setting the Epistemological Frame

A divergence in theorising exists between ‘psychological’ and ‘sociological’ explanations of gender. In essence this difference reflects a fundamental deviation in the level of analysis each approach adopts (Wetherell & Griffin, 1991). In discussing the theoretical dislocation between individualist and social perspectives, Horrocks (1994: 39) suggests “...at the deepest level, the two disputants reflect two different ways of looking at reality – macro and micro, public and private, external and internal”.

Social Psychology straddles this divide, where a gulf persists between these two explanatory models, rendering at times an integrated approach problematic. However this gulf is considered conceptually false. No single model is seen to provide holistic understanding, and consequently, their dual consideration is believed to be of the utmost worth (Foster, 1997).

The position taken by the current study is best described as 'feminist'. Traditionally, psychological exploration into men and masculinity has attempted to avoid feminist theorising, viewing it as an obstacle to good research practice, where researchers seek to avoid the subjective pitfalls of politics (Griffin & Wetherell, 1992). These researchers are correct in their assumption that political action, by definition, informs any feminist undertaking (Flax, 1990); this following specifically from a philosophy that stresses the centrality of 'power' (Wetherell & Griffin, 1991) and subjectivity in theoretical understanding. Furthermore feminist researchers adhere to no fixed methods, basing and judging research according to its purposes and goals (Burman, 1996), rather than a set methodological standpoint. This flexibility in research design stems from foundational feminist logic, which claims that there is ultimately no irrefutable epistemological bedrock on which to base the 'truth' or 'falsity' of competing perspectives, only an ability to exert influence over the validity of a particular perspective through power (Flax, 1990).

Feminist study highlights the way in which research has traditionally come to reflect the concerns and values of white heterosexist male society (Frank, 1987). As such reflexivity gains prominence within the research enterprise. That is to say both the means by which knowledge is produced, as well as the relations in which it is manufactured, are explored in order to uncover political goals lurking behind the safety of supposed 'objective' science. In short:

"The common basis for such feminist commentaries on research processes is to reject the traditional oppositions structuring research, between theory and method, and theory and practice. Rather, within a feminist framework, these oppositions are seen as necessarily and inevitably intertwined, united through the connections between the purposes, conduct and outcome of the research" (Burman, 1996: 123).

The rhetorical approach (see Chapter 2) echoes feminist (non)concern over rigid methodological conformity. In its quest to encourage debate, rhetoric recognises that truth (including methodological truth) only exists in argument, this rendering dogmatic adherence to ‘good research practice’ a naïve effort. This study applauds Billig’s (1996, 37) “antiquarian” who “shows no such inhibitions. Experiments are neither holy nor taboo, but, if interesting, they can take their place, along with the rest, in the promiscuous parade”.

The political goals of this research guide its use of methods. It positions itself as a feminist enterprise, moving beyond men’s liberation in its open acknowledgement of unequal male dominance in structured relations of power, and shunning men’s rights in it’s overarching stress on female rather than male oppression (Messner, 1997). In achieving these goals it makes active use of both qualitative and quantitative techniques, guided by critical realism that concedes the necessary use of methods that reify social phenomenon, whilst at the same time remaining wary of any established reality.

### 1.3. Setting the Research Frame

The thesis may be described as including three separate, but sequential research parts, each building on the findings of the previous part in order to realise research aims (see Table 1.1).

*Table 1.1. The three research stages, their associated chapters, and the aims of each.*

Part	Chapters	Aim
I	2	A contextual exploration of masculinity within South Africa.
II	3 and 4	Developing an instrument measuring masculinity ideology.
III	5	Assessing aggression and masculinity within South Africa.

*Part I* [Chapter 2] sought to generate rich discursive material amongst a variety of South African men. It was hoped that this would contribute to a better contextual understanding surrounding the social negotiation of masculinities within the country. Qualitative material provided insight into the complex and interwoven nature of masculine construction, rather than any definitive set of data, which would seek to reflect a 'true' version of masculinity.

Drawing on information gleaned from the contextual exploration of masculinity, *Part II* [Chapters 3 and 4] involved the adaptation of an existing instrument of masculine measurement [the Male Attitude Norm Inventory (Luyt & Foster, 2001)] so as to ensure its content validity, as well as its congruence with theoretical imperatives specifically stressing the value of masculinity ideology (Thompson & Pleck, 1995; Thompson, Pleck & Ferrera, 1992).

*Part III* [Chapter 5] made active use of this revised instrument (the Male Attitude Norms Inventory-II) in its investigation into the relationship between hegemonic South African masculine conceptualisation and propensity toward aggression. The Buss Aggression procedure (Buss, 1961) offered a constructive experimental means through which to measure overt individual aggression. It was expected that low age and education, together with strong hegemonic masculine endorsement, would be predictive of high aggression whilst high age and education, together with weak hegemonic masculine approval would be predictive of low aggression.

#### **1.4. Summary**

An investigation into the gendered nature of violence is considered a necessary pursuit. Adopting a critical feminist perspective, this research seeks in some small measure to tackle unequal gender power relations through questioning the naturalness of male violence, and describing its reproduction amongst South African men.

# PART I

## 2. CONTEXTUALISING MASCULINITY IN SOUTH AFRICA

### Abstract

Chapter 2 seeks to explore the diversity of masculine expression in South Africa by drawing on groups characterised by differences in culture, social-class, and sexuality. Eight focus groups and two individual interviews were undertaken in order to assess masculine conceptualisation in sufficient depth. Far from providing a complete account of the country's masculinities, an impossible task given the sheer complexity of social negotiation, it is believed that this venture provides information rich in its descriptive utility. Rhetorical analysis helped to sketch this complexity, in which seven key 'hegemonic metaphors' were seen to emerge from participant debate, these providing the conceptual framework within which argument took form:

*(1) Masculine Control: "It's basically a conquest thing", (2) Masculine (Un)Emotionality: "Having a lions heart", (3) Masculine Physicality & Toughness: "The iron man", (4) Masculine Competition: "It's a-matter of war", (5) Masculine Success: "Flying high", (6) Masculine (Hetero)Sexuality: "The steam engine within" & (7) Masculine Responsibility: "Child-minding the world".*

Although debate predominantly served to support these normative masculine metaphors, dominant notions also found challenge, this providing a guiding blueprint of contemporary masculine construction in the country.

## 2.1. Introduction

Hearn & Collinson (1994) note that although men have historically been implicit within the research enterprise, both as the 'doers' and the 'done', their explicit examination has been less frequent. Mainstream ('malestream') traditions by and large neglect critical exploration of men in research, unconsciously treating the masculine, as a hidden norm against which all else is measured (Levant, 1996; Thompson & Pleck, 1995).

Reassuringly gender-sensitivity has increased in South Africa over the last decade (Morrell, 1998), this despite an overarching emphasis on racial discrimination in the country, argued at times to have obscured other forms of social oppression (Oyegun, 1998). Morrell (1998) argues that the newfound importance of gender debate extends beyond academia, traversing amongst others, political and civil consciousness.

Legislative efforts have featured prominently at the vanguard of gender change in Post-Apartheid South Africa (Levett & Kottler, 1998). Interestingly focus has fallen on gender not as an exclusively feminine pursuit but rightly incorporating masculine interests in partnership against gender inequality. The Natural Fathers of Children Born Out of Wedlock Act (1997), which recognises 'qualified' parental rights for unmarried fathers, illustrates these legislative drives towards greater equity (de Villiers, 1998). This theme of increased male parental involvement extends into other institutional arenas, seen in the Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers Unions of South Africa's (CCAWUSA's) efforts to secure paternal maternity benefits for its male membership (Appolis, 1998). These initiatives, like many others, contain a radical rather than reformist political agenda. They seek to challenge traditional inequality rather than entrenching additional "men's rights", for example in the two cases above, by attempting to redefine conventional notions surrounding the social division of labour.

'Civil South Africa' has likewise joined the debate. Transformation is most clearly seen in the lively negotiation of gay masculinity, encouraged within the sexual freedoms of Post-Apartheid constitutional reform, and in some measure serving to stimulate challenge to heterosexist society. Reddy (1998) reports that gay men are now able to explore their

sexuality, which has been found to define their masculinity in complex and contradictory ways, rather than in any homogenous form.

Chapter 2 seeks to trace the contours of contemporary masculine negotiation in South Africa. This endeavour proves exciting in the “season of regional socio-political change” (Luyt, 2001: 58) in which men find themselves. Now, more than ever before in our history, multiple voices have been afforded legitimacy to stake their claim as rightfully masculine. Rich discursive material offers a window through which to view the contextual intricacies of South African change in masculine debate. Although only providing watercolour themes drawn from this discursive palette, the chapter attempts to solidify the debate, and in so doing provide a worthwhile canvas on which to invest greater detail in local masculine exploration.

### *2.1.1. Theorising Unitary Masculinity: ‘Men Are Men... Are Men... Amen’*

Unitary explanations of gender have a long history, positing the existence of two monolithic categories: ‘the Male’ and ‘the Female’. This conceptualisation finds root in essentialist and social thought, each respectively placing emphasis on its innate, as opposed to its acquired quality. Common ground may nevertheless be found in their agreement surrounding the rigidity of this supposed gender dichotomy, suggesting in sum that ‘men are men’, and ‘women are women’.

Brittan (1989) warns against any premature assumption that essentialist argument holds little sway in present-day gender debate, arguing that both biological explanations, and evolutionary perspectives ceaselessly seem to rear their heads at opportune moments. Recently Ghiglieri (1999) reaffirmed the tenets of essentialism suggesting gender difference in aggression due to evolutionary processes. Most damning of all rebuttals opposed to this approach, are those that note that although human biology has remained unchanged for hundreds of years, its gendered nature as well as justifications for gender inequality have ceaselessly changed (Lorber, 1997).

Despite the habitual re-emergence of essentialist thought, social explanations have remained at the forefront of unitary gender theorising, seeking to account for rapid gender change over time. Dominant amongst these, sex role theorising suggests that a socially predetermined number of appropriate 'sex roles' are assigned to individuals according to their biological sex. Consequent acquiescence to gender suitable behaviour is seen to occur in response to normative expectation, which if unmet, leads to negative social sanction (Brittan, 1989; Connell, 1987). The theory provides a useful plateau from which to view gender, "...account(ing) for the apparent 'spontaneity' and 'naturalness' of gender, and do(ing) so in terms of a familiar appeal to structures and processes..." (Coleman, 1990: 192).

Connell (1993) notes that despite the theory's popular appeal it is ultimately reductionist in its explanation of gender as an underlying individual psychological quality; this seen to govern human behaviour that is either unyieldingly masculine or feminine. Unsurprisingly Psychology has (and continues) to assert the merits of this approach, providing individualist explanation in terms of motivation, perception and cognition (Brittan, 1989; Wetherell & Griffin, 1991). Additionally sex role theorising has held appeal to "men's liberation", a movement in support of feminist ideology, spurred most notably by the impact of 'Second Wave' feminist activity during the 1970s. Men, who had until this point felt sidelined and threatened by the feminist movement, now claimed equal oppression under the dictatorship of socially prescribed gender appropriate behaviours; thus freeing themselves from the unflattering implications of essentialism (Messner, 1997).

Not only has sex role theorising played a crucial role in subverting essentialist notions of gender difference as biologically innate, rather locating its origin in social expectation (Connell, 1987), but the theory has also provided a useful focus for political action. Clearly the notion that gender exists as a composite of acquired roles suggests the potential for change – preferably politically informed and directed. Furthermore Horrocks (1994) notes that the seeming realisation of gender as two discrete categories offers unproblematic targets for political action.

However grave flaws appear within the theory that undermines its utility as a means with which to explore masculinity. At the outset it uncritically assigns sex roles according to conventional sex distinctions (Brittan, 1989), perpetuating existing understanding of gender as simplistically incorporating two opposing categories based on biological markers.

Furthermore it unpalatably implies that normative behavioural prescriptions, encapsulated by sex roles, suggest their standard practice. The theory re-castes the normative as the normal, insinuating the deviance of non-compliant sex role behaviour, which subsequently serves as an indicator of some underlying personal or social pathology (Brittan, 1989; Connell, 1987; Wetherall & Griffin, 1991). This neglect to account for heterogeneity in masculine understanding "...has tended to produce an image of men that is white, middle class and heterosexual" (Frank, 1987: 161); one might also add Western.

Sex role theorising additionally fails to problematise the existence of each gender category in terms of their location in structured power relations (Connell, 1987; Edley & Wetherell, 1996). This evasion of structured privilege resolutely locates unitary notions of gender in liberal feminist discourse, its predominantly white, middle-class female leadership unsurprisingly blind to issues of inequality other than gender (hooks, 1995). Hearn and Collinson (1994) argue that although men may usefully be seen as a 'gender class' due to their privileged position over most women, they also exist in complex hierarchical relations to each other, in which social divisions along race; class; religion; and age play an intertwined role in determining power positioning. Likewise social divisions may at times also invert traditional power relations, seen for example, in white middle-class female domination of black working-class males (Carrigan, Connell & Lee, 1987). Nevertheless sex role theory assumes that gender relations are largely peaceable, harmonious and consensual, devoid of any contradiction or conflict other than deviant behavioural patterns.

West & Zimmerman (1991) note that an emphasis on sex roles overlooks the interactional and performative nature of gender, alternatively viewing its reproduction as a top-down process, informed by society and enacted by some mythical Homunculus seated in the mind. As such it fails to integrate individual and social processes in a meaningful fashion.

Although a clear attempt is made to account for the social, and as such the fluidity of gender conceptualisation, negotiation is ultimately limited to an individual level (Connell, 1993). Individualist models restrict political action, seeing discreet interventions practiced on or by an individual, as a means through which to actualise change (Frank, 1987). Accordingly the theory's insistence on the centrality of strict social scripts is argued to reduce human behaviour to mere social determinism, in which personal agency is lost in presumably 'normal' role compliance, and the actual dynamic negotiation of gender in society is ignored (Brittan, 1989; Connell, 1987; Edley & Wetherell, 1996).

Thus sex role theorising appears awkward in its inability to adequately account for the substantive heterogeneity with which masculinity is expressed in society over time, as well as its depoliticisation of gender, seen in the deft avoidance of discussion surrounding structured relations of power (Connell, 1990; West & Zimmerman, 1991). Ultimately the theory flounders on a fundamental contradiction: on the one hand it rejects essentialist notions through an appeal to social processes, however on the other hand, it reinforces them through its rigid insistence on binary classification.

### *2.1.2. Theorising Multiple Masculinities: 'Many Men & Mixed Milieus'*

Over the last decade unitary concepts of masculinity have become increasingly untenable. In particular exploration into homosexual identity, encouraged by high rates of gay HIV/Aids infection, has served to highlight heterogeneity in masculine expression. (Buchbinder, 1994).

Hearn (1992: 19) notes that in spite of the increasing universalisation of masculine experience during modernity, in which the 'public man' has gained ascendancy, divisions continue to undergo manufacture within a public machinery that both "...subsumes and separates men". Notwithstanding the variability of masculine articulation, it is important not to lose sight of the fact that men continue to dominate the public domain (Horrocks, 1994), the exceptions themselves disturbingly reminiscent of the masculine – well illustrated by the popular motion picture 'G.I. Jane' released in 1997. Oyegun (1998) underlines that female public involvement regularly results in their co-optation in the

reproduction of the existing gender order rather than stimulating any real challenge to male domination. However (as is noted above) it is clear that men do not all gain the same degree of privilege from their dominant 'gender class' position over women (Messner, 1997).

In order to account for 'masculine difference' in a worthwhile fashion, unitary concepts need by definition to be abandoned, and analysis ought to venture beyond the individualist realm to incorporate socio-historical understanding (Frank, 1987). The concept of 'doing masculinity' achieves this, viewing gender as a negotiated social category, existing between individuals through interaction. No longer is gender understood as located within each individual as a complex of learnt sex roles, but rather finds constant reproduction through socially informed behavioural interaction, which allow men and women to continually affirm their membership to suitable sex categories (Frank, 1987; West & Zimmerman, 1991). No individual is able to avoid 'doing gender', as sex categorisation together with its accompanying normative behavioural prescriptions, are integral aspects of social life. Acquiescence to normative gender demand meets with social reward whilst failure to do so results in negative social sanction (West & Zimmerman, 1991).

Normative gendered behaviours vary across context, are acted-out in multiple arenas, and find unique definition as a result of their specific cultural and ideological location in time (Connell, 1995). They may be public or private, performed at a micro and macro societal level, or appear in intimate as well as non-intimate settings (Frank, 1987). Notwithstanding the immense variability in their manifestation across socio-historical context, they reliably suggest particular power relations (Carrigan, Connell & Lee, 1987), based on the universal principle of male dominance over women (Connell, 1987; Hearn & Collinson, 1994).

Edley & Wetherell (1996: 104) note a growing agreement that any worthwhile explanation of masculinity must incorporate the notion of 'power', shelving essentialist explanation in its "...account of why men tend to dominate most human societies", thereby bypassing excessive determinism and providing space for change. This perspective suggests that whilst cultural ideals of masculinity may vary substantially,

they do so in a fashion that consistently maintains existing relations of masculine domination, congruent with the peculiarities of the surrounding social structure (Connell, 1987). This cultural ideal is well described by:

“The concept of hegemonic masculinity (which) provides a way of explaining that though a number of masculinities coexist, a particular version of masculinity holds sway, bestowing power and privilege on men who espouse it and claim it as their own.” (Morrell, 1998: 608).

Thus hegemonic masculinity serves to sustain male power, both in relation to women and with respect to subordinate masculinities, and as a result encourages most men to support its perpetuation despite their frequent departure from its idealised form (Connell, 1987; Pyke, 1996). Its existence as an ‘ideal’ suggests that every male incorporates elements that are both contradictory and consistent with its idyllic form (Bird, 1996; Pyke, 1996). As such hegemonic masculinity’s supremacy does not suggest its total hegemony, in which social differences along race, class and sexuality often act as catalysts for contestation over its meaning (Hearn & Collinson, 1994). Carrigan, Connell and Lee (1987: 98) usefully contribute: “Hegemonic masculinity might be seen as what would function automatically if the strategy were entirely successful.”

Thus male hierarchies form, distinctive to each society, which valorise certain masculinities over others (Pleck, 1995). Consensus is reached in hegemonic definition, not through its own conceptual solidification, but through constant contrast with the despised (effeminate) ‘Other’. Othering removes immediate focus from the inadequacy of self and group, acting as a constant reminder of what it is not to be a man, and thereby continually policing the boundaries of acceptable masculinity. This is nicely encapsulated by Jackson’s (1990: 172) recollection of his experiences in an all-male boarding house environment:

“We made constant jokes about ‘brownners’ and ‘queers’, and were always on the look out for any unguarded hint of effeminacy in each others’ gestures and behaviour to deflect the focus of attention from ourselves.”

The concept of ‘Othering’ is not new. Foucault (1979) suggests that the surveillance and subsequent control of individuals is made possible through the use of binary

classifications in which the normal-abnormal dichotomy plays an integral role. An individual's mere positioning in terms of his 'normality' serves either to reward or punish – clearly an instrument of infinitely subtle coercion and control. In particular male homosocial interaction serves as a powerful means with which to enforce normative hegemonic standards of masculinity. Masculinities that deviate from this standard are avoided completely, ostracised, or only expressed in heterosocial situations; as such posing little challenge to ascendant conceptualisations (Bird, 1996).

In short the normalising gaze needs to undergo inversion, turning on the invisible self, rather than the Other. Unitary conceptualisations of masculinity enable individuals to avoid critical self-reflection surrounding their manhood. A non-conflictual understanding normalises hegemonic male existence and evades “self examination by men” (Middleton, 1992: 3). In contrast to sex role theorising, an understanding of gender as a ceaseless social practice reproducing particular structured relations of power accommodates its socio-historical analysis (Connell, 1987). Individuals are seen as active social agents and not merely passive vessels shoring predetermined sex roles. This outlook avoids Othering subordinate masculine expression. Masculinity is viewed as contested, this seen to account for the large variation in the way it is expressed, as opposed to an insistence upon its existence as a single monolithic construct imposed on compliant males.

### *2.1.3. Local Masculinities*

An exploration into South African men offers a panoramic view of multiple masculinities in action. The country's troubled, but lively political past, raises the curtain to reveal a complex social stage. Male performance rests on the negotiation of intricate, ever changing, as well as context specific power relations. Variability in masculine accomplishment outlines contestation in the gender order in which hegemonic standards have been, and continue to be, open to renegotiation and change.

Given the idiosyncrasy of South African history it is unsurprising that issues of race and class remain core features in the dispute surrounding masculine dominance (Edley & Wetherell, 1995; Morrell, 1998, 2001), their intertwined nature particularly glaring in

South Africa given its past of institutionalised inequity (Morrell, 1998, 2001). These conceptual axes have been used with valuable elasticity in theorising around the world in order to account for variability in masculine debate; largely limited to an understanding of subordinate minority-group definitions in relation to majority-defined hegemonic ideology (Morrell, 2001). However South Africa “represents an anomaly: in an inversion of the traditional ‘hierarchy of definition’, the gender order” finding “reproduction through minority-group (white middle-class) understandings of masculinity, rather than those of the majority (black ‘working-class’)” (Luyt, 2001: 57).

du Pisani (2001) sketches the reproduction of dominant masculinity within this distinctive matrix of power. Discussion surrounding the transformation in Afrikaner masculinities during Apartheid and Post-Apartheid South Africa elucidates this process, in which once hegemonic Afrikaner masculinity now finds itself fragmented during recent socio-political change; in short Afrikaner loss of ‘power’ denudes efforts to assert its prior dominance. Clearly this present-day transformation adds an additional dimension to discussion surrounding masculinity. Not only are once dominant masculinities thrown into a state of flux, as is the case with Afrikaner masculinity that finds itself threatened in contemporary South Africa (Swart, 2001), but in addition subordinate masculinities undergo redefinition. Ratele (1998) notes that although black masculinity held coherent meaning during political struggle, in part as a result of the homogenising black consciousness movement, it now finds itself splintered in the new socio-political dispensation. The ‘black man’ as a unitary concept finds itself problematic in the absence of a monolithic ‘white man’.

The country’s unstable past is argued to have cultivated a ‘society of transition’ in which new spaces continually emerge that foster challenge to the pre-existing gender order. Mager (1998) illustrates the central role youth organization played amongst rural Xhosa-speakers in the formation of masculine identity during the region’s increased industrialisation between 1945-1960. Here transformation threatened traditional lifestyles, in part disrupting inflexible age hierarchies, and as such altering options open to young men in defining themselves as truly masculine. In this climate newfound emphasis materialised surrounding the importance of aggression, group rivalry, and control over girls in the achievement of masculinity. Although change may well take

form in concert with existing hegemonic ideology, and as a result often display continuity with traditional practice, it is stressed that new practices develop from within their own “rules of formation” (Louw, 2001: 294). At times masculinities take shape that shatter the very foundations of normative masculine conceptualisation. Louw (2001) discusses the growth of ‘homosexual space’ in the settlement of Mkhumbane on the outskirts of Durban during the 1950s. Radical departure from hegemonic ideals was seen to develop within a peculiar context marked by geographic dislocation, the disruption of traditional social convention, and embedded in a setting of socio-political upheaval.

In describing South African masculinity it is significant to explore the centrality of class in masculine negotiation. Middle-class standards are seen to assert their hegemony over working-class masculinity through their superior access to structures of power (Pyke, 1996). Working-class men are said to often experience disjuncture between their lived reality and societal expectation surrounding ‘real masculinity’ (hooks, 1995). Gang subculture amongst white working class youths following the Second World War is said to have revolved around core elements of hegemonic masculinist culture such as competitiveness and heterosexuality (Mooney, 1998). Men in disempowered contexts, who lack access to a large range of masculine affirming behaviours, are regularly seen to ‘over-indulge’ in available hegemonic display. These undergo performance as overstated rituals of gender appropriate practice (Hagedorn, 1998; Luyt & Foster, 2001), the collective expression of ‘hypermasculine’ qualities serving as the only means available to these men in achieving manhood (Connell, 1995). Interestingly Mooney (1998) adds that despite their seeming support for many tenets of hegemonic masculinity these gangs were also found to worship standards in stark opposition to middle-class ‘respectability’. This inconsistency underlines the complexity of masculine negotiation: men may support elements of hegemonic masculinity whilst at the same time rejecting many of its core values. In instances where practice fails to mirror normative prescriptions, behaviour should be viewed as ‘protest’, at times echoing an imposed restraint on achieving ‘true’ masculinity through normative means (Hagedorn, 1998).

In many respects work remains definitive of class and race divides. During modernity it has increasingly impacted upon masculine identity formation. The labour market acts as a seminal arena in which relations between men may be regulated – providing a space in

which they may practice their masculinities (Morgan, 1992). Jackson (1990) underlines the importance of 'all-male space', or male homosociality, in the reproduction of acceptable forms of masculine behaviour. Interaction within this sphere serves as a powerful means with which to enforce hegemonic standards of masculinity (Bird, 1996), encouraged through the rigid divide between the 'female-private', and the 'male-public' domain (Hearn, 1992). Public institutions provide a location in which to 'be a man': "adult men, separated from women..." can "...engage in 'masculine' activities, often centered around the development and celebration of physical strength, competition, and violence" (Messner, 1997: 9).

As locations of almost exclusive male preserve, South African mines on the Witwatersrand have served as key homosocial sites for masculine reproduction for over a century, defined by hierarchical race relations and constant physical danger (Breckenridge, 1998). However contradiction in masculine expression once again surfaces in this arena. Not only have the mines provided space in which the hegemonic values of strength, courage and violence find consolidation, but they have also offered room for the growth of alternative masculine practice. Moodie's (2001) exploration of homoerotic behaviour on the South African mines suggests its performance as an 'inverted object choice'. In contrast to notions of 'gender orientation', it is argued that these activities reflected an 'economy of desire' operating within the bounds of the traditional (albeit disrupted) gender regime, in which such practice on mining compounds took form around rigid gender rules governing the passive (feminine) and active (masculine) role in such relationships. Therefore the author privileges socio-structural explanation, suggesting the genesis of unique sexual expression within contextual constraints, and under the continued influence of conventional cultural markers of seniority.

In sum an overview of South African masculinities alerts the informed observer to the fact that monolithic depictions of masculinity inadequately represent the array of identities that take subtle shape within its unique socio-historical milieu. An uneven landscape of social interaction locates each individual in pre-existing, whilst at the same time changing, discourses of gender. Positioning in terms of race; class; culture; age and

history contribute to a process in which masculine identity often reflects composite as well as contradictory images of what it is to be a man.

#### *2.1.4. Summary*

An understanding of masculinity that accounts for inconsistency in its definition over time and context proves essential in a South African analysis. Unitary understanding refuses to account for variation in its expression, rendering the theory anaemic in its failure to take adequate cognisance of socio-structural relations of power in the region, as such its conservative roots tending to reify a normative standard. An awareness of multiple masculinities bypasses these problematic shortfalls. It extends discussion beyond a simplistic assumption that ‘men are men’ to encompass the question ‘in what way are they men?’

Clearly this theorising incorporates the political. Despite this emphasis it is essential to note that change in masculinity is notably slow. Perhaps hope lies in the suggestion that the direction of future change:

“...very much involves the intelligentsia. Intellectuals are bearers of the social relations of gender and makers of sexual ideology. The way we do our intellectual work of inquiry, analysis, and reportage has consequences; epistemology and sexual politics are intertwined” (Connell, 1993: 598).

This resonates with Moscovici’s (1984) Theory of Social Representations where (amongst other things) it is suggested that the views of intelligentsia are seen to impact heavily on those held generally by society, which draws on their understanding of the surrounding world, reconstituting it and eventually re-negotiating new forms of worldly understanding (Augoustinos & Walker, 1995; Billig, 1993).

It is anticipated that this chapter may in some small measure contribute to this ideological process. In agreement with similar ‘action oriented’ research it underlines the value of gender research as an essential tool in any attempt to achieve meaningful social change. Through qualitative means the complexity of South African masculinities is explored, its

aim to expose the rich diversity of masculine expression rather than to account for each and every variation in its articulation; an impossible and worthless exercise given masculinities' ceaseless fluidity. Kimmel (2001: 340) astutely observes that it is "...from these local and national studies that the larger regional and international theories of gender construction will be built."

## **2.2. Method**

### *2.2.1. Sample*

#### a) Focus Group Sample

77 individuals agreed to participate in focus group procedures. Although group size ranged from between 5 to 11 men, on average, each discussion involved approximately 10 individuals. Discussion was conducted in one of three languages – Afrikaans, English, or Xhosa – their separate inclusion acting as a means by which to ensure cultural diversity in participant understanding concerning manhood. Moreover purposive sampling within the Cape Town Metropolitan Area along predetermined 'social class' criteria aided attempts to obtain rich participant variety.

Social class has repeatedly been underlined as a core variable in the differential construction of masculinity (Connell, 1993; Connell, 1995; Edley & Wetherell, 1995; Messner, 1997; Morgan, 1992; Pleck, 1995; Pyke, 1996). It is easily operationalised through occupational status and intertwined with many other influential variables that impact upon masculine difference; most conspicuously 'race' (hooks, 1995; Morrell, 1998; Ratele, 1998). It is significant that the interlocking nature of class and race appears particularly strong in South Africa given our past of institutionalised discrimination (Morrell, 1998, 2001). Nevertheless it was felt that the exploration of masculinity by social class alone neglected one key sphere of masculine experience: that of sexual identity.

Sexuality is also argued to exist as a central axis of masculine diversity (Boyarin, 1997; Brittan, 1989; Connell, 1995; Frank, 1987; Fuss, 1989; Jackson, 1990; Messner, 1997; Weeks, 1990). Accordingly focus groups were additionally conducted with men who saw themselves as ‘Other’ sexually, united in their divergence from normative heterosexuality, but varied in their sexual self-definition.

In accordance with Gaskell’s (2000) suggestion that where feasible at least two focus groups should be conducted within each sample category, 8 focus groups were undertaken, in order to assess participant views in sufficient depth. Table 2.1 summarises the characteristics of these focus groups.

*Table 2.1 Focus Group Characteristics.*

Focus Group	Category	Group Size	Home Language	Sponsor
<b>Occupation</b>				
2	Student	10	English	University of C/Town
3	Student	5	English	University of C/Town
4	Unemployed	11	Xhosa	Community Leadership
5	Unemployed	10	Xhosa	Community Leadership
7	Unskilled/Semi-skilled Labour	11	Afrikaans	Local Industry
8	Lower/Mid-level Management	10	Afrikaans	Local Industry
<b>Sexuality</b>				
1	‘Other’	10	English	Triangle Project
6	‘Other’	10	Xhosa	Triangle Project

#### b) Individual Interview Sample

Two individuals were approached via personal referral to participate in individual interviews. These were conducted in English with men residing within the Cape Town Metropolitan Area. Sexual identity served to direct the choice of each man, the first defining himself as ‘homosexual’, the second describing himself as ‘heterosexual’. These opposing categories offered a convenient comparison through which to explore the

differing construction of masculine sexuality in greater detail. Table 2.2 reviews the characteristics of the 2 individual interviews.

*Table 2.2 Individual Interview Characteristics.*

<b>Individual Interview</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Group Size</b>	<b>Home Language</b>	<b>Sponsor</b>
	<b>Sexuality</b>			
1	Homosexual	N/A	English	Personal Referral
2	Heterosexual	N/A	English	Personal Referral

### 2.2.2. Procedure

#### a) Focus Group Procedure

Focus group discussion lasted between 1 to 1 ½ hours. Debate took place in a variety of different locations, which were selected so as to accommodate participant convenience, whilst remaining suitable for focus group procedures. Meaningful dialogue was achieved through the aid of researchers proficient in each of the three languages. The author undertook the facilitation of English groups, and additionally assumed responsibility for the instruction of two male postgraduate students fluent in either Afrikaans or Xhosa, thereby ensuring necessary skill in appropriate focus group technique and suitable theoretical issues. Although unfamiliar with gender theorising (specifically masculinity) each had firm research experience in cognate social scientific fields.

Focus group discussion took form around a loose interview schedule (see Appendix A: Page 184). Krueger (1994) suggests that whilst this allows a degree of focus, it avoids overly directive facilitation, providing ample room to explore the vagaries of group debate (See Box 2.1).

**Box 2.1**

**Int:** Okay, well I thought that we would just, you know most of you don't know each other, we just go around and say, you know what we're doing at the moment, in um, in varsity, where you're going, that sort of thing, your name...

**Int:** ...What I really noticed here, is that there are no social science students, except me...

**Int:** ...Okay, so I have one compatriot, but um, so I'm really interested, what what made you guys choose what you did? I mean, what were the motivations? (Student 1: Pages 1-2)

This proved important in an exercise attempting to generate fresh conceptual understanding surrounding masculinity: both from within a rhetorical framework (discussed below), in which attitudes are better understood within: "...the unfolding arguments in discussion groups" (Billig, 1993: 57), as well as in generating homosocial (all-male) interaction. However the flexibility spawned through this approach sets few focal boundaries, at times rendering comparative analyses between focus groups difficult, particularly those conducted in different languages. As such the loose interview schedule found some standardisation across focus groups through the supplementation of numerous pictorial representations of masculinity (see Appendix A: Pages 185-187). These were presented to participants toward the end of each focus group and enabled facilitators to draw attention to issues of interest that might not have been discussed (see Box 2.2).

**Box 2.2**

**Int:** I don't want us to loose the point, the topic on gay people is just one of the things we have to talk about. Some of you might look at these pictures and say that this is guy represents a real man for you. You guys believe that there is a certain way that a man must look. Look at that picture over there, do you think that, that guy is a man? (Unemployment 1: Page 17)

Pictures were drawn from an assortment of sources, and sought to present a complex pattern of masculine experience, in the hope of provoking debate. It may be argued that they held added advantage as a medium to stimulate discussion, acting as pre-verbal cues to thought, allowing participants to draw on their own rather than the facilitators meaning-frame in explanation of what was seen.

At the outset of every discussion participants were made aware of standard ethical issues: they were assured of anonymity, confidentiality of data, and were made aware of their right to discontinue participation at any time during the debate. Furthermore individuals were informed that procedures would be recorded via the use of video-equipment, in order to capture both verbal and non-verbal interaction, and positioned in such a way so as to be as unobtrusive as possible. A sum of R25 was offered to each participant in remuneration for their time, which if refused, was handed to sponsors in contribution toward organisational efforts.

#### b) Individual Interview Procedure

The author conducted individual interviews, each lasting between 1 to 1 ½ hours, and taking place in locations suited to participant needs. A loose interview schedule (see Appendix A: Page 183) was designed so as to encourage the development of narrative. Jovchelovitch and Bauer (2000) note an upsurge of interest in narrative study in recent years. Current research objectives stressed the advantage of this method; considered better attuned to the production of comprehensive conceptual understanding than conventional interviewing approaches.

|| Mirroring ‘story-telling’ in many respects, narrative is argued to provide a means through which individuals may recount their experiential reality, in which its tale-like presentation acts to draw an interested audience into the narrators meaning-frame. Narratives are said to find form as ‘ideological products’. They reflect both the individuals unconscious motivations and that of their society (Tambling, 1991) whilst at the same time reciprocally serve to inform their surrounding social context. In short they alternately communicate, as well as provide meaning to, individual experience in sequential and contextually relevant ways (Jovchelovitch & Bauer, 2000).||

Traditional interviewing regards good research practice as a highly technician enterprise, requiring thorough understanding of subject material that is applied in a fairly rigid question-and-answer type format: the ‘structured/semi-structured interview’. This is argued to mould information by means of pre-selected topics, which acts to order the

discussion, and pre-determine the meaning frame of dialogue (Hollway & Jefferson, 2000).

In contrast narrative discards emphasis on interviewer led discussion, alternatively placing importance on the role of 'the listener', thereby shifting responsibility from interviewer to interviewee. The technique makes active use of story-telling as a common tool in the recounting of daily experience, and in so doing remains closer to actual interviewee lived reality; a task poorly attained through interviewer led discussion. Whilst it is recognised that interviews are co-constructions of knowledge, it is also stressed that they exist as representations of context specific reality, thereby locating narratives as discursive constructions embedded in specific power relations through time and space. As such questions of reliability and validity remain secondary. The interviewer preferably delves into the function of each particular narrative, as opposed to uncovering a consistent universal truth (Bal, 1997; Hollway & Jefferson, 2000; Punch, 1998). Narrative gains meaning through its 'plot' wherein a series of sequential events finds functional integration through a clearly defined beginning and end. It is this developing story structure that carries unique connotation that is of interest to the researcher (Jovchelovitch & Bauer, 2000).

Despite an emphasis on interviewee led discussion a loose interview schedule was nevertheless devised to ensure some degree of focus. In this regard it is interesting to note "all research in a sense produces its answers by the very frame through which questions are set" (Hollway & Jefferson, 2000: 38). Thus notwithstanding the rules of non-interference and 'acceptable incompetence' in narrative interviewing, this method is regularly said to find itself oscillating between direct questioning and narrative, depending upon the specific frame engendered by both the topic and its interactional context (Jovchelovitch & Bauer, 2000). In order to avoid an overly structured approach, questions were phrased in an open-ended fashion so as to encourage the telling of 'stories', these useful in exploring concepts of masculinity from the interviewees' frame of reference. This strategy proved beneficial at times, particularly as an introductory tool serving to build rapport, as well as offering direction in further questioning (see Box 2.3).

**Box 2.3**

**Int:** Something about your past? Where you came from?

**P2:** Ok. Um, I have two older brothers, one was ten years older than myself, the other was seventeen. Um, I come from a kind of white, middle-class, liberal, WASP – actually WASP without the religion... I went straight into the television industry, um, and I don't have any training beyond that.

**Int:** Why did you choose that in particular? (Interview 2: Page 1)

Periodic reassuring statements such as 'mm' and 'ja' additionally served as useful prompts to story-telling, illustrating the interviewers active interest in what was being said, and as such encouraging interviewees' to continue. At other times the integrity of each interviewee's meaning-frame was kept intact through re-directing their 'stories' in the form of questions (see Box 2.4).

**Box 2.4**

**Int:** You said three interesting words in that last paragraph. You said warrior, you said fairy stories, and you said crying?

**P2:** Mm. Um, the warrior part came from the kind of, if you imagine kind of Peter the Great with his kids. Um, that kind of figure of, um, someone who certainly didn't have time to mess about with children's fears, and their needs, and love... (Interview 2: Page 12)

Apart from its obvious utility, the formulation of the interview schedule did engender a number of problems, most notably rigidity in questioning. Questions that followed little logic within the overall narrative were often asked, either due to interviewer lapse in concentration, or due to an intolerance to endure silence in which to reflect on what had just been said (see Box 2.5).

**Box 2.5**

**P2:** ...I've had clients take drugs inside my edit suite. Um, and I've been torn as to, do I throw them out, do I not, do I say something, do I ask them to leave. Um, um...

**Int:** From your personal experience what would you say is good about being a man?

**P2:** (Laughs). Um, from my personal experience? (Interview 2: Page 10).

As in the focus groups, each participant was made aware of his ethical rights, including that discussion would be recorded via the use of audio-equipment.

### 2.2.3. *Translation of Focus Group and Interview Material*

Translation should remain a considered undertaking. Cross-cultural translation raises serious questions concerning universalist assumptions that suggest perfect correspondence between languages. Critics note that languages seldom mirror each other, either linguistically or semantically, and as such the utility of translated material appears at best questionable (Swartz, 1998). Despite heated debate concerning the benefit of translation, a variety of techniques are argued to exist that enhance its value. It is stressed that researchers should ensure familiarity with the cultural norms and behaviour of the research setting, as well as elicit the co-operation of individuals originating from within the specific cultural context under investigation (Neuman, 1997). In recognition of the importance of these requirements, individuals fluent in both the cultural and linguistic subtleties of each group undertook translation in this study.

The procedure of back-translation is argued to offer a means with which to overcome many of the weaknesses inherent in cross-cultural research. It attempts to achieve 'lexicon equivalence' in which the translated information mirrors both the linguistic and semantic structure of the original research material. The process involves the independent translation of primary data by an individual fluent in the target language, subsequently undergoing 'back-translation' into its primary form by a person unfamiliar with the original information. This is seen to provide two matching language versions of the

research material that may be compared to determine their similarity, creating a space in which crucial adjustments may be made to the translation, as such facilitating greater linguistic and semantic equivalency between research records (Neuman, 1997; Swartz, 1998).

Swartz (1998) highlights the importance of attempting to attain semantic congruence between research data. In affording similarity in meaning higher status than mere word equivalency, it is stressed that an empiricist understanding of language (viewing it as simply providing objective labels in a stable and unchanging reality), ultimately leads to poor research practice that often results in interpretative confusion. Crucially, it is underlined that no translation should be seen to provide faultless equivalency, as languages are never perfectly commensurate (Neuman, 1997; Swartz, 1998).

The technique of back-translation was adopted in this research undertaking in which the importance of semantic equivalency was stressed. Translators strove to achieve meaningful similarity between the original Afrikaans and Xhosa material and subsequent English translations, paying particular attention to the subtleties of spoken language found to occur in each sub-cultural group.

#### *2.2.4. Rhetorical Analysis*

Recently the inexhaustible author Michael Billig has spurred a revival of interest in rhetoric. Drawing on the rhetorical traditions of ancient Greece, Billig (1985, 1991, 1993, 1996, 1997) advocates its utility in exploring the centrality of argumentation in social interaction. It is suggested, often from within the playful rubric of rhetoric itself, that argumentation acts as the universal bedrock to all thinking (Billig, 1993; Billig, Condor, Edwards, Gane, Middleton & Radley, 1988).

Grounded within the wider critical movement (Billig, 1997), rhetoric finds itself in naked opposition to many core doctrines embraced by mainstream social psychology, preferably dismissing the 'absolute order' of dominant theorising as overly restrictive in our (claimed) current era of post-modern contradiction and confusion (Billig, 1991, 1996). In

particular, cognitive psychology exists in decided antithesis to the rhetorical perspective in its explanation of human thinking.

Drawing on modernist philosophy, cognitivism conceives of thinking as an individual problem-solving exercise, achieved by means of predetermined internalised rules that act to guide individual interpretation of surrounding stimuli (Billig, 1991, 1993). Thus through an appeal to internal processes, such as the existence of schemata, cognitive psychology seeks to locate thinking within a realm of prearranged assumptions that serve as templates for thought (Billig, 1997; Billig et. al., 1988).

Rhetoric adopts a radical departure from the individualism of such theorising. It is argued that any account of thinking as an act of 'rule-following' corrupts the actual dynamism inherent in human thought, in which individuals are simplistically portrayed as robotic slaves in service of their pre-programming, and are thus dispossessed of any active cognitive agency. In its rigidification of thinking (in reverence of positivist predictability) cognitivism leaves little room for the renegotiation, challenge, and fresh invention of conceptual understanding (Billig, 1991).

Alternatively Billig (1991) suggests that thinking is better captured through the notion of 'rule-questioning', which effectively de-centres thought processes from within 'individual heads', and re-locates them in an unstable social milieu characterised by argumentation. From this standpoint thinking finds root in matters of public debate, wherein individual attitudes "...refer not just to the beliefs we might uphold, but refer to those other positions in a public argument to which we are opposed (Billig, 1991: 43). In so doing the concept of rhetoric accounts for both the shared and non-shared aspects of attitudes, aiding an attempt to integrate social and individualist traditions, in which any two debaters are concurrently seen to draw on common social understanding to engage in argument whilst differing in individual opinion surrounding matters of public controversy (Billig, 1993, 1996).

Billig (1996) notes the utility of Bakhtin's original appraisal surrounding the innately conflictual nature of language through reference to co-occurring 'centripetal' and 'centrifugal' forces in dialogue. Far from existing as an objective and stable descriptive

tool, conflicting values permeate language, creating an ambiguity crucial for critical thought. This again highlights that whilst language may draw debaters within the boundaries of common sense understanding, its hazy definition simultaneously fosters a diaspora of opinion that seeks to test the very conceptual borders it erects (Billig et. al., 1988). Significantly argument is said not only to find reproduction within the discursive social realm, but battles of meaning are also fought within each individual, as internal conflicts of judgment that model social forms of dialogue (Billig, 1996; Billig et. al., 1988).

As such rhetoric pinpoints argument as definitive of attitudes, without which they would cease to exist, in a world only inhabited by truths. Shotter's (1993) observation that truth is 'made' rather than 'found' is insightful. Critical thinking, in which counter-arguments are continually generated and contrasted, is believed to empower individual agency within the imposing structure of social discourse (Billig, 1991). In this sense rhetoric opposes pessimistic Foucaultian notions of language that suggest its oppressive homogenisation of voices of dissent under strict regimes of power in every age. This is said to neglect multiplicity in discourse in favour of a singular omnipotent 'grammar' that either destroys space for argument or effectively sidelines disagreement through 'Othering'.

However even once the role of argument is accounted for, rhetoric refuses to play mute in support of notions concerning rational consensus as the end product of argument, as this consensus would by its very nature act to silence the argument said to sire its birth. Rather it is suggested that argument itself ensures that stability of thought is always disrupted by ceaselessly confrontational voices. Thus it is claimed that the inherently rhetorical nature of society guarantees that neither domination nor consensus is ever complete. In rhetoric's praise of argument, it is the monological voice of the ideological or individual 'dictator' that is to be feared, rather than confusion in difference (Billig, 1996).

Recognition of rhetoric's political and persuasive functions has regularly seen co-optation for the purpose of illustrating its dictatorial nature. However acknowledgment concerning its role in fostering the goals of oppression and domination, in which particular

discourses hold hegemony over others (Gill & Whedbee, 1997), should not be seen as adverse to its dialogical functions. Potter (1996) underlines that in addition to its persuasive task, rhetoric finds itself inseparable from the everyday interaction of the 'thinking society', as well as the empowered individual agent. In an acceptance of argumentation as the cornerstone to thinking, rhetorical silence would indeed suggest 'the end of history' (Fukuyama, 1992); that is to say in its absence of human life rather than in the complete domination of a solitary ideology.

Thus thinking may clearly be seen to profit from the chatter of 'conversation', but more specifically through the cacophony of rhetorical dialogue, where:

"The polite discourse, in which smiling agreement and the repetition of stock phrases are the norm, is not productive of public thinking, for such conversations merely rehearse what is known previously. By contrast, in argumentative discourse there is an element of unpredictability, as socially shared common-sense opinions find themselves opposed..." (Billig, 1993: 46).

Billig (1985) suggests that cognitive psychology's obsessive flirtation with the concept of categorization restricts its understanding of thinking to that which 'is known previously'. Although providing helpful clarification surrounding the way in which individuals are able to give simplified consistency and structure to an otherwise chaotic world, categorization is argued to explain only half of a (unsurprisingly) rival duality, wherein the process of particularization is seen to provide the means through which these 'socially shared common-sense opinions find themselves opposed'. Usefully the theme of centrifugal vs. centripetal forces re-emerges in this discussion:

"If categorization refers to the process by which a particular stimulus is placed in a general category, or grouped with other stimuli, then particularization refers to the process by which a particular stimulus is distinguished from a general category or from other stimuli" (Billig, 1985: 82).

Therefore far from playing a supportive role, particularization joins categorization in an earnest two-person act, contributing to the formation of new categories in the performance of their dialectical interplay (Billig, 1985, 1993). Rhetoric's interest in these unlikely partners, performing their untiring two-step, stems from the possibility this rhythm creates for the process of negation. That is to say particularization reveals the

fallacy that stable categorisation exists, and in so doing frees all categories from their unyielding definition, and as such exposes them to controversy. In this way supposed categorical truths emerge as arguments, each harbouring the 'negative' potential for counter-argument, in which dominant categories may be either accepted or rejected (Billig, 1993). Billig (1993, 1996, 1997) suggests that this process underlines the persuasive function rhetorical discourse often seems to perform, in which the activities of justification and criticism are pivotal in every argument, both ultimately seeking to influence public debate in support of their position.

In sum rhetorical study stresses the need to account for argument where: "Disagreement is praised as the root of thought" (Billig, 1996: 1). Disagreement need not imply a destructive state of affairs, but alternatively rhetoric underlines its importance as a core feature of all conversational acts, in the constructive negotiation of reality (Billig, 1996). Billig et. al. (1988) note that even in situations that seem devoid of dilemma, choices are being made, in that non-choice or inactivity are in fact decisions. As a trans-historical fact the occurrence of rhetorical discourse is seen as a creative force that constructs psychological reality in terms of specific 'language games' commonly understood from those within the same linguistic community (Billig, 1997). Therefore social discourse may be said to possess a history, embedded in a unique context, which gives rise to distinctive thinking and actual behavioural outcomes (Gill & Whedbee, 1997). From this perspective thinking, speech and action are closely related activities whose differences should not be overstated (Billig, 1997). Thus in opposition to the guiding Cartesian maxim of modernist philosophy "I think therefore I am", thinking is not seen as an act undertaken by the isolated individual, but rather exists in the social sphere where even individual "...thought is the silent conversation of the soul with itself..." (Billig, 1991: 49).

To conclude: the use of rhetoric within this endeavour, seeking to critically question the negotiation of gender in society, may find opposition. It is suggested that although based within critical tradition, rhetoric ultimately stifles the very Otherness it seeks to promote, in its unreflexive use of masculinist philosophy. Billig (1996) rejects these claims in highlighting that any suggestion that argument is an essentially masculine pursuit borne from an innate competitiveness, counterpoised to naturally more feminine engagements

with the emotive realm of social existence, holds unpalatable implications. That is to say should women not engage in argument to the same extent, or at a minimum not hold the same inherent potential for argument, this would in short suggest a less thinking gender (an argument which in fact stifles the feminist political agenda). This is not to dismiss 'the emotive' in favour of 'the competitive', but rather seeks to avoid a biological determinism in their ownership along gender lines.

It is clear that rhetoric exists as a universal human condition. This fact, often hidden by the exclusion of female 'oratorical heroes' in the male written analogues of history, shines forth in the her-story of the ancient Greek female sophist Aspasia:

"This is not a matter of scrabbling around to find a female figure, to put alongside the Ciceros, Quintilians or Bishop Whateleys. But right at the heart of the rhetorical story – at its greatest moment – sits a woman, instructing the familiar, masculine names' (Billig, 1996: 26).

## **2.3. Discussion**

### *2.3.1. Rhetorical Masculinities*

It is immediately apparent that an investigation into multiple masculinities would profit from rhetorical analysis. Both approaches draw on critical theory for their justification, and unite in their criticism of individualist perspectives: whether in disapproval concerning the psychology of the 'unthinking thinker' (Billig, 1993) or dissatisfaction surrounding the static approach of sex role theorising (Connell, 1993). Each similarly argues against the inflexibility of modern cognitive psychology that suggests the governance of human behaviour through predetermined assumptions or rules. Rather they choose to suggest the socially interactive and interpretive nature of the surrounding world in which discursive renegotiation elbows room for conceptual challenge and change. In essence both claim that traditional psychology has ignored the dialogic nature of thinking, exploring the form of response, rather than its contextual negotiation: "What is missing is the great moral and ideological complexities of the original dilemmas" (Billig et. al., 1988: 12).

It is these complexities that this study attempts to explore in arguments surrounding ‘real’ masculinity in South Africa. Qualitative data provides a rich social text (‘a performance transcribed’) that facilitates understanding into how society reproduces knowledge concerning itself (Middleton, 1992) through argumentation; significantly Hollway & Jefferson (1999) suggest that the negotiation of gender differences are the most central feature in this reproduction. Interest in metaphorical language served to guide rhetorical analysis throughout this venture. Metaphor provides a means with which to explore the way in which society incorporates understanding of unfamiliar concepts in terms of existing explanatory referents (Gill & Whedbee, 1997; Liakopoulos, 2000). That is to say:

“...metaphors function to provide a set of already formulated meanings in terms of which all else that is said can be understood; they thus work to institute a discursive regime, that is, – to repeat Foucault’s (1972: 49) formulation – ‘practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak’...” (Shotter, 1993: 154).

However (as is argued above) an understanding of ‘discursive regimes’ as entirely successful in their oppression of dissent neglects an account of argument in society. Although contributing to an appreciation surrounding the perpetuation of structured power, this approach requires obvious reassessment, in the face of ideology’s failure to achieve complete dominance. This may be accomplished through the recognition that metaphors act as persuasive tools, which may be used in substantiating the ‘truth’ of any argument (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Leach, 2000), underlining their rhetorical utility for both dominant and subordinate conceptualisations. In gender terms: not only do hegemonic masculinities make use of familiar metaphor, but so too do subordinate Others, in which each subsumes available understanding in aid of justification and criticism.

Metaphor’s function in providing common conceptual ground on which battles of meaning may be fought is well illustrated by participant dispute over the notion of ‘the male sexual animal’ in constant need of satisfaction (see Box 2.6)

#### Box 2.6

**Int:** Are you guys saying, are you suggesting that women don’t want sex as much as guys, is that what

you're really saying?

**P2:** On average, yes. (A few agree).

**P9:** Well it depends, 'cos for me, on average, no. (Giggling).

**P2:** On average, on average throughout people, not throughout your relationships.

**P9:** That's your perception of people, maybe people are like me, maybe all people are like you, who knows.

**P2:** Well, lets take a vote. (General laughter).

**P9:** Yes, but it could be an average in this room, but there might be a group of people out there whose mass is far greater than the people in this room.

**P6:** Ya. (Student 2: Page 11-12)

It is clear that participants differed in their support for the 'insatiable male beast' metaphor, wherein arguments in defense of this view and those opposed to it, were pitted against each other. However despite obvious argument having taken place, the metaphorical frame clearly shaped the conditions for debate; this pre-determining conceptual boundaries open to contestation. Thus metaphor may be seen to aid conceptualisation of reality in a culturally relevant manner, in which "understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another" (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: 5) serves to maintain particular truths, whilst suppressing others. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) note that although these 'hegemonic metaphors' are not easily open to change, new 'creative metaphors' may emerge to challenge the old, in part through argument. Again this confirms the advantage of metaphoric exploration in rhetorical analysis concerning hegemonic masculinity. That is to say whilst hegemonic understanding is seen to define the conceptual landscape it fails to prevent other voices from challenging its normative definitions.

a) Masculine Control: “Basically a conquest thing”

Masculinity ‘as a conquest thing’ emerged as a persistent hegemonic metaphor in dialogue. The importance of male control in defining normative masculinity is well documented in gender theorising. Connell (1995) explains that dominant masculinity entrenches patriarchal power through particular gender practices portrayed as essential to the accomplishment of manhood. The practice of control appeared crucial to normative masculine definition (see Box 2.7).

**Box 2.7**

**P6:** No, no, its, its like, you know a guy, naturally he penetrates, when there are two guys you start to wonder, you know, you don’t want to, you start thinking who’s penetrating, what’s going on. Whereas with women, they both can penetrate, you’re comfortable with the fact that whoever does it, its natural, whoever’s getting done.

**Int:** So you think sex is about penetration?

**P6:** No I’m not saying its, I’m just saying, the natural instinct we all have, the naturalness of it all, you know, it’s, it’s lost when two men are together.

**Int:** But surely men are penetrating?

**P6:** But they are not supposed to be penetrated (general laughter), that’s what I’m getting at, if they want to get penetrated, I think that’s wrong. (General laughter and talking).

**P2:** The one who is being penetrated, its almost like, you are subordinate, you are the weaker, and that’s why guys have a problem with seeing that (kissing picture), the one’s obviously dominating the other one. (Student 1: Page 25).

The interaction above illustrates in graphic detail Shefer and Ruiters’s (1998) observation that the attainment of masculinity often relies on heterosexual intercourse structured around male power and control. In this regard the words “getting done”, spoken at the outset of the extract by Participant 6, is informative. Intercourse was clearly understood as something a man had to ‘do’, a performance that required an active ‘doer’, as well as a passive individual that was ‘done’. Anxious debate regarding the faults of homosexuality arose specifically over the ambiguity it produced surrounding the active role required by

men during intercourse. In other words participants expressed concern at the prospect of having to “start thinking who’s penetrating”, as control during sex would no longer be a foregone conclusion, this necessarily depriving one partner from fulfilling a “natural” masculine role. The centrality afforded control in masculine sexual accomplishment was further underlined by participant discussion that compared male submission during homosexual intercourse “to the level of a woman” (see Box 2.8).

**Box 2.8**

**P10:** How can another guy be, you know, he’s like taking all of us down. (General laughter).

**Int:** What do you mean taking us all down?

**P10:** The fact that he’s allowing another guy to come and do that stuff, you know he’s supposed to be doing that stuff to the other people, not to us, so the minute you open up, man, you’ve got the thing, why are you bending over. (General laughter).

**P9:** So, so he’s taking us down to the level of a woman, but now the women are rising above us, so wouldn’t it be a glorious thing. (General laughter). (Student 1: Page 25-26).

It has been suggested that pleasure in heterosex predominantly finds expression in the enactment of male domination and female subordination (Kitzinger & Wilkinson, 1993; MacKinnon, 1989). Gratification through heterosex (so conceived) originates not only from ‘organic pleasure’ but also from the exercise of prescribed power relations that validate each individual’s gender. In this sense, “bending over” more than restricts a man’s claim to dominant masculinity, but also equates his behaviour with that of disempowered femininity.

However control proves important in other spheres of masculine experience that roam beyond the sexual. Understanding of the ‘doer’ and the ‘done’ found similar description in an individual interview, but was crucially used to describe male conduct not only in reference to sexual relations, but in terms of male control in general (see Box 2.9).

**Box 2.9**

**Int:** From your personal experience what would you say is good about being a man?

**Participant:** ...having a penis is, I think also helps – I don't know how to explain it – ego wise, as to be the doer and not the person who's done... (Interview 2: Page 10-11).

Given the importance of control in defining masculine conduct per se it is unsurprising that group talk (Box 2.8) surrounding male sexual control seemed to move seamlessly into conversation displaying unease at the thought of “women rising above” men, this also laying bare the close connection between control and gender power relations in general. This should not be taken to mean that participant consensus concerning the importance of male control was ever total (see Box 2.10).

**Box 2.10**

**P3:** Well, I think I disagree on the view that the man has to support the woman, I find a woman that has lots of money is very attractive (general laughter), she can't go through life just expecting, um, to be taken care of, she must at least provide some sort of, um, well, support for herself, and maybe even support for me. (General laughter).

**Int:** Would you feel quite comfortable, I mean what do you guys feel about it?

**P7:** No, no, no, no, but these days women actually don't see that way as well, you know, no woman just wants to be a housewife, they want a supportive role and be a worker. (Student 1: Page 7)

In this case participants seemed to relinquish, however cautiously, support for complete male control over financial affairs. Not only did Participant 3 argue that a women should “support herself”, but even suggested the subversive eroticisation of the financially powerful woman, this in obvious opposition to the traditionally submissive feminine construct in heterosex (Kitzinger & Wilkinson, 1993).

Yet the power of normative demand re-emerged in response to this brief challenge. Although outward agreement may have been seen in “no woman just wants to be a housewife”, a re-assertion surrounding the centrality of male control in relationships found form within the qualifying statement, “they want a supportive role”. In other words

real challenge underwent normative transformation in which Participant 7 appeared to say:

“I like the idea of women working as this takes pressure off men. But they should still only be helping-out.”

Yet rhetoric would imply that argument is not so easily silenced, and this proved to be the case; participants continued to debate the meaning of male control in even less ambiguous terms (see Box 2.11).

**Box 2.11**

**Int:** But if you were, perhaps, um, given a monthly allowance by your wife, who earned much more? (General laughter).

**P7:** I don't know... As soon as you earn more, you're more powerful.

**P9:** Why does it have to be supremacy, why does, why does one have to say I'm more powerful than you, why can't it just be equality? (Student 1: Page 7-8)

It is interesting that participants chose to define discussion of male financial control starkly in terms of “power”. That is to say once again debate wove an interconnection between the concept of control and that of gendered power relations in an explicit fashion. Recognition that financial control led to an individual being “more powerful”, was nevertheless met with a somewhat idealistic rebuttal reminiscent of liberal feminism, questioning “why can't it just be equality”. Nonetheless the essentialist voice reasserted that “there will be dominance”, finding support from a normative chorus that sought to entrench the value of male control, this perhaps stemming from latent fear surrounding female power in which “she'll be higher, and you won't be ahead” (see Box 2.12).

**Box 2.12**

**P2:** ...there will be a dominance, one of them will.

**P6:** ...as you see now, you're always worried, what if she earns more than me, you don't want to keep her 'cos once she goes higher than that, then she'll be higher, and you won't be ahead. (Student 1: Page 8)

Thus masculine control as 'basically a conquest thing' may be argued to act as a core metaphor of masculine definition, in which men exercise dominance not only over women, but Other subordinate men as well.

b) Masculine (Un)Emotionality: "To have a lions heart"

A large body of literature testifies to the fact that masculinity is conventionally understood as encompassing emotional detachment (Buchbinder, 1994; Pleck, 1995). Men are metaphorically required to have 'a heart of a lion'. For instance just as the lion is supposedly unable to cry, so too did participants predominantly reject the suggestion that 'real' men in their stoic emotional fortitude, were capable of such emotional display (see Box 2.13).

**Box 2.13**

**Int:** Does a man cry?

**P3:** No a man does not cry.

**P7:** A man only cries on the inside.

**Int:** Why is it that men cry only on the inside?

**P7:** A man could die from a heart attack anytime because he never shows his emotions; he just keeps them bottled inside.

**Int:** What about men who do cry?

**P7:** No you will never find a man crying, even if he cries you will never hear a sound a sound coming from him. (General laughter). (Unemployment 2: Page 7).

In this extract normative ideology first found immediate and unqualified support from Participant 3 in his assertion that "a man does not cry". However it is revealing that the

debate progressed so as not to deny that men experienced emotional difficulty, but rather that this was restricted to “the inside”, to the devastating extent that a man “could die from a heart attack anytime because he never shows his emotions”. In underlining the active suppression of emotion, this disclosure came promisingly close to championing masculinities performative, rather than innate nature. In other words men were acknowledged to contain an often-unexpressed need to “cry”, as opposed to their conventional representation as emotionless ‘beasts’. This statement illustrates what might usefully be called *normative reform*, where in this case, acknowledgment of internal male emotionality held the seeds for future critical challenge concerning the notion of natural male emotional inability. This differs from outright *normative revolution* where challenge to dominant conceptualisation would find direct confrontation. At times participants were seen to question standards of masculine (un)emotionality in these less ambiguous terms (see Box 2.14).

**Box 2.14**

**P10:** ... I see maybe the feminine quality of me shining through in terms of emotion, because I am a very open person. And I'm very directive and very honest, with a lot of sensitivity.

**P5:** I think that's also got to do with emotional maturity that I was referring to earlier. That again through our upbringing, struggles, trying to find acceptance. You've gone through so much, and accept the issues I'd also like to describe my um... My, my... (inaudible) ...more feminine, or what is perceived as what is perceived as more feminine...

**Int:** What is perceived as feminine? Emotionality you mentioned...

**P5:** Appreciation for beauty. Being... allowing yourself to do that. Allowing yourself...

**P1:** Aesthetically sensitive.

**P5:** But especially to um, have been a... empathy for other people's feelings, emotions. Being able to understand other people better.

**P3:** You can cry... (Sexuality 1: Page 21-22).

This example, taken from discussion with sexually Other men, exemplifies unguarded challenge to the normative ideal of masculine emotional absence. Participants argued that

their own trying life histories had forced them to engage in greater emotional maturity, in many ways “perceived as more feminine”; this quintessentially contrasting their gender identity from traditional masculinity in their ability to “cry”. Nevertheless such a comparison alone, between dominant (hetero)sexual and subordinate (Other)sexual masculinities understanding surrounding the importance of emotionality, would be overly simplistic and might detrimentally contribute to the reification of such categorical distinctions. It is apparent that disagreement flourished even within subordinate masculine understanding (see Box 2.15)

**Box 2.15**

**P1:** There are men who cry and make noise, really.

**P2:** Is that the case with all men?

**P1:** No some of them.

**P2:** But that is not something that is natural because men are not supposed to cry.

**Int:** Is it a masculine thing that men don't cry.

**P1:** Yes, men have to be able to endure pain. (Sexuality 2: Page 16).

In this case sexually Other men firmly endorsed normative masculine prescriptions to remain emotionally reserved. Thus, whilst argument may have been seen as an ever-present process, it is evident that its content found variable support across different socially defined groups. Despite the process of normative justification holding sway in such debate, Other criticism also played a fundamental role in the solidification of dominant understanding, this astutely observed by participants (see Box 2.16).

**Box 2.16**

**P4:** Its quite interesting the way everyone keeps saying that emotionality is like feminine. But if you look at masculinity and masculine, or heterosexual men, the only emotions they're allowed, are that time they fall in love... and maybe anger. Those are the masculine emotions, and I can't understand why everyone here looks down on feminine emotions which are... is quite weird... Um, that, like caring and these kind of things which are called 'feminine' emotions are looked down on ... (general talking).

**P3:** I don't think I understood that either. (Sexuality 1: Page 44-45).

Participants perceptively recognised criticism of the feminine as a functional normative masculine attempt to construct an oppositional identity for itself, stressing masculinity's inherent superiority in contrast to femininity where "things which are called 'feminine' emotions are looked down on"; this thereby rigidly defining gender appropriate behaviour. In other words, men in the discussion identified that the expression of emotion is strongly shunned due to it being seen as "like feminine", alternatively encouraging male emotional detachment and independence as a sign of 'true' masculinity. However such insight into this process was not always present (see Box 2.17).

**Box 2.17**

**Int:** Do you think that you have lost anything in not being able to discuss things with other guys?

**Participant:** Um, no I don't think so. Um, I think I've, I always seem to have had girl friends that I could talk to about... Um, and again it wasn't as if I could never talk to my guy friends about stuff like that, I could but not too, um, could never get too wishy-washy, and they would never get too wishy-washy with me. Um, which um, I think is fine because you know we become more and more attached to our feminine side, I think we could take it too far. (Interview 2: Page 15).

Although admitting, "I always seem to have had girl friends that I could talk to", the participant in this example reasserts his belief that emotional "wishy-washy" talk holds inherent dangers in that "we become more and more attached to our feminine side" and ultimately "take it too far". In this case taking it "too far" refers to losing one's masculine identity through a failure to exercise control over emotional vulnerabilities. Consequently men are argued to constantly engage in activities that overtly demonstrate their emotional and physical strength together with their toughness (Pyke, 1996; Wetherell & Griffin, 1991). In short normative prescriptions demand that men exude toughness whilst always remaining emotionally self-contained (Buchbinder, 1994; Toch, 1998).

c) Masculine Physicality & Toughness: “The iron man”

Male emotional denial is said to facilitate an outward focus on the body in an attempt to divert attention from inward subjectivity. As such, the male body provides a particularly powerful tool through which hegemonic masculinity may be displayed, as well as offering a clear object for normative correction and control (Connell, 1990). In this sense it proves fruitful to understand hegemonic masculinity as “situated in a certain ‘political economy’ of the body”, which notwithstanding challenge and change, is forever “at issue – the body and its forces, their utility and their docility, their distribution and their submission” (Foucault, 1979: 25).

Connell (1990) offers evidence for the way in which hegemonic masculinity may be displayed through the male body, in his discussion of ‘Steve’, an ‘iron man’ sports hero. This metaphor likewise characterised the stress participants regularly placed on bodily physicality and toughness in masculine achievement (see Box 2.18).

**Box 2.18**

**Int:** What sort of stereotypes would you say those are? I mean what do they reinforce?

**Participant:** Um, that, um, that you don’t show emotion, um, you love sport you know till the dying moment, and you have to, and you have to be good at it. Um, and that you should shy-away from arts, culture, and all of that. Um, and, um, you have to be, you have to be physical to sort out something, you know you have to whack the living daylights out of your opponent physically, um, rather than intellectually or verbally. Um, and it’s to a certain extent it’s a, it’s not condoning violence but it’s a society I think and a system that churns-out people that do learn that ultimately violence comes in somewhere along the line, you know. (Interview 1: Page 18).

The participant in this extract emphasises “that you have to be physical to sort out something”, in which “you don’t show emotion”, and in so doing privilege physical toughness above the “intellectual(ly) or verbal(ly)”. Conveniently this statement provides both sides of the basic hegemonic argument that (a) ‘real’ men are outwardly physically assertive whereas (b) ‘Other’ men resort to inwardly emotional resources such as language. Nevertheless it is clear that the interviewee opposes this dominant conceptualisation, which he sees as creating “a system that churns-out people that do

learn that ultimately violence comes in somewhere”, his opposition remaining firm despite the rewards that normative compliance are seen to offer (see Box 2.19).

**Box 2.19**

**Int:** Do you think most girls are looking for a big thick... (general talking).

**P2:** That's why you can't pick up a girl all dressed up on a Saturday night, they're looking for big thick guys.

**P4:** There's a Dianna Ross song that says, I Like Muscles, a Dianna Ross song...

**P7:** Ya, "Girls Just Want..."

**P4:** And I heard that song when I was younger, and it just got into me, so I thought, well, most girls like muscles, and I wanted to spend time with them, but I thought, well, then I'd have to put a lot of effort in.

**P5:** Ya, I hear you, I mean why is it that you find that girls always like guys, or why is there that pressure and whatnot, or why is it that girls won't even give the other guys a chance, they always want to go for the guy who're more beefy, because they're obviously more physically developed, you know, they're bigger.  
(Student 1: Page 41)

In this case the reward for being "big thick guys" is said to be sexual achievement in that "most girls like muscles". It would be tempting to suggest that the rejection of this normative standard in the previous extract stemmed from the participant's sexual 'Otherness', rendering possible heterosexual reward that physicality would offer, at best unappealing. However the importance afforded 'iron man' status was not restricted to heterosexual males, but alternately emerged as a definitive masculine ideal across groups, in which the powerful male physique was understood as an attractive object for both male female desire (see Box 2.20)

**Box 2.20**

**Int:** ...what value do you attach to butchness versus...

**P1:** In the gay community in general?

**Int:** Ya.

**P1:** I think that the more butch, the more value, is added to that. The body-beautiful, ya, and the prototype of what that body-beautiful should look like. I mean all these guys running around in the gyms, its crazy. (Sexuality 1: Page 28).

The 'iron man' therefore surfaces as a dominant representation of hegemonic masculinity, at times emitting a distinct narcissism (Connell, 1990), in which "all these guys running around in the gyms" enact ceremonies of reverence toward a body idol. Furthermore normative justification for masculine physicality and toughness not only found support in discussion surrounding sexuality, but those embedded in more pragmatic, often class-based arguments concerning appropriate male labour (see Box 2.21).

**Box 2.21**

**P4:** These are hard workers... (points to picture with the black labourers).

**Int:** So if you are a man, you should hard manual labour rather than working using a pen the whole time?

**P3:** There is a saying that goes it is hard being a man. If you keep saying this it your son you are preparing him for the hardships that he will face later in his life. Perhaps he could work at the docks and when the hard times come for him, he will remember your words, that it is hard being a man.

**P1:** Sorry sorry Mbu, Ronny can you see that these people are struggling? Those people there are white, they are in suits, why is it like this?

**P5:** Don't start with the politics now.

**P1:** No I'm just asking.

**P5:** There are men and then there are lazy, good for nothing men, do you understand? A lazy good for nothing man is a man that can't lift and carry heavy things...

**P3:** Men differ in the ways they live their lives...

**P3:** Sometimes a man picks up a spade and starts working in the garden of his home, perhaps he is digging holes to replace the fence. If you are always in a suit you become too indolent to do work like this; you have to hire people to do it for you. There are many things which one can't do wearing a tie.

**P1:** I agree with him.

**P10:** In my view a real man is judged on his achievements. He must be a man that if there is a problem, he must get up and solve it, not just sit around doing nothing...

**P3:** He is just a useless person. We black people plant and plough our land, you understand? You find that in white people homes there are employees. They are always in ties and don't know how to work with their hands. We don't hire people to do our work. If your wife sees that the fence needs to be fixed she will tell you to do it. If you try to dodge doing the work, you are the flop because your home will be falling apart while you look on. (Unemployment 1: Page 27-30).

A complex amalgamation of 'race'- and class-based masculine identity appears in this extract. These black participants firmly equate 'true' masculinity with physical labour such as "plant(ing) and plough(ing)", which "black people" undertake, in contrast to non-physical labour where "white people" avoid real work and "are always in a suit". An abundance of literature testifies to the added importance physicality and toughness hold for working-class masculinities for whom alternative avenues of masculine accomplishment remain closed (Connell, 1995; Hagedorn, 1998; hooks, 1995; Luyt & Foster, 2001; Pyke, 1996). It is unsurprising within the South African context, where 'race' and class are largely intertwined given our past of institutionalised discrimination (Morrell, 1998, 2001) that masculine definition draws on these meshed social categories (see Box 2.22).

#### Box 2.22

**Int:** Ok, here is another picture of someone at the mines.

**P1:** Here he is, I see him.

**Int:** That's a white man in the mine.

**P1:** No he is just standing around because he wouldn't be able to stand this.

**P5:** He wouldn't be able to do it (the work); he is just posing for the picture...

**Int:** Let's say we take a white person and we put him there with you, then we take the machine and give it to both of you, are you saying the white man won't be able to use it?

**P1:** He would be able to use it.

**P5:** He'd be able to use it. But when it comes to strength I am stronger.

**P1:** Yes, he can try to do the work but he could never be as strong as I am. I'm stronger and that's it. A black man was born to be strong and muscular and a white man was born to come up with plans. (Unemployment 2: Page 20-21).

Again black participants affirm a distinction between "black" and "white" men, in their self-implied innate physicality, and as such their ownership of 'real' masculinity. However this dialogue ends by highlighting the defensive impetus behind many such claims to manliness, in the revealing (and painful) class/'race' comparison that "a black man was born to be strong and muscular and a white man was born to come up with plans". This is not to intimate that emphases on physicality were absent in normative middle-class definitions of masculinity (see Box 2.23).

**Box 2.23**

**Int:** Do we all want to look like this? (General talking).

**P6:** None of us would mind.

**P10:** Okay, it would be nice to have this body and look like this guy's face. (General talking).

**Int:** Why wouldn't everyone?

**P10:** Because you're a man, you can't, you can't mute, and read you see... (general laughter).

**Int:** So are you saying that a guy whose like, a physical guy, can't have intelligence at all?

**P2:** He can have intelligence, but he's not that focused on his brain, he's more focused on his body. (Student 1: Page 37-38).

In this extract students debate the re-current theme of physicality versus intellect, once more suggesting their mutual exclusivity, in which men are either seen to reflect 'brawn or brain'. Although participants argue that "none of us would mind" having "this body", greater disagreement materialises concerning the absolute necessity this plays in contributing towards manhood, this perhaps indicative of the larger choice available to middle-class students in the attainment of masculinity (see Box 2.24).

**Box 2.24**

**Int:** Is physically big good?

**Participant:** Um, It helps. Um, it certainly helped the first team rugby players.

**Int:** In what way?

**Participant:** Um, mostly I think with the opposite sex, they were obviously attracted to, um, you know the guys bigger, um, has a big body and is a good looking anyway, then he's actually more attractive than someone who isn't. Um, so I think that's an instant help. Um, and I think the bigger men have gained more respect from their peers, instantly, um, you know first impressions and all of that kind of thing that people don't count, and it's true. Um, so there's more respect that goes along with it, ya. (Interview 2: Page 17).

Thus even middle-class participants saw that to be physically developed “certainly helped”, especially in sexual matters of “attracting the opposite sex”, as well as in competitive power relations amongst men where it was seen to gain them “more respect from their peers”. The ‘iron man’ appeared a powerful hegemonic masculine metaphor across group discussion, argument lying less in opposing-understanding, but in the importance afforded the metaphor in defining normative masculinity due to the ‘race’/class divide.

d) Masculine Competition: “It’s a matter of war”

Brittan (1989) notes that a core feature of modern masculinity appears to be that of competition, this particularly related to the requirements of the industrial Capitalist state, and crucial to achievement in this environment. The centrality of competition as an indicator of masculinity is well documented, and is believed to foster aggression and risk taking behaviour in men, who indulge ceaselessly in these acts in order to prove their manliness (Bird, 1996; Buchbinder, 1994; Connell, 1990; Hantover, 1995; Wetherell & Griffin, 1991). In many instances male competition is described in metaphorical terms as ‘a war’ (see Box 2.25).

**Box 2.25**

**Int:** It's a Saturday afternoon, we are all sitting around, we are all standing there at, at, at Newlands, where the Stormers and... Stormers and the...

**P4:** Bulls...Bulls...

**Int:** Bulls – the Stormers and the Bulls are playing. What, what is now going on with you, with you, you are going now with your buddies or whoever, you go, you are standing, and you are watching the match. How...what is going on with you?

**P4:** Marius and I (P4 indicates P9) – there's trouble, and we fight each other (P5 gestures between himself and P9). He's a Stormer and I'm a Bull... (laughter). See, but when the game is finished, we are, are together again. That's how I see it.

**Int:** Why is it...why is it like that?

**P4:** I don't know. I come and watch those two teams, over all these years now they are...Those two are enemies of each other...whether they play together or against each other. (Worker 1: Page 15).

This example demonstrates indirect competition between two male friends, each supporting “enemy” rugby teams, which provided a vicarious medium through which the two men could “fight each other”. Mangan (1996: 140) discusses the link between sport (rugby in particular) and militarism in 19<sup>th</sup> century imperial Britain whereby “sport became the ultimate metaphor for war”. Male competition is clearly played out on the sports field, if not directly, then indirectly through the ‘team as champion’ on a battlefield of masculine design. Significantly men did intermittently dismiss the efficacy of such competition (see Box 2.26).

**Box 2.26**

**P11:** it's a situation in which we find ourselves, that we have to look out for one another. And that, that makes our, our togetherness, or, or, or our affinity for one another an essence... (inaudible). If we decide to step outside of that, then, then, we create a problem in all directions. We, we are not one type of person that works at sea... (inaudible).

**Int:** Totally different people.

**P11:** And we may be... (inaudible)... back to totally different environments, but in, in the, the situation at sea, we're, we're a unit, we have to be, because our common enemy is the sea... (Worker 1: Page 11).

In this example participants underlined that “they have to look out for one another”, warning that should competition arise, this would “create a problem in all directions”. Although this seemed to challenge the importance of competition in masculine definition, the progressive strength of this statement dissipates in the face of contextual peculiarities, where competition is only abandoned when these fishermen face a greater “common enemy” – “the sea”. However in the absence of such a shared threat inter-male rivalry once again comes into view (see Box 2.27).

**Box 2.27**

**P2:** ...I think when people are around like, guys in their class and stuff like that they actively try and make themselves seem better.

**Int:** What kinds of things might you discuss if you go to a pub or bar, a bunch of friends, five friends?

**P3:** Sport...

**P4:** Women.

**P3:** Chicks.

**P2:** Chicks. (Student 2: Pages 15-16).

In all discussions men were seen to compete in a large variety of ways in order to “actively try and make themselves seem better”. “Sport” clearly offered an arena in which to prove competitive masculinity, however struggle over women and sexual prowess specifically surfaced as a recurrent theme, often displayed in male talk objectifying “chicks”. Bird (1996) stresses that non-competitive men lose substantial status and are frequently excluded from male group interaction should they choose not to enter into such rivalry (see Box 2.28).

**Box 2.28**

**Int:** What kind of consequences would that hold for you, if you weren't seen as one of the boys?

**Participant:** Um, it could hold consequences in terms of getting work again. Where I work it's important that you get work because of who you know and who you get on with, um, and if you don't get on with management teams in the different companies then you won't get work. Um, so if I was, um, a woman I might not get as much work, or gay, or black. It's possible, highly unlikely, but... Um, or just not as seen as one of the boys, so it's sometimes important to go out and have a couple of drinks and watch the rugby with the guys, um, so that they know that you're kind of still can relate to them in terms that they're used to. (Interview 2: Page 8).

This participant astutely recognises the dilemma arising from normative demand. That is to say either men are forced to partake in competitive exercises in which they “go out and have a couple of drinks and watch the rugby with the guys” so as to ensure they “can relate to them in terms that they're used to”, or face similar ostracism as “women...or gay, or black” persons do in their forcible exclusion from male homosocial competitive interaction.

e) Masculine Success: “Flying high”

Success materialises as a definitive element of hegemonic masculinity. It is closely tied to other normative conceptualisations reviewed elsewhere in this discussion, for instance, that ‘real’ men are independent and competitive. In this sense “...a man is more a man if he has a job, and can demonstrate not only that he has necessary skills but also that he can be self-sufficient and independent of charity, whether from strangers or the state” (Buchbinder, 1994: 11). Participants endorsed the metaphorical notion that men should have “wings” that would facilitate their advance toward success (see Box 2.29).

**Box 2.29**

**P3:** I would say there are many different things that characterise you as man; one of the characteristics of being a man is that one should have one's own possessions...

**Int:** What if you have nothing?

**P5:** You are still a man its just that you don't have any possessions of your own, you want to fly but you can't because you don't have wings to fly.

**Int:** What does everyone else say?

**P1:** You see Bhuti you will always see a man by the things he has achieved... (Unemployment 2: Pages 3-4).

In this case unemployed working-class men were found to support the belief that success may be measured by "the things he (a man) has achieved", this principally understood as having "one's own possessions", although allowance was made for social disadvantage in which "you want to fly but you can't because you don't have wings to fly". This normative endorsement of economic success, despite its contextual particularisation, is somewhat surprising amongst a group of unemployed men. That is to say, literature underlines that the typical emphasis on male economic self-sufficiency makes unemployment a particularly undesirable condition, which as a result often impacts negatively on the self-esteem of working-class men (Edley & Wetherell, 1996; Pleck, 1995; Pyke, 1996). Staunch continued participant support for this masculine prescription, despite their obvious structural inability to attain this ideal, demonstrates the power of material success as an indicator of manhood. This was not without contestation (see Box 2.30).

#### Box 2.30

**P9:** We don't want to... (inaudible)... ourselves with the people on the end, so even though we know that those are more masculine, or, we still going to take the middle ones because, we all like the middle ones, and we want to feel that we are men.

**Int:** Okay, so what kind of masculinity do the two end ones represent, as opposed to the two middle ones represent?

**P8:** Promise hard work.

**P5:** Labour.

**P8:** Hard labour.

**P4:** I wouldn't mind making money that way. (Laughter). (Student 1: Page 45).

In this example students make an overt comparison between class-based masculinities, where it is suggested that whilst working-class men may be “more masculine”, middle-class lives allow participants “to feel...” they “...are men”. In other words the “promise of hard work” that working-class masculinity provides, and the physicality this implies, is believed to aid in the display of ‘real’ masculinity. Although participants recognise physicality as a legitimate form of masculine performance, they nonetheless argue that middle-class men are enabled through material success to achieve masculinity in many ways, to the extent that they are “still going to take the middle ones”. In many respects middle-class emphases on success mirrors the stress placed by working-class men on physicality and toughness. Although both ‘classes’ endorse these two normative masculine ideals, argument surrounds the variable value that is placed on each, this in accordance with class imperatives. Unsurprisingly material success holds greater import for middle-class men (see Box 2.31).

**Box 2.31**

**P5:** ...I think masculinity when you are a young boy is determined by sport, so those who can do sport are more men than those who can't, but then when you get out of the school then you find that goes away 'cos what counts is what you got, you know how you handle yourself, to fetch the money whatever. (Student 1: Page 36).

In this extract the participant traces the centrality of success throughout his masculine maturation, which when he was a “young boy” was “determined by sport”, but later in adulthood “what counts” was his ability “to fetch the money”. This statement implicitly illustrates hierarchical middle-class understanding of masculinity, in essence hinting that in their failure to mature beyond their physicality, working-class men are condemned to remain forever “boys”. When asked what motivations lay behind participant drive toward success, answers regularly belied its existence as a masculine essence, rather locating its practice in social demand (see Box 2.32).

**Box 2.32**

**Int:** ...what were the motivations?

**P7:** Mine was my pa actually (laughter), he didn't actually force me, he seems to know quite a bit about this business stuff, so I can't convince him, so I have to do civil engineering, you know. I'll suffer through it... (laughter)... (Student 1: Page 3).

In this excerpt the participant claims contradictorily that whilst his father “didn't actually force” him to pursue a financially beneficial career he was also unable to “convince him (his father)” otherwise. Moreover his closing statement that he'd “suffer through it...” was particularly telling. In short this dialogue points toward the normative demand men experience in which they are required to mould lives that will afford them some degree of material and social status. Although in this case the participant failed to cast off pressure to conform, a glimmer of challenge may be seen in at least his attempt to “convince” his father of other possible life choices, this a bold attempt given typical normative acquiescence (see Box 2.33).

**Box 2.33**

**P2:** Um, I went overseas last year, and I was supposed to decide as well what I was going to do, it didn't really help, I did the same course as I was going to do when I left, I went into business science. Um, I did it because I wanted to make money, I want to be rich... (laughter)... and every other career might be fun but I'm not going to make money. I would rather go into finance; you make the most money out of jobs like accountancy. (Student 1: Pages 5).

Unlike Participant 7 in the previous example, this participant fails to even question the reason for his wanting “to make money”; even though he admits that “(an)other career might be fun”. This epitomises completely successful hegemonic indoctrination where, in psychoanalytic terms, even the smallest angle of critical consciousness finds firm repression within the recesses of masculine defence. Weedon (1987) provides an interesting discussion concerning the use of psychoanalytic theory in understanding the construction of masculine identity through the act of repression.

Compliance to normative standards takes place not only through individual repression of unacceptable desire, but importantly also as a consequence of societal reward for masculine attainment, specifically in the achievement of success (see Box 2.34).

**Box 2.34**

**P10:** This is what I'm going to be.

**Int:** This is what you want to be... (laughter)... and how would you describe that, when you say you want to be like it, what, what, what is...?

**P10:** Success.

**Int:** Success?

**P10:** It comes with success.

**P7:** Pretty chick.

**P8:** Pretty chick... sublime. (Student 1: Page 33).

Success to these participants is both reinforcing and a means with which to gain reinforcement. In other words participants noted their desire to attain success as well as those things that “come(s) with success”. Similarly to the performance of physicality and toughness, success finds support as a normative standard of masculinity through sexual advantage, where the successful are able to realise a “pretty chick”.

f) Masculine (Hetero)Sexuality: “The steam engine within”

A number of author's note that essentialist thought surfaces strongly in discussions concerning heterosexual relationships specifically in which the notion of the uncontrollable male sex drive is attributed to biologically innate features that need continual satisfaction (Buchbinder, 1994; Shefer & Ruiters, 1998). The irrepressible male sex drive may be metaphorically understood as ‘the steam engine within’, this conceptualisation providing a model against which all men are compared, and which the majority attempt to reproduce in the attainment of masculinity. The pivotal role played by virility in masculine accomplishment was demonstrated in participant discussion over poor sexual performance (see Box 2.35).

**Box 2.35**

**Int:** What would, how would you guys feel if, in the middle of sex, you lost your erection?

**P5:** I don't want to even think about it. (General laughter).

**P3:** But I mean, she would tell you it's okay, she'll try to make you feel better, but you won't really feel, you'll feel stupid.

**P2:** Not necessarily, OK, I've got this horrible story, went out, got really drunk, came back, lost interest half way through and stopped, the chick laughed at me in my face, woke me up and said, 'Paul', and its not that bad, it wasn't like, 'hey there, man'.

**Int:** But then of course you had an excuse. (General agreement).

**P6:** You know what, if that happened like twenty years ago, I think the woman wouldn't accept it, now they know that guys are important and all this, and you drink and it affects your performance... (Student 1: Page 20).

Dismay appeared at the thought of sexual 'underperformance', in the loss of an erection during sex, where participants expressed the need not "to even think about it". Although Participant 7 challenged this normative belief in his assertion that "it's not that bad" to experience erectile failure, it is interesting to highlight that this objection took place within the safety of drunken justification, "where of course..." he "...had an excuse". In this case hegemonic masculine demand supporting innate male sexual drive was kept intact, despite momentary resistance, this notion re-emerging in many debates (see Box 2.36).

**Box 2.36**

**Int:** So when you come back from sea, when you come back from, from sea, what then? You want that action now, or want to enjoy that action.

**P6:** That action has to be there. (General laughter).

**Int:** That action has to be there.

**P10:** Yes, it's natural...

**Int:** And whose job is that?

**P3:** The man. (Worker 2: Page 17).

In this extract participants plainly portray male sexuality as performative, this encapsulated well by the word “action”, in which men were “natural(ly)” seen to require intercourse from an objectified Other. Objectification was clear in participant neglect to construct sex as a partnership, in which only indirect reference concerning another individual was made, this through the simplistic definition of sex as a mere “action”. In other words in saying that “action has to be there” men were in fact arguing that “male performance upon an object of sexual desire had to be present”. The centrality of sexual performance in realising manhood also found fertile root in discussion surrounding male promiscuity (see Box 2.37).

**Box 2.37**

**Int:** Let me make another example, if I or someone else perhaps has a lot of girlfriends, maybe four or five, is that a show of my masculinity, my manliness?

**P11:** You are a man. (General laughter).

**P5:** That’s not true... (General laughter).

**P1:** Old man, old man if you were a womaniser would you be considered a real man...

**P9:** Yes you are a man...

**P4:** Womanisers are real men.

**P3:** Being a womaniser does not make one a man, let’s be frank.

**P4:** No, a womaniser is a man.

**P3:** ...Anyone can be a womaniser if they want to, it all depend on how much you respect yourself... You are a man but you act in a womanlike way. Your dignity is undermined by your actions. The time in which we are living in makes it hard for someone to be a womaniser...

**P5:** A womaniser is a man, he is a man, he doesn’t urinate sitting down he urinates standing up.

**P9:** He’s only good for herding cows, nothing else... (General laughter).

**P2:** We can criticise all we want but in the end we will end up admiring him... (Unemployment 1: Page 19-22).

Disagreement flourishes in this excerpt. At an obvious level argument pivots around two opposing axis: (a) that “Womanisers are real men” versus (b) that “Being a womaniser does not make one a man”. At first it is easy to mistakenly attribute this disagreement as marking the potential for radical change in sexual definition. However it becomes plain that challenge to notions of male sexual virility, expressed through promiscuity, originates from within a conservative agenda. This is seen in likening “womanisers” to subordinate Others, such as woman who “urinate sitting down” (this itself a physically submissive act), and boys “only good for herding cows”.

Carton (2001) offers an instructive description of Xhosa masculine negotiation over the generational gap. It is argued that the traditional authority of homestead patriarchs has, and continues, to be threatened by wage earning migrant labourers. An uneasy relationship exists between the two, in which customary patriarchal practices collide with modern economic forces, providing young men the means to assert their masculinity over traditional notions of elder respect. In a similar fashion argument in Box 2.37 may be seen to stem from competition between men of different ages in their understanding of masculinity. Disagreement in this case may better be explained as contestation surrounding hegemonic definition between the young and old, this not questioning the importance of ‘the steam engine within’, but rather how this engine finds vent.

Thus through argumentation sexuality remains a social construct of male power, this defined by men, and constitutive of gender (MacKinnon, 1996). Bird (1996) underlines that within this gender order females are predominantly viewed as mere sexual objects over which males are able to assert their sexual prowess (see Box 2.38).

**Box 2.38**

**P1:** Its like conquests... its like blokes are always going on about this chick and that chick...

**P5:** Ya, it's normal.

**Int:** Can someone give examples?

**P2:** You'll walk in and say check the hot chick.

**P3:** Ya, she's got a nice ass.

**P1:** And someone else will say, no she's a dog bru...

**P2:** And then you'll share with each other how you were like dumped last week...

**P3:** And how you went down to her draw...

**P2:** Ya, ya, ya, underground parking... (General laughter). (Student 2: Page 16).

The assertive performance of male sexuality is well illustrated by the comment: "Its like conquests..." Participants either justified male dominance in sexual encounters through suggesting "it's normal(ity)", or alternately validated male authority through criticism, this seen for example in female sexual objectification as "hot chick(s)" who've "got a nice ass". Participant debate largely found support from existing literature which suggests that men portray females as inherently asexual beings who are expected to remain sexually subservient to the wishes of males (Burr, 1998; Shefer & Ruiters, 1998). Wood, Maforah & Jewkes (1996) note that in such relationships men are frequently found to be in complete control of sexual knowledge, as such entrenching their power in sexual encounters (see Box 2.39).

#### Box 2.39

**Int:** Does, does that, that bother you, would that trouble you, hearing about who that girl has had a sexual relationship with before you, would you want to know those sorts of things?

**P8:** Before, before it doesn't mean anything.

**P6:** It depends, you know, there are people, if there, there are certain people, if she has slept with them, I will not want anything to do with her, you know... if she has been with a nerd, who never had a girlfriend in his whole life, he's not going to 'damage' her, ya ya, then its her past, I've got nothing to do with her past...

**P1:** Personally I wouldn't want to know, because, I would, deep down I would be thinking, she would be

comparing me to this other person, if I knew this person, and maybe she'd say no or whatever, I would still feel insecure, how do I rank, measure up to this other guy walking around the streets...

**P6:** ...the thing you could do is rank her with the ones you had, then, if you think she ranks you low, then you rank her low as well (general laughter), no seriously, if you think she's giving you points, and she gives you three out of ten, then you give her one. (General laughter). (Student 1: Page 16-17).

In this extract participants express their concern over possible female sexual knowledge and experience. Male power finds challenge in such situations where women are free to define sexual encounters, in which "you think she's giving you points", this ultimately situating men in uncomfortable competitive relations where they are forced to consider "how do I rank, measure up to this other guy". Clearly the heterosexual dynamic is seen to circulate around an understanding in which females remain sexually passive and subordinate in relation to supposedly natural male power and control (Shefer & Ruiters, 1998; Weeks, 1990).

Participant dialogue in South Africa provided strong parallel support for Boyarin's (1997) observation that in contemporary Western society heterosexuality operates as the sexual norm, acting as an important tool with which men in these environments are able to demonstrate their masculinity (Connell, 1995). Heterosexuality is seen to gain definition solely in relation to its binary opposite homosexuality (Boyarin, 1997; Fuss, 1989; Weeks, 1990). In this sense 'normal' (hetero)sexuality is contrasted against 'abnormal' (homo)sexuality (Weeks, 1990). This alludes to the hierarchical positioning of masculinities, defined in part according to their acquiescence to the heterosexual norm, in which primacy is afforded men of heterosexual persuasion (Connell, 1990; Pleck, 1995). That is to say the heterosexual norm structures relationships of domination between men in society in which 'true' masculinity is contrasted against its supposedly inferior homosexual form (Brittan, 1989; Connell, 1995). (See Box 2.40).

**Box 2.40**

**Int:** Was it important to be liked by girls?

**Participant:** Ya, very much so. Um, I think that's true of almost every, you know heterosexual male. Um, ya it was, it was definitely a big thing. Um, almost more important than anything else. (Both laugh).  
(Interview 2: Page 17).

The participant in the preceding discussion articulated the weight of heterosexuality in hegemonic masculine accomplishment when he noted that to be liked by girls “was almost more important than anything else”. This comment represents a common strategy employed by males whereby they are argued to constantly engage in activity illustrating their heterosexuality (in essence their non-homosexuality) in order to reinforce their position as ‘real’ men. However, not only do men attempt to engage in heterosexual behaviour as a sign of their masculinity, but they are also argued to partake in both verbal and physical violence directed against homosexual men in an effort to mark their difference from these individuals (Boyarin, 1997). (See Box 2.41).

**Box 2.41**

**Int:** Just to change the subject slightly and that is, you have a friend, a best friend and um, you find out that he's gay. How would you respond to that?

**P1:** Beat the shit out of him. (General laughter).

**P2:** Maybe you're gay as well then, because um, generally speaking...

**P3:** Jesus. (General laughter).

**P1:** Excuse me. (General laughter).

**P3:** Hello. (General laughter). (Student 2: Page 37).

The statement suggesting that it would be appropriate to “beat the shit out of him” vividly expresses the endorsement of violence against homosexual men. This uncontained response appears all the more reactionary given that the framing questioning initially located the homosexual man as a “best friend”. Significantly this statement did not encourage similar support from other participants, perhaps as a result of its extreme nature, in which declarations of disbelief such as “Jesus” and “Hello” were seen to follow. Participant 2 even sought to question the motive behind such a statement,

suggesting, “Maybe you’re gay as well then”. Although seeking to question the worth of physical violence, and as such offering some degree of resistance, the negative connotations embedded in this response limited the potential for radical inquiry into sexual definition.

Violence directed against homosexual men may also be understood as a tool with which to overtly enforce heterosexual societal compliance. Importantly this control need not be so visible. Bartky (1990: 72) notes:

“In contemporary patriarchal culture, a panoptical male connoisseur resides within the consciousness of most women: They stand perpetually before his gaze and under his judgement. Women lives her body as seen by another, by an anonymous patriarchal Other”.

Similarly men find themselves vulnerable to the gaze of the ‘Other’. However it is not women who reside within the self-regulatory disciplinary structures of the male mind, as conversely would be the case, but other men themselves. Masculinity is seen to undergo reproduction under an omnipresent system of heterosexual male surveillance that acts on the individual man, forcing his compliance to, and re-enactment of gender norms (Bartky 1990; Foucault, 1979). (See Box 2.42).

**Box 2.42**

**Int:** If you had to name a few examples of things that would be absolutely unmentionable with guy friends, what would they be?

**Participant:** ...I could never, don’t think ever, sit down one of my – I’m thinking of one of my two or three specific closest male friends – I could never sit one of them down and say well so-and-so I think I may be gay. Or something like that. I think they would flip-out. (Both laugh). And aah, I don’t think they could do the same to me, I wouldn’t know what to say. (Interview 2: Page 15).

In this excerpt the participant highlights the importance of heterosexual self-regulation in which he “could never sit one of them (a friend) down and say well so-and-so I think I may be gay” as he would anticipate that “they would flip-out”. In this case the unseen prospect of peer sanction served as a sufficient deterrent against homosexual disclosure.

Interestingly the same processes were found to describe (Other)sexual space (see Box 2.43).

**Box 2.43**

**Int:** Were there any restrictions or prohibitions on what one said or how one dealt with those kind of contacts?

**Participant:** Yes it was, um, unspoken... you might kind of have a, how can I put it, an unspoken understanding with the person you were doing something with, but you would certainly wouldn't necessarily verbalise it with them, and you certainly wouldn't verbalise it with anybody else. That was an unspoken rule. (Interview 1: Page 6).

In this example it is suggested that in growing-up in an all-male boarding house, heterosexual self-regulation was very much in operation, even within groups participating in 'Other' sexual activities. This effectively underlines the strength of the ubiquitous system of heterosexual male other- and self-surveillance, in which despite the transgression of normative sexual demand, those partaking "certainly wouldn't verbalise it with anybody else" including each other. Therefore surveillance may be understood to act not only as a deterrent to 'aberrant' behaviour but also serves to silence voices of diversity (see Box 2.44).

**Box 2.44**

**P8:** Most of the time its still the fear of rejection, if you're gay. I work at a reform school. Apart from the fact that it's mainly a boys school its very important for them not to know. And, but I have a lover and a friend on the teaching staff, we just discuss it openly about it. The first time we go out and... (inaudible)... eventually when it came out it was no big deal for them, you know...

**P2:** Ya, but you must know...

**P8:** It was just, what I wanted to say is once you've reached that level, of moving beyond whether people know if you're gay or not. Um, there's not really more that... you can hide. (Sexuality 1: Page 10).

Participant 8 suggests that "most of the time its still the fear of rejection, if you're gay" that prevents (Other)sexual men from openly challenging heterosexual dominance. Therefore despite the failure of heterosexual male surveillance to enforce total re-

enactment of gender norms, it does by and large achieve male compliance, through its silencing of the 'Other'.

Homosexuality is further condemned through its close association with the notion of femininity, itself an integral axis around which relationships of power are structured, and this rendering homosexuality even less desirable (Connell, 1995). Thus it is suggested that male anxiety surrounding homosexuality predominantly originates in their continual attempt to differentiate themselves from the feminine (Bird, 1996; Kite & Whitley, 1998). However dialogue suggested that this anxiety appeared not only to be restricted to heterosexual men (see Box 2.45).

**Box 2.45**

**P6:** That depends on your interest as well as a gay man. Because I see it... I've got a lot of gay men, ag, straight men friends... I'm, you don't take my rugby away from me. I braai, and I love all those, so I can get along with straight men much easier...

**P10:** Ya, 'cos I like braai-ing but I don't like rugby. (General laughter).

**P3:** I wonder if we'd be a lot...what would the role be if you were a... screaming queen, what we term. Because I think generally, if I can imagine it, we'd, our... the way we see ourselves is as men, the only difference is, is that: I love another man, emotionally and sexually. And so, what's the difference between us... (Sexuality 1: Page 12).

It is informative that (Other)sexual men endorse most normative masculine prescriptions in which they see themselves "as men, the only difference is, is that:" they "...love another man, emotionally and sexually". This appears in stark contrast to stereotypical understanding of (Other)sexual men that depicts them as feminine. Clearly argument over sexual identity should not be understood to offer resistance to hegemonic masculine conceptualisation in general, as this represents only an aspect of a larger normative package, the bulk of which most (Other)sexual men choose to own.

g) Masculine Responsibility: “Child-minding the world”

As ‘rational’ rather than ‘emotional’ beings (Seidler, 1994; Wetherell & Griffin, 1991), it is said that men are expected to display a marked degree of independence and self-sufficiency, which acts as an integral determinant to their future success in life (Buchbinder, 1994; Hantover, 1995; Seidler, 1994). Participant discussion served to support this observation, that to be male was to be responsible, this demanding not only discipline but also emotional endurance (see Box 2.46).

**Box 2.46**

**Int:** ...I want to know from all of you how you feel about, about that issue of that person that maintains the family and that person that, that, that maybe brings in the food or the clothes. Whose role is that?

**P8:** It's actually a man's role to see that everyone in the house is clothed and that they have food.

**Int:** Do you agree? Do you agree?

**P9:** Yes, I agree... A man is brought up like that. (Worker 2: 8).

Participants agreed that men were responsible for family welfare, ensuring that “everyone in the house is clothed and that they have food”, which was typically a male task in that they were “brought up like that”. In cases where men were unable to deliver their required responsibilities guilt often ensued (see Box 2.47).

**Box 2.47**

**Int:** ...You want to be there to see things are okay. Does that frustrate you? How do you feel when you can't play that, that role?

**P8:** Look like now there was an example with me there. My wife has to do so many things that she became so sick that she had a stroke, and she is still so young. And this is just a typical example of how the wives of us seamen have to take on so much... you must go and work to give them bread but you, you feel also... To sit at home, to stand by them for the problems that come to the fore every day. And that is not really possible for us. (Worker 2: Page 11).

The participant in this case faces an irreconcilable dilemma. On the one hand he is forced to “go and work to give them bread”, but in so doing he is compelled to forgo his familial responsibilities “to stand by them for the problems that come to the fore every day”. Nevertheless participants did periodically question the burden of responsibility placed upon them (see Box 2.48).

**Box 2.48**

**Int:** On what has been said here, do you guys maybe feel that maybe, a little early... (inaudible)... you had to begin making money and supporting the people? Had to be responsible for things at home. (Pause).

**P11:** What were you when you started working?

**P5:** Fifteen years old.

**P11:** Fifteen years old.

**P6:** Twelve.

**P11:** Twelve. This is your chance now, you must talk...about that you had to go and work at twelve or fifteen.

**P7:**...my sister is busy jolling... (Worker 1: Page 7).

This extract highlights the often-repressed resentment men felt at having to assume ‘a man’s responsibility’ at a young age. The focus group discussion provided an arena in which the participants had a “chance” to talk about the fact that they “had to go and work at twelve or fifteen”. It is informative that this dialogue was cast in gendered terms, suggesting that participants recognised the premature emotional responsibility placed upon them as males, whilst they perceived their sisters to be “busy jolling”. This realisation of loss surfaced in more than one debate (see Box 2.49).

**Box 2.49**

**P2** ...at your coming out ceremony celebration the older men from your family sit you down and tell you that you can now call yourself a man. They tell you to say it out aloud... So you call out that you are a man. You actually resent yourself for saying it. You ask yourself, was I forced to say it, why did I say it...

you remember that being made a man means that you will have to start calling yourself a man... Because of poverty it is difficult to cope with having a family and providing for it. (Unemployment 1: Pages 4-5).

In a heartfelt admission Participant 2 discloses that even at the all-important male initiation rite of Xhosa circumcision, where young men are conferred the rights and privileges of the male world, in accepting the concomitant responsibility he asked himself “was I forced to say it, why did I say it...” In other words male responsibility not only entrenches male control in the ‘child-minding of the world’, this viewing male domination solely in negative (as well as machiavellian) terms, but also institutes a regime of power that forces men “to cope with having a family and providing for it”. This is not to imply a conservative inversion of disempowerment, where men are seen as victims of restrictive gender roles, for example as suggested by advocates of ‘Men’s Rights’. Rather an acceptance should surround the fact that men do suffer loss due to masculine demand, but that this occurs within structural relations of domination, within which they hold sway. In this sense male responsibility need take one step further before retiring: that is to say responsibility for change.

### 2.3.2. *Summary*

Rhetorical analysis provided insight into the socially interactive and interpretive nature of masculine renegotiation within South Africa. In doing so it stressed the dialogic nature of thinking, which was grounded within a unique socio-historical context, this facilitating understanding into how contemporary society reproduced knowledge concerning itself through argumentation.

Seven key ‘hegemonic metaphors’ were seen to emerge from participant debate. These provided the conceptual framework for argumentation, which although predominantly served to support normative masculine understanding, also found challenge. Thus whilst hegemonic understanding was seen to demarcate normative masculinity’s conceptual landscape, it failed to prevent challenge over its definition, this holding the potential for change:

(1) Masculine Control: “It’s basically a conquest thing”, (2) Masculine (Un)Emotionality: “Having a lions heart”, (3) Masculine Physicality & Toughness: “The iron man”, (4) Masculine Competition: “It’s a matter of war”, (5) Masculine Success: “Flying high”, (6) Masculine (Hetero)Sexuality: “The steam engine within” & (7) Masculine Responsibility: “Child-minding the world”.

Although the results of this chapter are presented in a reified fashion, through the description of seven core metaphors, this should not be understood to imply their actual existence. Argument over masculinities is far more complex than may ever be captured in the stasis of writing, where in actuality the discreet definition of each metaphor proves by and large false, as masculine concepts are irreducibly interlinked as well as in constant conceptual flux. Nevertheless, an analysis of this kind proves somewhat useful in providing ‘watercolour themes’ of masculinity on which to base further theoretical understanding, particularly in the revision of MANI (the Male Attitude Norm Inventory) in later chapters.

In appreciation of the complexity surrounding the description of masculine negotiation, it proves worthwhile to briefly consider the importance of reflexivity, especially within an exercise stressing the interpretive nature of social interaction. An exploration into the co-construction of interview narrative serves as an example.

### 2.3.3. *The Defended Interview*

Hollway and Jefferson (1999) alert us to the importance of ‘defence’ in the production of narrative. It is suggested that irrational or illogical response within its course serves to reflect either interviewee or interviewer defence against anxiety provoking thought. Narratives are often conceived of as the expression of unconscious individual desires, and societal ideologies, which expose a non-threatening co-constructed (Tambling, 1991) reality.

### a) Structuring the Interview

Although it is important to acknowledge that "...both the researcher and the 'researched' are simultaneously influencing each other" (Berg & Smith, 1988: 31 cited in Hollway and Jefferson, 2000: 33) in the construction of any narrative, interviewers should continue to monitor, as well as limit their own impact on this process. At stages the interviewer was seen to contribute heavily to the structuring of participant 'stories', endorsing particular experiences of masculinity, through self-reference (see Box 2.50).

#### Box 2.50

**P1:** ...And um, so that was quite different because from going from a sort of co-ed school, to a sort of all boys school is...

**Int:** Jaa, ja I had much the same.

**P1:** Jaa, it's quite different... (Interview 1: Page 2).

In some cases, collusion between the interviewer and interviewees' simply served to reinforce dominant notions of appropriate masculine interaction, rather than allowing the interviewees' to define the appropriateness of these normative behavioural repertoires themselves (see Box 2.51). In short interviewer collaboration with specific versions of the participant meaning-frame might have led to the exclusion of opposing narratives.

#### Box 2.51

**P2:** ...Um, well, um, I just kind of, obviously I don't have much experience when it comes to the opposite side, but, um, if I look at the human body, um, I'd much rather screw a woman than a man. (Both laugh). Um, I find men quite ugly, um, and I find women beautiful. So that, it's a help. (Both laugh)... (Interview 2: Page 10).

This does not suggest that the unique structuring relationship between the interviewer and interviewee go unexplored in an illusory attempt to deny the moulding power of interviewer subjectivity. On the contrary, the interviewer should have understood the 'story' through this lens, exploring his role in the narrative's construction. In the above example the interviewer might well have delved into the use of the word 'screw', as well

as the interviewee's seeming need to assert his heterosexuality, rather than implying agreement with what was said through laughter. This complex interaction – between interviewer and interviewee – may effectively be explored through the concept of 'defence'.

#### b) The Defended Subject

The notion that "...all research subjects are meaning-making and defended subjects..." (Hollway & Jefferson, 2000: 26), is a useful one, pointing to the importance of recognising unconscious forces operating in the production of narratives. It is suggested that story development hinges largely on the relationship between the interviewee and interviewer, in which unconscious processes direct narrative structure, in an individual attempt to avoid or master anxiety that this interaction engenders.

This was clearly the case in interviews, where in both instances interviewees' began their stories in a defensive manner, largely in response to their first impressions of the interviewer (see Box 2.52).

#### Box 2.52

**Int:** ...If you could tell me about your past, you know, your schooling, perhaps your tertiary education?

**P1:** Obviously all of this is ah...ah...I'll start by saying that all of this is going to be slightly coloured because of the fact that I had three years of psychology. So I've had time to sift through all of this with a little bit more of an informed eye... (Interview 1: Page 1).

In the example above the interviewee immediately positions himself as a 'knowing subject'. Through his reference to psychological training he attempts to redefine his relatively powerless status as an object of scientific research to one in which he himself has the necessary authority to objectify. It is an attempt to negotiate the interpersonal power relations inherent within the interview context where the interviewer is traditionally afforded right of definition. In explicit terms Participant 1 is saying: "Hey,

don't think that just because you're a psychology student you know more about me than I do".

A similar dynamic emerges further on in the same narrative, where the interviewee spontaneously makes reference to his homosexuality, in each instant providing justification in terms of 'non-choice' (see Box 2.53).

**Box 2.53**

**P1:** ...a boys' only school, ah, and contact with the girls school was almost non-existent. Um, and from that perspective I think it probably coloured my sexuality. I think it probably made an influence...

...It's a painful experience as I once said to my mother, I said: 'if I had a choice I certainly wouldn't choose to be gay.' Um, so you can sort of scratch the choice element out of it quickly... (Interview 1: Page 4).

Participant 1 first suggests that *social* experiences in the all male boarding house inevitably impacted upon his sexuality. Further on in the same paragraph he reaffirms non-choice in sexual orientation, however at this point he alludes to an *essentialist* argument in justification.

Two issues emerge as interesting in an account of the defensive subject. Firstly, the interviewee's unprompted decision to raise the topic of his sexuality served to justify his 'deviancy' from the interviewer's suspected compliance to 'normative' masculine heterosexuality, in non-culpable terms. Secondly, different arguments offered – ranging from the social to the essential – are indicative of his desire to confirm his non-choice in sexuality and as such avoid the expected normative judgement of the interviewer. Thus a distinct defensive relationship exists within the interview context, prompting the participant to construct his narrative in a unique fashion, in this case reflexive of the interviewers presumed sexuality.

Notably a similar process operates in the second interview. Unlike Participant 1, the second interviewee does not construct his narrative in justification of his sexuality in

opposition to that of the interviewer, but rather attempts to assert his compliance to the heterosexual norm in agreement with the interviewer (see Box 2.54).

**Box 2.54**

**Int:** What do you think men lose-out on in having to be men?

**P2:** Um, changing in female dorns. (Both laugh). Um, what do men lose-out on in being men? ...  
(Interview 2: Page 11).

In the extract an obvious assertion of heterosexuality is taking place. The participant is clearly making his sexual preference known, and in doing so elicits a conspiratorial laugh from the interviewer, and as such effectively achieves manliness through common definition.

Thus in both interviews the participants were involved in defensive narratives. Whilst Participant 1 sought to justify his sexuality in relation to normative standards, Participant 2 attempted to negotiate these same demands through overt statements of compliance. Therefore interviewees' structured their narratives so as to avoid 'Othering' within the interview context, in which the interviewers own positioning played an integral role.

c) The Defended Interviewer

It is equally important to recognise that 'all researchers are meaning-making and defended', that story development not only hinges on unconscious interviewee processes, but unconscious interviewer motivations as well. This conceptualisation supports the notion surrounding the dual construction of narratives embedded within a complex of anxiety-reduction and avoidance defences.

The interviewer's role within the co-construction of normative heterosexual masculinity – throughout the interview with Participant 2 – illustrates defensive interviewer interaction. In many respects the collaboration evident within the narrative indicates a similar and reinforcing motive in its construction by both the interviewer and interviewee. Just as the

interviewee felt the need to comply with normative societal demand, so did the interviewer, leading to a mutual accomplishment of masculinity through narrative co-construction (see Box 2.55).

**Box 2.55**

**P2:** ...there was this whole kind of almost a ritual that seemed going on, that kind of you go and meet the girls from the opposite school, and the whole thing. Whereas at the co-ed schools was, um, less of a sexual thing. Slightly. (Both laugh). (Interview 2: Page 6).

The laughter was not only used to signal heterosexual agreement but also served to mask the serious and emotionally laden nature of the emerging story. In simplified terms it conveyed two messages:

- i) “Don’t mind this ‘wishy-washy’ (and therefore unmanly) discussion, after all it’s only in good fun.”
- ii) “Ja, I agree with you. Being a man is the same as being interested in the opposite sex.”

Participant 1’s story also highlights the centrality of sexuality in discussions of masculinity. The ‘defensive interviewer’ re-emerged in this narrative. In this case his unease with subject matter surrounding Participant 1’s experience with homosexuality led to an over-compensatory reaction, in which in order to mask anxiety, intimate and explicit questions were often asked (see Box 2.56).

**Box 2.56**

**P1:** ...there weren't any girls about to discover their bodies, that you know you kind of, you know when you're in boarding school and it's a boy's only school, you kind of, you experiment with what you've got, you use the material that you have and it...

**Int:** Was that experimentation physical in nature, or was it merely...

**P1:** Oh, physical.

**Int:** Was it, ja...

**P1:** Because I think it was purely, purely physical almost... (Interview 1: Page 5).

By directly querying the nature of the interviewee's sexual exploration, although dubiously relevant, the interviewer defensively sought to hide his own discomfort with the subject matter.

#### 2.3.4. Summary

It is clear that no research is free from structuring effects. Not only does the frame in which questions are set direct interviewee narratives, but the co-construction of stories remains paramount, in which the meaning-frame and defences brought by both interviewee and interviewer dynamically interact to produce unique narratives. The same may be said for focus group interaction, although the peculiarities of group debate serve to construct an argument within a defensive environment characterised by the presence of multiple voices, as opposed to a simple two-way dialogue.

## 2.4. Conclusion

Monolithic depictions of masculinity inadequately represent the array of identities that take subtle shape within South Africa's unique socio-historical milieu. An uneven landscape of social interaction locates each individual in pre-existing, whilst at the same time changing, discourses of gender. In particular positioning in terms of race; class;

culture; age and history contribute to a process in which masculine identity often reflects composite as well as contradictory images of what it is to be a man. This chapter sought to sample the diversity of masculine expression in the country by drawing on groups characterised by differences in culture, social-class, and sexuality. Far from providing a complete account of masculinities, an impossible task given sheer complexity of the social world, this chapter hoped to provide information fertile in its descriptive utility. Rhetorical analysis helped to sketch this complexity, rich in the diversity and the variable articulation of masculinities with South Africa, this providing a guiding blueprint of contemporary masculinity in our country.

University of Cape Town

## **PART II**

### **3. CRITICISING THE MALE ATTITUDE NORM INVENTORY**

#### **Abstract**

Chapter 3 seeks to revise the Male Attitude Norm Inventory (MANI) in order to ensure its contextual (content) validity, and alter the instrument so as to reflect masculinity ideology; this a particular theoretical approach to the measurement of masculinity(ies) that stresses its collective negotiation. At the outset the chapter traces differences in theoretical outlook, and explores the origin of MANI, before discussing the development of the Male Attitude Norms Inventory-II (MANI-II). It is believed that this improved measure displays greater contextual validity, and echoes to a better extent the underlying theoretical assumptions of masculinity ideology, than MANI exhibits. That is to say an entirely new dimension of 'Sexuality', in addition to the existing but conceptually discreet axis of 'Homophobia', was included in instrument revision in an effort to account for the large role sexuality-related issues were found to play in masculine definition. A number of individual items were also found in need of reassessment due to their cultural insensitivity, and where necessary items were altered so as to reflect the theoretical underpinnings of masculinity ideology, the measure attempting to underline the multidimensionality of masculine understanding.

### 3.1. Introduction

Luyt & Foster (2001) recommend that a thorough qualitative exploration of contextual masculine understanding should be undertaken so as to ensure the valid application of the newly devised Male Attitude Norm Inventory (MANI) within South Africa's multi-cultural society. It is argued that this process might generate information absent in Western instruments of masculine measurement from which MANI draws much of its conceptual logic. That is to say:

"...many existing instruments measuring attitudes toward men and masculinity standards direct attention too narrowly to a single masculinity script. This interpretation of masculinity is implicitly based on a conventional division of labor, contrasted to a single femininity script, and presumed to be heterosexual... Studies are needed that try to identify the wide variety of footings that have yielded diversity in men's lives" (Thompson & Pleck, 1995: 157).

Insight gleaned from Chapter 2, in which the social negotiation of South African masculinity was explored, provided the basis for the 'contextual overhaul' of MANI. In addition recent debate concerning differing theoretical approaches to the measurement of masculinity(ies) also served to inform the reappraisal of the instrument. In sum Chapter 3 traces differences in theoretical outlook, and explores the origin of MANI, before discussing the development of the Male Attitude Norms Inventory-II (MANI-II). It is believed that this revised measure displays greater contextual (content) validity, and reflects to a better extent the underlying theoretical assumptions of masculinity ideology, than MANI exhibits.

#### 3.1.1. Measuring Masculinity

Thompson, Pleck & Ferrera (1992) propose a useful conceptual framework for understanding the intrinsic differences that exist between measures of masculinity(ies). Although this explanation has met with some criticism (Thompson & Pleck, 1995) its theoretical congruence with the perspective adopted by the present study demonstrates its utmost utility. In short the authors argue that instruments of masculine measurement fall into one of two independent categories: those seeking to measure *gender orientation* or

others attempting to explore *gender ideology* (Thompson et. al., 1992; Thompson & Pleck, 1995).

*Gender orientation* assumes the existence of actual differences between men and women that are deemed measurable through the precise definition and empirical study of invariant personality traits. Inevitably grounded within sex role theorising, this 'trait perspective' views gender as either psychologically or biologically innate, and conventionally suggests that masculinity and femininity exist as unidimensional and systematically opposing concepts (Levant, 1996; Thompson et. al., 1992; Thompson & Pleck, 1995). Archer (1989) notes the popular emergence of gender trait measures during the early 1970s, in particular the Bem Sex Role Inventory (Bem, 1974 cited in Archer, 1989; Beere, 1990) and the Personal Attributes Questionnaire (Spence, Helmreich & Stapp, 1974 cited in Archer, 1989; Beere, 1990), which found prolific use during this period.

Early trait measures stressed the polarity of sex roles, in which masculinity and femininity were seen to exist on opposite ends of a gender continuum (Beere, 1990; Lenney, 1991), implying the mentally maladaptive nature of inappropriate individual sex typing. To its credit later theorising recognised the independent variability of sex roles across gender, and as such not only questioned whether appropriate sex typing was crucial to mental health, but additionally argued in favour of thinking that stressed the developmentally restrictive nature of traditional roles (Lenney, 1991).

Notwithstanding these progressive shifts, measures finding *raison d'être* within gender orientation continue to suffer from fundamental weaknesses; these already highlighted in a comprehensive critique of sex role theory in Chapter 2 (see pages 13-19). To briefly recap, explanations of gender that stress universal homogeneity in masculine experience neglect to capture contextual fluidity in its definition, in which an apolitical outlook effectively ignores the impact that uneven power relations play in both compliance to and endorsement of the traditional male role (Thompson et. al., 1992). Furthermore Lenney (1991) notes that despite their popular use, concepts such as masculinity and femininity have remained ill defined, to the extent that instruments purporting to evaluate sex roles regularly fail to measure the same construct. In their blind acceptance surrounding a

‘true’ masculinity and femininity, trait measures lack recognition that they find production within a unique cultural and historical environment, and as such fail to appreciate “that ‘masculinity’ and ‘femininity’ are what is measured by masculinity and femininity scales” (Beere, 1990: 32).

*Gender ideology* alternatively advocates that socially constructed norms provide contextually relevant gender ideals that most individuals seek to achieve. This ‘normative perspective’ situates gender as a socio-cultural artefact, rather than a psychological or biological fact, and as such instruments are designed so as to “index the extent to which individuals endorse the ideas and beliefs that serve to justify gender scripts and power relations” (Thompson et al, 1992: 576). Crucially these measures incorporate the notion of multidimensionality in order to account for plurality in gender understanding borne within varying power relations over time and context (Archer, 1989; Levant, 1996; Thompson & Pleck, 1995). Amongst the most notable attempts to operationalise masculine ideology are the Brannon Masculinity Scale (Brannon & Juni, 1984 cited in Thompson & Pleck, 1995), the Male Role Norms Scale (Thompson & Pleck, 1986), and the Male Role Norms Inventory (Levant, Hirsch, Celentano, Cozza, Hill, MacEachern, Marty & Schnedeker, 1992). As is discussed in greater detail below, the second and third scales contributed heavily to the original development of MANI, steering not only item domain but theoretical outlook as well (Luyt & Foster, 2001).

In delving into gender ideology in greater detail, Thompson & Pleck (1995) underline that masculine and feminine ideology are conceptually independent of each other, exhibiting qualitatively different correlates (Thompson et al, 1992). This is not to suggest, as gender orientation does, that each gender possesses its own discreet and persistent characteristics. Rather it serves to stress that the two concepts do not rely on strict binary definition in which masculinity is defined in terms of non-femininity and *visa versa*. This enables a multitude of seemingly contradictory ideologies to emerge that are unhampered by rigid co-definitions surrounding ‘what it is to be a traditional man *vis-à-vis* the traditional woman’. For instance a man may well endorse progressive views surrounding male involvement in childcare but still support established notions concerning female domestic responsibility. As such Thompson et al (1992) argue that measures seeking to

explore masculine ideology should avoid the use of gender comparative items; this bypassing unnecessary ambiguity as to the attitude under assessment.

Embedded within social constructionist thought, the conception of MANI is best understood to have taken place under the theoretical aegis of gender ideology, which likewise underscores the contextual variability of masculine understanding. This is well illustrated by that fact that the instrument found considerable inspiration from two existing measures of masculine ideology.

### 3.1.2. *The Male Attitude Norm Inventory*

The Male Attitude Norm Inventory (MANI) [see Appendix B: Pages 188-189] was first devised and applied in research seeking to investigate hegemonic masculine conceptualisation in gang culture (Luyt & Foster, 2001). Formulation of this device took form around two existing instruments that were similar in design in their latent attempt to explore masculine ideology: the *Male Role Norms Inventory* (Levant et al, 1992) and the *Male Role Norms Scales* (Thompson & Pleck, 1986). Gender theorising also made a significant contribution to its derivation.

The *Male Role Norms Inventory* (Levant et al, 1992; Levant & Fischer, 1996, 1998) [see Appendix B: Pages 189-191] includes 58, predominantly prescriptive, items that appear as either normative or non-traditional statements concerning masculinity. The inventory grew out of an attempt to measure conformity to normative ideological Western notions of masculinity, in which it is assumed that no single such concept exists, but rather recognises its differential interpretation across context. The device argues that a number of changeable traditional masculine norms operate in any given society in which social groups vary in the extent to which they endorse them. Seven theoretical 'standards' were developed in order to account for these norms:

(1) Avoidance of Femininity, (2) Rejection of Homosexuals, (3) Self-reliance, (4) Aggression, (5) Achievement / Status, (6) Attitudes towards Sex & (7) Restrictive Emotionality.

Confirmatory factor analysis served to highlight the existence of three underlying factors. In this regard the instrument appears to offer theoretically meaningful differences in sub-scale scores across a variety of groups including those defined through gender, age, marital status and geographical location (Levant & Fischer, 1996; Thompson, Pleck & Ferrera, 1992; Thompson & Pleck, 1995). Notably the inventory is considered useful in its inclusion of an often-neglected 'sexuality' dimension together with its explicit recognition of both 'traditional' and 'progressive' masculine ideology (Thompson & Pleck, 1995).

The *Male Role Norms Scales* (Thompson et al, 1992; Thompson & Pleck, 1986,1987, 1995) [see Appendix B: Pages 192-193] includes 26 declarative items concerning traditional masculinity. The instrument found root within the condensed 58-item version of the Brannon Masculinity Scale (Brannon & Juni, 1984 cited in Thompson & Pleck, 1995) that seeks to measure individual support for values that encompass the male role. Although the origin of the measure clearly lies in sex role theorising, it may be argued that the authors' attempt to assess "attitudes toward the array of prescriptions and proscriptions men encounter because of their sex" (Thompson & Pleck, 1986), successfully (albeit unwittingly) reorients focus toward masculinity ideology. By means of factor analysis three core dimensions of normative masculinity were isolated in an attempt to investigate the structure of the male role norms:

(1) Status Norm, (2) Toughness Norm & (3) Anti-femininity Norm.

It is informative to stress that the items measuring these underlying norms were derived from normative societal "...beliefs that men should avoid doing anything feminine, conceal emotions and feelings that make men feel vulnerable, dedicate themselves to work and supporting a family, acquire skills that warrant respect and admiration, become mentally and physically tough, become self-reliant, and willing to take risks and engage in violence" (Thompson & Pleck, 1987: 27). Although these items comprehensively reflect this conceptualisation of masculinity they fail to incorporate a 'sexuality' dimension and as such reduce the instrument vulnerable to criticism.

In the production of MANI relevant literature aided in the design of a conceptual model of hegemonic masculinity, incorporating five core dimensions, these each given substance

through the inclusion of four underlying interrelated concepts (see Table 3.1). This model found operationalisation through item development, in some cases drawing on those included within the Male Role Norms and the Male Role Norms Scales; these often undergoing slight alteration in order to make them more suitable to the cultural and linguistic flavour of the South African population.

*Table 3.1 Five theoretically motivated dimensions included within the Male Attitude Norm Inventory and their underlying concepts.*

<b>Anti-Femininity</b>	<b>Toughness</b>	<b>Individualism</b>	<b>Status</b>	<b>Homophobia</b>
Female Sexual Objectification	Discomfort Tolerance	Assertive Activity	Achievement Management	Homophobic Ostracism
Anti-feminine Practice	Emotional Detachment	Level-headed Practice	Career Management	Homophobic Violence
Male Sexual Prowess	Self- containment	Male Independence	Resource Management	Anti-homoerotic Practice
Female Belittlement	Physical Endurance	Interpersonal Dominance	Power Management	Heterosexual Self-regulation

The complete measure encompasses the use of 40 belief statements compatible with dominant notions of masculinity. Participants are asked to indicate along a five-point response format whether they (A) strongly disagree, (B) disagree, (C) have no opinion, (D) agree, or (E) strongly agree with these male oriented items. A high item score is argued to signal an individual's agreement with normative conceptualisations of masculinity.

Three theoretically congruent factors emerged through the use of factor analytic techniques, two displaying distinct similarities to dimensions encapsulated within existing instruments. That is to say 'toughness' and 'success' ideologies appeared in like form within both the Male Role Norms Inventory and the Male Role Norms Scales. However the third factor, argued to reflect related constructs in terms of a male 'control'

ideology, was notably absent as a single dimension from both these pre-existing instruments. Luyt & Foster (2001) tentatively suggest that the centrality afforded notions of male 'control' within MANI better summarised the array of alternative dimensions, other than 'toughness' and 'success', previously propagated by these older devices. Notably the 26 % of total item variance accounted for by these three extracted factors appeared in close approximation to the 28 % total item variance explained by the similar factorial study conducted by Thompson & Pleck (1987) using the Male Role Norms Scale (For a detailed comparison of all three instruments see Table 3.2.).

### *3.1.3. Summary*

Ultimately MANI fails to generate a comprehensive contextual understanding of masculinity. That is to say little new knowledge concerning participant masculine conceptualisation, apart from an amalgamation of traditionally recognised elements of dominant masculinity encapsulated by existing instruments, finds original production. This suggested the need to conduct further in-depth exploration of contextual masculine understanding as opposed to simply applying an a priori model of hegemonic masculinity. The development of MANI-II may be seen as an attempt to improve the instrument's content validity, by means of a thorough contextual exploration of masculinity, in addition to a revision of MANI in accordance with the assumptions of gender ideology.

## **3.2. Discussion**

### *3.2.1. A Contextual Revision of the Male Attitude Norm Inventory*

Contextual exploration of masculinity provided valuable insight as to its unique and variable conceptualisation in South Africa. As is discussed in great detail within Chapter 2, seven key metaphorical dimensions of masculinity emerged during discursive debate, these underlying the centrality of:

(1) Control, (2) (Un)Emotionality, (3) Physicality & Toughness, (4) Success, (5) Competition, (6) Responsibility, and (7) (Hetero)Sexuality.

Although all these dimensions arguably found account in the original development of MANI, providing pleasing evidence in favour of the instrument's prior content validity, it became immediately clear that it neglected to emphasise with sufficient force the importance of sexuality in masculine definition. That is to say despite MANI including a 'Homophobia' dimension, it was felt that this did not adequately encompass the particular notion of performative sexuality, which continually emerged as a powerful metaphor in participant discussion. Thompson and Pleck (1995) note the Male Role Norms Inventory's useful inclusion of sexuality as an underlying dimension of masculinity, in which 12/57 items make reference to sexuality-related issues, this stress similarly appearing in 8/40 items included within MANI. Yet despite both instruments accounting for the importance of sexuality in masculine understanding, it was believed that this required even further emphasis, achieved through the inclusion of the two conceptually distinct dimensions of 'Sexuality' and 'Homophobia' within MANI-II (see Table 3.3). These together extended the revised instrument's investment in sexuality-related items to 16/40.

*Table 3.3 Five revised dimensions included within the Male Attitude Norms Inventory-II and their underlying concepts.*

<b>Sexuality</b>	<b>Toughness</b>	<b>Individualism</b>	<b>Status</b>	<b>Homophobia</b>
Objectification of Sex	Discomfort Tolerance	Assertive Activity	Achievement Management	Homophobic Ostracism
Sexual Control	Emotional Detachment	Level-headed Practice	Career Management	Homophobic Violence
Sexual Performance	Self- containment	Male Independence	Resource Management	Anti-homoerotic Practice
Masculine Practice	Physical Endurance	Interpersonal Dominance	Power Management	Homophobic Avoidance

Table 3.2 Measures of Masculinity Ideology.

Scale/Authors	Number of Items	Gender Comparative Items	Attitude Toward Females Items	Gender Orientation Items	Scale Suggests One Unitary Masculinity	Validity Data	Reliabilities	Sample Size	Subscales
<b>Male Role Norms Scale (MRNS)</b> Thompson & Pleck (1986)	26	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	$\alpha = 0.86$	1510 (MF)	3
<b>Male Role Norms Inventory (MRNI)</b> Levant et al (1992)	58	No	No	No	No	No	$\alpha = 0.93$	287 (MF)	7
<b>Male Attitude Norm Inventory (MANI)</b> Luyt & Foster (2001)	40	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	$\alpha = 0.85$	316 (M)	3

(Adaptation of Thompson &amp; Pleck, 1995: 138-139)

The claimed distinction between the two dimensions emerges in “Sexuality’s” attempt to delve into masculine sexuality as a performance consisting of various definitive practices [e.g. A man should make sure that he knows about sex (Sexual Control)], whilst “Homophobia” specifically explores notions of Other vs. dominant sexual expression [e.g. It is wrong for a man to be seen in a gay bar (Homophobic Avoidance)]. Moreover the inclusion of the entirely new ‘Sexuality’ dimension within MANI-II required producing a number of innovative items representing its underlying concepts. For instance in actualising the notion of Sexual Performance a statement concerning erectile function was formulated:

*Men should feel embarrassed if they are unable to get an erection during sex.*

In a general sense discursive exploration of South African masculinity sensitised instrument revision to subtle cross-cultural differences in masculine display that rendered particular items inappropriate. This is well illustrated by the item:

*Men should not wear bracelets (MANI: Item 39)*

In retrospect this was deemed a poor means through which to operationalise the concept of Heterosexual Self-regulation as cross-cultural displays of heterosexuality are varied. This militated against the use of such culturally specific (Western) notions of heterosexual behavioural practice in assessing participant endorsement of heterosexuality.

In sum a contextual review of MANI suggested the need to include the entirely new dimension of ‘Sexuality’, in addition to the existing but conceptually discreet axis of ‘Homophobia’, in an effort to account for the large role sexuality-related issues were found to play in masculine definition. A number of individual items were also found in need of review due to their cultural insensitivity.

### 3.2.2. *A Theoretical Revision of the Male Attitude Norm Inventory*

A theoretical revision of MANI began at a basic level; that is to say in the altering of its name; so as to stress the multidimensionality of masculinity to a greater extent in MANI-II. Levant and Pleck (1995) note the use of 'plural' has become a popular means with which to express variability in conceptual understanding, in this case through highlighting the instrument's assertion that masculinities reflect variable norms (the Male Attitude Norms Inventory-II), as opposed to an invariant masculinity norm (the Male Attitude Norm Inventory).

Apart from this, perhaps doctrinaire alteration, previous research making use of MANI (Luyt & Foster, 2001) also contributed toward this revision. Inventory items that were found to have insubstantive factor loadings through factor analytic exploration underwent scrutiny in an attempt to isolate possible explanations. One such item in MANI read:

*Using a gun is sometimes the only way to get out of a bad situation (MANI: Item 12).*

In this case item factor loading proved insubstantive. However it was puzzling that item 11, similarly assessing the concept of Physical Endurance, emerged substantive. In hindsight it was argued that the notion of using a weapon might well have been a poor means of assessing violent physicality due to the absence of notable bodily action in its use. As such, the revised item in the MANI-II attempted to assess support for the use of physical violence in a direct fashion, as well as accommodating a less extreme attitude towards support for the use of physical violence:

*Men should be prepared to physically fight their way out of a bad situation (MANI-II: Item 22).*

Notably this revised item emerged substantive in the present study, providing support for the suggestion that the original item operationalised its underlying concept poorly, which after some re-working demonstrated better conceptual fit.

A theoretical revision of the MANI also found profit from Thompson et al's (1992) outline of four ideal criteria that either distinguish instruments of masculinity ideology from those

measuring other constructs, such as gender orientation, or enhance their utility as tools of ideological assessment:

- i) 3<sup>rd</sup> person statements are believed to augment an evaluation of shared normative views, which exist ideologically ‘out-there’, to a greater extent than 1<sup>st</sup> person statements that locate masculinity as an internalised set of values.
- ii) Comparative gender statements should be avoided, as attitudes held towards men are considered independent from those concerning women, which together might better investigate gender ideology.
- iii) Instruments should include items reflecting both a ‘traditional’ and a ‘progressive’ masculinity ideology.
- iv) Statements should be prescriptive (i.e. what men ‘should be like’) in their exploration of dominant attitudes, as well as descriptive (i.e. what men ‘actually are like’) in their appraisal of perceived dominant behaviour.

All items within the revised MANI-II appear in accord with this guideline (see Appendix B, Pages 193-195). For example, in instances where 1<sup>st</sup> person statements had previously been included within MANI, these were altered so as to reflect ‘ideology’ through the use of the 3<sup>rd</sup> person in MANI-II:

*First person: I admire a man who always takes the lead when something needs to be done (MANI: Item 14).*

*Third Person: It is admirable for a man to take the lead when something needs to be done (MANI-II: Item 23).*

In keeping with the suggestions listed above, gender comparative items were also avoided, so as to ensure the independence of statements exploring masculinity. Their necessary exclusion indicated the need to (a) abandon ‘Anti-Femininity’ as one of the five core dimensions underlying the structure of MANI and (b) to alter individual items that were gender comparative in design. The example below demonstrates a revision of the latter kind as well as its emphasis on progressive masculinity ideology:

**Gender Comparative and Traditional Ideology:** *It is pointless to try and have a serious discussion with a woman (MANI: Item 40).*

**Gender Exclusive and Progressive Ideology:** *Men should feel embarrassed to talk about sex with their friends (MANI-II: Item: 34).*

Here the original item was gender comparative in its implicit mention of both men and women. The revised item attempted to assess participant support for the concept of male discursive Objectification of Sex, rather than male dismissal of female intellect, and hence their subtle Sexual Objectification of females. In order to accommodate non-conventional attitudes the revised item also reflected a 'progressive' masculine ideology.

Lastly as is noted above, Levant et al (1995) also indicate the importance of including items that are both prescriptive in their exploration of dominant attitudes, as well as descriptive in their appraisal of perceived dominant behaviour:

**Prescriptive:** *Men should be calm in difficult situations (MANI-II: Item 40).*

**Descriptive:** *Men who cry in public are weak (MANI-II: Item 3).*

In sum a theoretical review of MANI revealed the need to revise the instrument's name, to that of the Male Attitude Norms Inventory, so as to lay stress on its multidimensional interpretation. Subsequently wide-ranging changes to the original measure were undertaken with reference to Thompson et al's (1992) seminal discussion surround measures of masculinity ideology. This 'revamp' was facilitated by a review of statistical results produced in an earlier administration of the instrument (Luyt & Foster, 2001); this complete process ultimately giving rise to MANI-II. (For a detailed comparison of MANI and MANI-II see Table 3.4.).

### **3.3. Conclusion**

Beere (1990: 34) argues that: "There are now enough measures that new measures are not needed; rather existing measures can be improved and refined". This study finds fault with this assertion. Apart from these instruments evaluating substantially different

constructs [e.g. sex-role attitudes, sex-role strain, exaggerated sex-roles etc. (Lenney, 1991)], as well as originating from divergent theoretical outlooks [i.e. masculine orientation vs. masculine ideology (Thompson et al, 1992)], this research denies the cross-cultural relevance of any measure.

Chapter 3 has endeavored to demonstrate the process by which instruments may find contextual relevance. This does not suggest that existing instruments may not provide a valuable source of information in the construction of new measures: as was clearly the case in the derivation of MANI. Rather it implies that researchers should be prepared to undertake the onerous task of instrument development, in each and every research undertaking, so as to ensure their contextual validity. This may well induce a feeling of helplessness within the responsible positivist, who would predictably by now be trembling in disgust over this, a ‘perverted’ use of quantification; rather seeing his or her task as involving the production of a respectable tool for general use. However for the critical researcher no such set reality is possible, obliging the perpetual (and one might add a fairly masochistic) rediscovery of ‘truth’, in all instances of masculine exploration.

Furthermore a contextually driven development (or reorientation) of masculine measures affirms their multidimensionality. Thompson and Pleck (1995: 135) note that in making active practical use of subscale variation:

“One might argue that these scales do not assume a single masculinity standard. Comparing different groups or cultures on their profiles of these multidimensional instruments would empirically document the extent to which different masculinity standards are endorsed to different degrees by these groups or cultures. Others might argue, however, that these scales still assume one monolithic male role, albeit with component dimensions”

Crucially the necessary contextualisation of any measure undercuts the criticism that “scales still assume a monolithic male role”. In accounting for the contextual distinctiveness of masculine conceptualisation within any instrument, before its application, no such singular assumption is made. Alternately hegemonic masculinity simply attains content validity at a specific moment in time and place (see Appendix C, Pages 196-208, for a detailed summary of MANI-II’s development).

Table 3.4 Comparison of MANI & MANI-II as Measures of Masculine Ideology.

Scale/Authors	Number of Items	Gender Comparative Items	Attitude Toward Females Items	Gender Orientation Items	Scale Suggests One Unitary Masculinity	Validity Data	Reliabilities	Sample Size	Subscales
<b>Male Attitude Norm Inventory (MANI)</b> Luyt & Foster (2001)	40	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	$\alpha = 0.85$	316 (M)	3
<b>Male Attitude Norms Inventory-II</b> Luyt & Foster (Unpublished)	40	No	No	No	No	Yes	$\alpha = 0.90$	339 (M)	3

(Adaptation of Thompson & Pleck, 1995: 138-139)

## 4. JUSTIFYING THE MALE ATTITUDE NORMS INVENTORY-II

### Abstract

Chapter 4 attempts to fulfil two essential criteria demanded of instrument construction: providing (1) valuable reliability data and (2) further information supporting MANI-II's construct validity. Male students from three local universities were approached to participate. 339 of 377 questionnaires were satisfactorily returned. MANI-II appeared to contain strong construct validity, as assessed by means of convergent ( $r = 0.86$ ;  $p < 0.05$ ) and factorial techniques, in addition demonstrating solid overall ( $\alpha = 0.90$ ) and sub-scale [Toughness ( $\alpha = 0.83$ ), Control ( $\alpha = 0.83$ ), & Sexuality ( $\alpha = 0.85$ )] internal reliability scores through the use of Cronbach's Alpha. This study did not attempt to explore MANI-II's discriminant validity. An undertaking of this kind is encouraged, as this would not merely act to validate the instrument in terms of its congruence with related measures, but also firmly validate its theoretical distinction from instruments assessing gender orientation. It may also have proved useful to explore MANI-II's criterion validity, through the comparison of separate cross-instrument scores, measuring similar attributes. Nevertheless in keeping with the general flavour of the study as a whole, it is important to highlight the largely context-bound utility of findings, these serving to bolster the worth of instrument results in Chapter 5 rather than providing unquestionable support for the instruments general use.

## 4.1. Introduction

Three criteria are considered vital in the development of gender measures (Beere, 1990). At a minimum it is believed that all instruments should find root in an empirical and/or theoretical undertaking. Chapter 3 described both the theoretical and empirical origins of the Male Attitude Norms Inventory-II (MANI-II). The chapter theoretically situates MANI-II within masculinity ideology, as opposed to masculine orientation, and as such stresses the social construction of masculinity over time and place. In particular, efforts to ensure the measure's contextual (content) validity were outlined, drawing on understanding gleaned from rich discursive material that was analysed in Chapter 2.

This chapter attempts to fulfil the remaining two criteria demanded of instrument construction: that of providing valuable reliability data as well as further information supporting MANI-II's construct validity.

## 4.2. Method

### 4.2.1. Sample

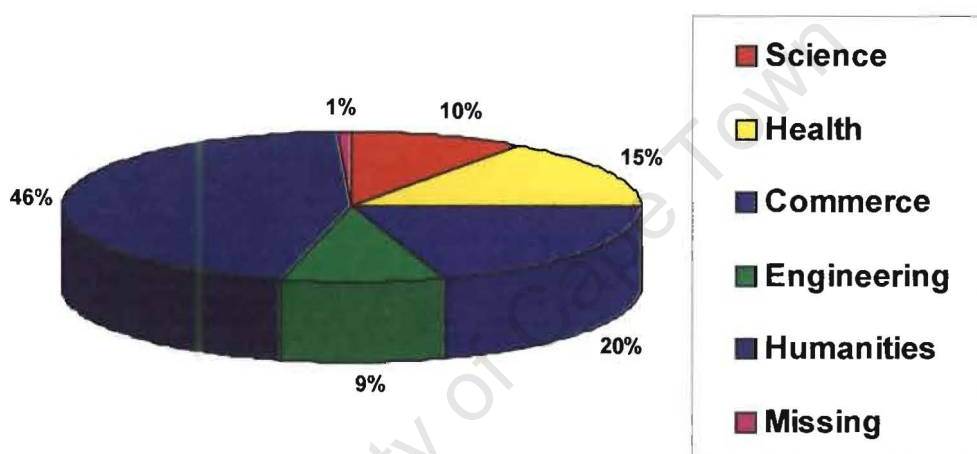
Male students from three local universities were approached to participate. Of the 377 questionnaires that were distributed a pleasing 339 were satisfactorily returned: the majority of which originated from the University of Cape Town (84.37%), followed by Stellenbosch University (15.34%), whilst the University of the Western Cape offered the lowest response rate (0.29%). This lopsided distribution may in part stem from researcher affiliation to the University of Cape Town, in addition to greater formal contact with the Stellenbosch University, this facilitating better control over questionnaire distribution and subsequent collection.

At times the statistical range of demographic data appeared misleading. That is to say despite a sizable age range, between 17 and 38 years, respondents averaged a mere 20.75 years of age. Similarly although students were found to be attending anywhere between their 1<sup>st</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> year at university an approximate mean value of only 2 years-

of-study emerged. Given the young age of participants, results indicating that most remained unmarried (95.8%), came as little surprise.

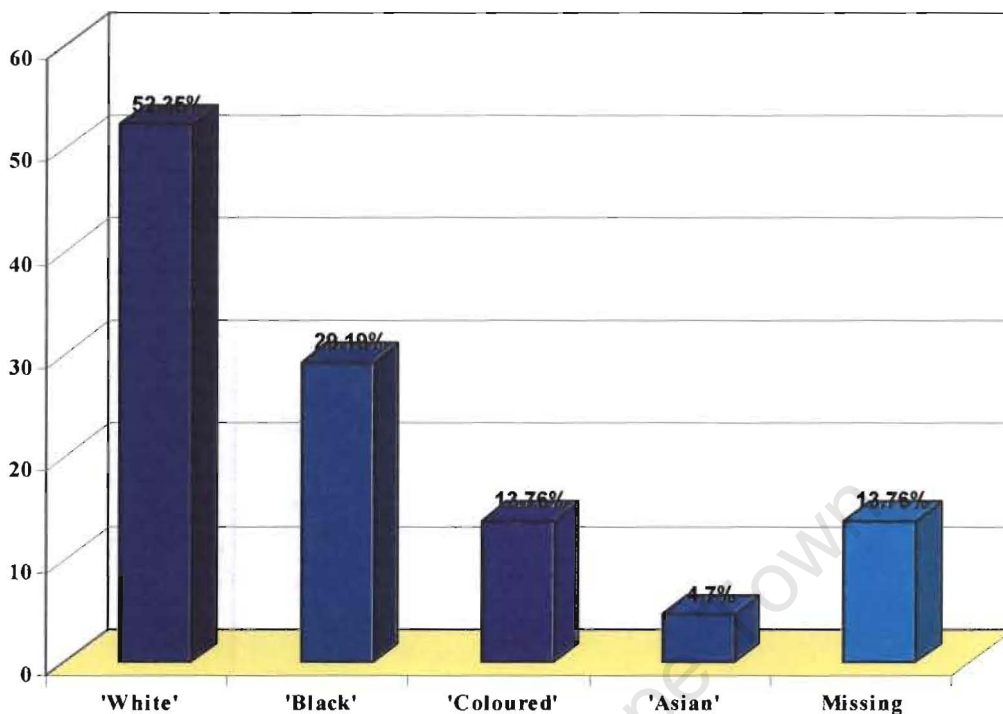
The majority of students indicated their enrolment in a 'humanities' related course whilst the remaining students were categorised as falling within one of four alternative faculties (see Figure 4.1).

*Figure 4.1 Participant faculty membership.*



Ethnic variation in participant profile was also markedly skewed in which the bulk of all respondents classified themselves as 'white' (see Figure 4.2). Although racial categorisation holds unpalatable political implications, clearly demonstrated by the 13.76% of participants who perhaps failed to give meaningful answers as a means of 'protest', such information provided an essential proxy measure of 'cultural orientation' (ethnicity) given the obvious obstacle of deducing such difference from a questionnaire at this stage offered only in English.

Figure 4.2 Participant ethnic membership.



The sample used in this undertaking should not be seen as representative of the male South African population. That is to say the participants originated from a privileged educational background, predominantly undertook study within a humanities field, and unevenly represented the views of a young 'white' ethnic minority. Although the results should be understood from within these limitations, the data does nevertheless provide useful evidence, specifically concerning MANI-II's reliability and validity.

#### 4.2.2. Procedure

Participants were approached in a variety of university locations, either individually or in groups, to complete both the Male Role Norms Inventory [MRNI] (Levant et al, 1992) and the newly revised Male Attitude Norms Inventory-II. They were asked to do so alone, without communication until the task taking approximately 20 minutes was accomplished, and the questionnaires returned. Individuals receiving evenly numbered questionnaires were requested to complete MANI-II first, whilst those given oddly numbered questionnaires, were advised to respond to the MRNI initially. It was hoped that this precaution would mitigate possible order effects resulting from a set sequence of instrument completion.

### 4.2.3. Instruments

Two instruments of masculinity ideology were used in order to provide helpful descriptive results: (i) The Male Role Norms Inventory and (ii) the Male Attitude Norms Inventory-II (For an in depth description of these measures see Chapter 3).

## 4.3. Results

### 4.3.1. Measures of Construct Validity

“Validating a measure is a never-ending process. At no point can one say, ‘This scale is valid.’” (Beere, 1990: 10). Chapter 2 and 3 sought to enhance the content validity of MANI-II through a comprehensive contextual exploration of masculinity. The construct validity of the instrument underwent assessment in the current chapter by means of convergent and factorial investigation.

#### a) Convergent Validity

Convergent validity attempts to assess the degree to which two supposedly similar instruments measure the same construct. This suggested the worth of contrasting item response on MANI-II with that of the MRNI, as both measures claim theoretical commonality in their exploration of masculinity ideology; a theoretical perspective covered in detail within Chapter 3.

For instance Levant & Fischer (1995) report that the MRNI displayed satisfactory convergent validity with the Masculine Gender Role Stress Scale (Eisler & Skidmore, 1987) [ $r = 0.52$ ;  $p < 0.001$ ] as well as the Gender Role Conflict Scale-I (O’Neil, Helms, Gable, David & Wrightsman, 1986) [ $r = 0.52$ ;  $p < 0.001$ ]. In this case the second and third instruments are said to hold theoretical congruence with the MRNI and as such provide some measure supporting its validity.

Likewise MANI-II was found to exhibit strong convergent validity with the MRNI that provided an impressive correlation coefficient ( $r = 0.86$ ;  $p < 0.05$ ).

Although not conducted in the current study, the construct validity of MANI-II would gain further support through an assessment of its discriminant validity, this gauging the relationship between two theoretically distinct instruments. For example Levant & Fischer (1995) note that an effort to establish the MRNI's discriminant validity also proved successful. A comparison made through the use of the Personal Attributes Questionnaire (Spence & Helmreich, 1978), said to measure the dissimilar theoretical concept of gender role orientation, rendered a pleasingly weak relationship of  $r = 0.06$  [ $n = 97$  male students] and  $r = 0.08$  [ $n = 220$  female students] respectively.

#### b) Factorial Validity

An exploratory factor analysis was conducted in order to ascertain whether the five theoretically and empirically motivated categories used to structure MANI-II (see Chapter 3, Table 3.3: Page 89) would similarly materialise through a priori analytic procedures in which five factors were purposively extracted through principal factor analysis (Communalities Multiple  $R^2$ ). After orthogonal varimax factor rotation the resultant structure, in which only items displaying a factor loading of  $\geq 0.40$  were retained, proved different from these guiding categories.

As such principal factor analytic procedures (Communalities Multiple  $R^2$ ) were reinitiated, on this occasion restricting factor extraction to an eigenvalue criteria of  $\geq 1.00$ , this rendering four factors in which all items with a loading of  $\geq 0.40$  were retained. However even after orthogonal varimax rotation the interpretability of these factors seemed at times 'muddled'. This confusion, in addition to an informative scree plot eigenvalue distribution, indicated the worth of exploring a three-factor model (see Appendix D, Figure D.1: Page 209).

Once again precisely the same procedures were undertaken. This attempt proved successful, offering three theoretically meaningful factors, which after rotation were found to account for 31.44 % of total item variance. This solution may be seen in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1. Three-factor analytic solution.

	Abbreviated Item Content	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
1+	A man should prefer rugby and soccer to art and drama.	0.57		
2*	If a man hurts himself he should not let others see he is in pain.	0.61		
3+	Men who cry in public are weak.	0.59		
4+	Men should share their worries with other people.	0.42		
5*	To be a man you need to be tough.	0.52	0.40	
6*	Being called a 'faggot' is one of the worst insults to a man.			
7+	Men should think logically about problems.		0.48	
8+	Men should appear confident even if they are not.			
9*	A man should make all the final decisions in the family.	0.52		
10+	Men participate in games to win.			
11+	Men should be able to sleep close together in the same bed.			0.49
12*	Men should have a job that earns them respect.		0.49	
13+	A successful man should be able to live a comfortable life.		0.43	
14+	A man deserves the respect of his family.		0.51	
15+	Men have a sex drive that needs to be satisfied.		0.42	
16	Men should feel embarrassed if they cannot get an erection.			0.40
17+	Men who teach children, or cook, should be proud.	0.46		
18	It is not important for men to achieve orgasm during sex.			
19+	It is okay for men to rely on others.			
20*	If a man is frightened he should try and not let others see it.	0.53		
21	It is wrong for a man to be seen in a gay bar.			0.65
22+	Men should be prepared to fight their way out of a bad situation.	0.40		
23+	A man should take the lead when something needs to be done.		0.42	
24	A man should not feel embarrassed that he has gay friends.			0.56
25+	A man should not worry about the future.			
26*	Gay men should be beaten-up.			0.60
27+	A man's decision should not be questioned.	0.54		
28+	Men should be determined to do well.		0.61	
29+	It is important for a man to be successful in his job.		0.59	
30+	Gay men are not suited to many jobs.			0.61
31+	Men should remain focused in difficult situations.		0.57	
32*	Men should have everyone's respect and admiration.		0.47	
33+	Men should be able to kiss each other without feeling ashamed.			0.66
34+	Men should feel embarrassed to talk about sex with friends.			
35+	Men are prepared to take risks.		0.45	
36	It is not always a man's task to ask someone on a date.			
37*	A father should be embarrassed if his son is gay.			0.64
38	A man should make sure that he knows about sex.		0.39	
39*	A man is successful if he makes a lot of money.			
40+	Men should be calm in difficult situations.		0.56	
	<b>Eigenvalue</b>	<b>8.88</b>	<b>2.39</b>	<b>1.31</b>
	<b>Percentage of Rotated Item Variance</b>	<b>11.01</b>	<b>10.61</b>	<b>9.82</b>

Items loading substantively on Factor 1 were seen to reflect the belief that men should remain emotionally contained (e.g. “Men who cry in public are weak”), in which active expression preferably finds display in assertive physicality, in both the public (e.g. “Men should be prepared to fight their way out of a bad situation”) and private (e.g. “A man should make all the final decisions in the family”) arena. As such this factor was best described as conveying notions surrounding the importance of masculine ‘toughness’, in which all ten items that had a substantive loading of  $\geq 0.40$ , were included to form a sub-scale measure.

The 2<sup>nd</sup> Factor unambiguously stressed the centrality of control in men’s lives. Male mastery over their lived reality appeared to encompass the need to exert control over financial (e.g. “It is important for a man to be successful in his job”), social (e.g. “Men should have everyone’s respect and admiration”), and self experiences (e.g. “Men should be calm in difficult situations”). Therefore the term ‘control’ was seen to express the emphasis embedded in this factor to the greatest extent. A total of fourteen items were incorporated to form a subscale measure that again only included items with a substantive loading of  $\geq 0.40$ .

Eight items were found to load substantively on the 3<sup>rd</sup> Factor at  $\geq 0.40$ . These explicitly articulated the importance of (hetero)sexuality in dominant masculine expression. Not only did these items distance real masculinity from (Other)sexualities (e.g. “It is wrong for a man to be seen in a gay bar”) but also tentatively stressed the value of male sexual performance (e.g. “Men should feel embarrassed if they cannot get an erection”). These items formed what was called the ‘sexuality’ subscale.

#### *4.3.2. Measure of Reliability*

A measure of internal consistency, frequently reported in the form of coefficient alpha, is arguably the most popular and efficient means with which to determine scalar reliability (Beere, 1990). Levant & Fischer (1995) detail that in two separate studies the MRNI has displayed high internal consistency, ranging between  $\alpha = 0.84$  [n = 320 European American & 371 African American male and female students] (Levant & Majors, 1996), and  $\alpha = 0.88$  [n = 399 United States & 394 Chinese male and female students] (Levant, Wu and Fischer, 1996). Similarly MANI-II was found

to have excellent overall internal reliability demonstrated in a Cronbach's Alpha of 0.90. In addition all three sub-scales exhibited high reliability: Toughness ( $\alpha = 0.83$ ), Control ( $\alpha = 0.83$ ), and Sexuality ( $\alpha = 0.85$ ) [For greater detail surrounding subscale analysis see Appendix D: Pages 209-213].

#### 4.4. Discussion

The results presented in this chapter support an argument in favour of MANI-II's construct validity and internal reliability. However these results should be understood to contain limitations in their origin from a largely unrepresentative sample.

The finding indicating that MANI-II and the MRNI held strong convergent validity was unsurprising. Apart from both instruments seeking to explore masculinity ideology, they held additional similarity in their common 'hereditary', in that MANI-II drew decisively on the MRNI for conceptual logic. In this sense discriminant validity may have served a more constructive role, in MANI-II's comparison with a measure unrelated to its derivation, and as such less predictably likely to offer such affirming results.

Factorial investigation produced far more enlightening findings concerning MANI-II's construct validity. It is interesting to note that separate studies attempting to determine the factor structure of (a) the Male Role Norms Inventory (MRNI), (b) the Male Role Norms Scale (MRNS), (c) Male Attitude Norm Inventory (MANI), and (d) Male Role Norms Inventory-II (MANI-II) all suggest that these instruments contain three underlining factors:

Thompson & Pleck (1995) note that a confirmatory factor analysis rendered three factors, in consideration of the MRNI, as opposed to the seven normative standards argued to underlie the masculine construct:

"The first consists of items from the femininity avoidance, homophobia, achievement/status, attitudes toward sex, and restrictive emotionality subscales ( $\alpha = .93$ ). The second matched the conceptually derived self-reliance subscale ( $\alpha = .62$ ), and the third matched the aggression subscale ( $\alpha = .48$ )" (Thompson & Pleck, 1995: 145).

Likewise a triadic structure surfaced from within the MRNS in which each factor respectively stressed the centrality of (i) the 'Status Norm', (ii) the 'Toughness Norm', and (iii) the 'Anti-femininity Norm' (Thompson & Pleck, 1987). These conclusions were largely mirrored in an exploratory factor analysis of MANI that also suggested the prominence of three factors within the measure, rather than the five theoretically devised dimensions envisioned to encapsulate masculine understanding, these including (i) 'Toughness'; (ii) 'Success'; and (iii) 'Control' (Luyt & Foster, 2001). The current study delving into the factor structure of MANI-II reproduced the first two of these factors, suggesting the presence of a novel third, best described by 'Sexuality'.

Table 4.2 illustrates possible factor correspondence across these four measures of masculinity ideology. It seems that agreement exists in the consistent presence of a 'Toughness' dimension although the MRNI appears to express this somewhat differently in terms of 'Aggression' [Dimension 1]. Strong support also transpires for the presence of a 'Control' dimension. This may alternatively be understood as 'Self-Reliance', as is the case in the MRNI, although the broader notion of control may be argued to incorporate the concept of self-reliance to a better extent [Dimension 2]. A dimension of 'Success' finds confirmation in two of the four instruments. In this regard it is noteworthy that in measures specifically designed to incorporate sexuality-related items (that is to say the MRNI and MANI-II) success fails to emerge as a pivotal axis of masculine understanding. The suggestion that success finds less unique influence in these measures due to its incorporation under more dominant dimensions, such as "Control" in MANI-II, holds possible explanation [Dimension 3]. Ambiguity appears between the remaining factors explained by the various measures. This apparent confusion should well be expected as a result of the differential conceptual emphasis placed by each of the instruments. For example only vague agreement seems to exist between the MRNI and MANI-II in their stress on sexuality-related items (greater uncertainty existing within the MRNI in its sole emphasis on these items). Furthermore it is unsurprising that MANI-II failed to produce an 'Anti-femininity' factor, this due to the instruments purposeful attempt to avoid gender comparison, unlike the MRNS in particular [Dimension 4].

Table 4.2 Comparison between the factor analytic solutions of four masculinity ideology measures.

<b>MASCULINITY IDEOLOGY MEASURES</b>	<b>DIMENSION 1</b>	<b>DIMENSION 2</b>	<b>DIMENSION 3</b>	<b>DIMENSION 4</b>
<b>Male Role Norms Inventory (MRNI)</b>	'Aggression'	'Self-Reliance'		'Femininity Avoidance', 'Homophobia', 'Achievement/Status', 'Attitudes toward Sex', & 'Restrictive Emotionality'
<b>Male Role Norms Scale (MRNS)</b>	'Toughness'		'Status'	'Anti-femininity'
<b>Male Attitude Norm Inventory (MANI)</b>	'Toughness'	'Control'	'Success'	
<b>Male Role Norms Inventory-II (MANI-II)</b>	'Toughness'	'Control'		'Sexuality'

Therefore reasonable similarity in factor structure across four instruments of masculinity ideology, given differences in their conceptual construction, provides further strong evidence in favour of MANI-II's construct validity.

#### **4.5. Conclusion**

MANI-II appears to contain strong construct validity and internal reliability. As is noted this study did not attempt to explore its discriminant validity. An undertaking of this kind is encouraged, as this would not merely act to validate the instrument in terms of its congruence with related measures, but also firmly validate its theoretical distinction from instruments assessing gender orientation. It may also have proved useful to explore MANI-II's criterion validity, through the comparison of separate cross-instrument scores that measure similar attributes, for example male endorsement of 'toughness'. However in keeping with the general flavour of the study as a whole, it is important to highlight the largely context-bound utility of these findings, these serving to bolster the worth of instrument findings in Chapter 5 rather than providing unquestionable support for the instruments general use.

## PART III

### 5. MASCULINITIES & AGGRESSION IN SOUTH AFRICA

#### Abstract

This chapter attempts to explore the relationship between hegemonic South African masculine conceptualisation and propensity toward aggression. Specifically it seeks to investigate the core hypothesis that: low age and education, together with strong hegemonic masculine approval, are predictive of high aggression whilst high age and education, together with weak hegemonic masculine endorsement are predictive of low aggression. Stratified purposive sampling across three age and five education levels provided an efficient means with which to isolate 432 suitable male South African participants. Afrikaans, English and Xhosa individuals ranged between 15 and 87 years old, and averaged an approximate age of 37. The newly revised Male Attitude Norms Inventory-II (MANI-II) was utilised as a multi-dimensional measure of masculinity ideology. Three theoretically meaningful dimensions; namely 'Toughness', 'Control', and 'Sexuality'; served to guide construction of a multi-dimensional model of masculinity. This model provided a blueprint for the construction of three like sub-scales within MANI-II that demonstrated firm overall [Combined Scale ( $\alpha = 0.90$ )] and individual [Toughness Sub-Scale ( $\alpha = 0.69$ ); Control Sub-Scale ( $\alpha = 0.86$ ); Sexuality Sub-Scale ( $\alpha = 0.74$ )] internal reliability. These sub-scales were applied in the current analysis. An adaptation of the Buss Aggression procedure (Buss, 1961) was used to assess individual propensity toward aggression. Although conceptually based on the previously devised procedure, the design of the machine used in the present study found novel form, in particular making use of light cues rather than verbal prompts. Individuals were required to participate in a task in which the administration of electric shocks served as a measure of their aggression. Three statistical procedures provided support for the core hypothesis: multiple correlation, multiple regression, and independent samples t-test. Lower social class (low education) and high endorsement of hegemonic masculinity (particularly 'sexuality') was seen to be significantly predictive of aggression. Low age, although not uniquely contributory to aggression, materialised to hold importance in the overall predictive model. It was argued that aggression plays a pivotal role in the lives of young disempowered males, enabling them to collectively display a core manly attribute, and thereby reinforce their status as 'true' men in agreement with hegemonic notions of masculinity.

## 5.1. Introduction

South Africa is considered one of the most violent countries in the world (Cawthra, 1994). Foster (1997) notes that men have been disproportionately exposed to its ill effects, either as perpetrators, or victims. Social explanations seeking to account for the high occurrence of violence traditionally emanate from economic or political theory, these proving insufficient in their neglect of gender, as a key site in the reproduction of male aggression (Morrell, 1998).

Morrell (1998) recommends a gender sensitive study of violence that part-locates its genesis in regimes of power that reproduce hierarchical relations of domination between hegemonic men, women, and subordinate masculinities. That is to say masculinities are argued to find shifting form within changing contexts. They adapt across historical and cultural moments (Kandiyoti, 1996), so as to accommodate contestation in the gender order, in which battles to define ascendant masculinity take place.

Chapter 5 attempts to explore the variable endorsement of hegemonic South African masculinity by diverse groups of men, and the relationship between these different masculinity ideologies, and propensity toward aggression. This undertaking holds importance given the complexity of masculine expression in the country, which has been, and continues to be embedded in socio-historical structures of violence. South African history indicates the close association between men and violence, this stemming from a brutal colonial past that found continuation in the neo-colonial Apartheid period, and contemporarily finds stark display in violent crime (Morrell, 1998, 2001).

### 5.1.1. *'Men of Fire': Local Masculinity and Violence*

South African men of all races, classes, and ages have throughout the country's history been 'men of fire'. Due to their location in a milieu of structured violence they have come to define their masculinity accordingly (Morrell, 1998).

The institutionalisation of violence is argued to have originated in South Africa's colonial past (Epstein, 1997). Hyslop (2001) provides an interesting investigation into his own masculine identity formation through reference to his individual experiences and that of his family history. The importance of masculinities familial inter-generational transmission, and in particular the central role of women in masculine identity development, is made clear. In acting as arbitrators between male authority figures in the family, and historical context, women are seen to exist as central elements in masculine reproduction over time. Through reference to his grandmother, this involvement is made explicit, specifically in terms of her personal colonial experiences of Empire and martial masculinity. Similarly Epstein (1997: 14) suggests that:

"...white South African dominant masculinities have been (and continue to be) constituted through a history of British imperialism and resistance to it as well as through the racist power relations formalised through apartheid. This history is one in which violence has played an integral part..."

For instance violent 'white' English upper-class masculinities are said to have found reproduction within the country's elite schools, modelled to resemble British public education as closely as possible, and involving the use of bullying at every level of school authority (Epstein, 1997). Whipping emerged as a particularly popular violent means with which to instil discipline in schools throughout the country, up until the recent past, despite almost universal international condemnation of its practise (Sloth-Nielsen, 1989, 1990).

Sloth-Nielsen (1990) notes that State sanctioned violence in Apartheid South Africa most frequently manifested itself in the use of corporal punishment. During a single year over 40 000 individuals were reported to have received judicially authorised whippings, most of whom were juveniles. The enormity of this figure appears all the more startling given that it excludes physical 'correction' occurring in all State controlled institutions, apart from the criminal-justice system, such as the school.

Although whipping serves as a useful indicator of State approved aggression it fails to capture the pervasive routinisation of violence experienced within the country. The undeniably large scale of militarisation that took place in Apartheid South Africa better

depicts this. A staggering array of institutions emerged during the 1980s to form the security establishment that involved itself pervasively in civil spheres not normally associated with defence and security matters (Cawthra, 1994; Grundy, 1988). Approximately one million 'white' males between the ages of 18 and 65 were liable for conscription at any time during this period (Feinstein, Teeling-Smith, Moyle & Savage, 1986). Cock (1991) observes that coercion into military service took three forms in which 'white' men were: (a) legally required to participate in military service or alternatively face a fine of R6000 / six years imprisonment; (b) ideologically open to militaristic propaganda through State schooling and the media; and (c) socially encouraged by girlfriends, their peer group, and parents (particularly fathers) to view masculinity and militarism as inseparable constructs (Feinstein et al, 1986). The vast majority of conscripts underwent a great deal of stress, particularly during the early months of training, this rendering them vulnerable to ideological indoctrination (Flischer, 1987).

In short South Africa was a nation at war, both externally and internally during the 1980s (Chidester, 1992), mirroring to some extent a broader reality in which Africa served as a battlefield of Cold War tension (Gutteridge & Spence, 1997). That is to say the army fulfilled both foreign 'defence' duties in neighbouring States, particularly within Namibia, in addition to its suppression of domestic political dissent in black townships (Nathan, 1989). Phillips (1989) notes that this period marked the military's ascension as the dominant institution of State security in which it received by far the greatest proportion of government funding. This is well illustrated by the fact that, at this stage, the South African Defence Force (SADF) was by far the largest employer of manpower in the country. Under the SADF's pervasive influence no South African was spared the experience of a militarised society, whether in support of, or in opposition to Apartheid policy.

Cock (1988) argues that far from war existing solely as a male event, women in South Africa contributed both toward and against the country's militarisation, in a material and ideological fashion. It is also important to note that although female resistance during Apartheid was largely peaceful, women were also involved in violent protest and political struggle, adopting a 'double-militancy' where it was assumed that female liberation could only follow national freedom. Nevertheless despite periodic violent protest, women were

considerably more involved in non-violent activism; whilst men occupied themselves predominantly in violent struggle, as soldiers or rebels (Morris, 1993).

In accounting for unequal male involvement in state sanctioned violence, a reciprocal relationship may be said to exist in which institutions of state control (such as the military), foster normative masculine understanding within society which in turn serves to structure and maintain institutional foundations for its own reproduction. It is obvious that:

“There is a connection between masculinity and militarism; the traditional notion of masculinity resonates with militarist ideas. The army is an institutional sphere for the cultivation of masculinity; war provides the social space for its validation” (Cock, 1991: 58).

In essence to be a good soldier requires adherence to hegemonic masculine qualities including competitiveness, hyper-heterosexuality, unemotionality and aggression. It is within the all-male military environment that these demands may be met, their masculine quality actively reinforced, through continual reference to the stark absence of the feminine (Cock, 1991). The Inkatha leadership's use of ethnic militaristic-masculinism as a political strategy in the mobilisation of male support, during South Africa's democratic transition, highlights continuity in the country's martial past. Through this political discourse, Zulu masculinity was depicted as an all-important means to assert pride, and a honourable connection with the glorified militaristic past of the 'Zulu nation'. Inkatha was portrayed as an institution through which this identity could be attained; the party's political project offering a practice through which it could be achieved, whilst the organisations' political rival (the ANC) served as a means of contrast (Waetjen & Maré, 2001).

The militarisation of all sectors of South African society is exemplified by the role of the police as a counter-insurgency force during the liberation struggles of Rhodesia and Namibia. These wars informed domestic policing strategies that were based on the notion of a 'communist onslaught' on the region. Acting as a partisan force, the police were often involved in political assassinations, their powers enhanced as a result of the State of Emergency during the 1980s. From its inception the institution adopted militaristic procedures that diverged from what is conventionally expected of civil policing

(Cawthra, 1994). Brogden and Shearing (1993) argue that violent and brutal policing practices during Apartheid were merely institutionalised routines already in use during colonial rule as a means of maintaining 'white' minority control. However the distinguishing characteristic of police practice throughout Apartheid was:

"...just how enabling were legal provisions: that is, just how broad the police license was... Not only was much of what South African police did perfectly legal but what they did legally could be extraordinarily brutal" (Brogden & Shearing, 1993: 27; tense altered).

In particular gendered behaviour is maintained to have informed police conduct, where masculine force provided a blueprint for police action, specifically protecting Afrikaner interests against the perceived 'Black Peril' ('Swart Gevaar'). In this way police violence adopted a noble and courageous guise, supported by women who were encouraged to sustain their men in their sacred duties, as crusaders of Western civilisation. However membership within the institution was not restricted to the 'white' population. Increasingly the police force made use of 'black' officers, eventually outnumbering 'white' Afrikaners, these new recruits tasked to perpetuate Apartheid rule on the frontline (Brogden & Shearing, 1993).

The use of guns in present-day South Africa is inextricably linked to social identities moulded from the mosaic of our socio-political past. The bond between masculinity and gun use may be found in the close association between notions of masculinity and the militarism enduring throughout the country's history: the gun seen as a tool of liberation as well as a symbol of national 'white' (particularly Afrikaner) identity. This association finds continued reinforcement in the current era of socio-political transformation; in which issues of poverty, citizenship, and masculine disenfranchisement sustain the nexus of militaristic masculinity (Cock, 2001).

\* Morrell (2001) remarks that despite the country's radical transformation in many areas, \* violent masculinity seems to have reproduced itself in the form of violent crime, arguably establishing itself within existing gang structures. Gang activity is noted to be a pervasive feature of urban life throughout the world (Douglas-Hamilton, 1995). However a marked escalation in its occurrence is seen to have taken place in South Africa that often

paralyses communities who are forced to endure crime and its associated violence (Mamputa, 1991). Violent crime characterises Cape Town in particular, although largely confined to those areas in which gangsterism remains omnipresent (Daba, 1990), in which half of all murders and attempted murders in the area have been attributed to gang processes (Kinnes, 1995). Although gangs in Cape Town have a long history, the poverty and deprivation caused as a result of discriminatory political projects (specifically forced removal) led to a steady increase in gang membership. In environments in which half the population were seen to subsist below the poverty datum line, gang activity took fertile root, spurring violent behaviour and creating sites of tremendous risk (Pinnock, 1980). However the most detrimental consequence of Apartheid policy may be argued to have been its deleterious effect on social cohesion and familial support structures. Despite undesirably contributing to overcrowding and the spread of disease, the extended family system seen to exist before the advent of racial re-location, provided an integrative instrument within which family members received care (Pinnock, 1980; Schärf, 1985). Faced with little familial guidance or support, and few recreational facilities, children turned to each other as an alternative form of socio-economic support, protection and entertainment within the street environment (Mamputa, 1990; Pinnock, 1980; Pinnock, 1984; Schärf, 1985).

Cape Town is not alone in its history of violent gang activity. Glaser (1998) argues that youth gangs were a persistent feature within the settled 'black areas' of the Witwatersrand throughout the 1930s – 1970s. These provided adaptive youth associations amongst socially marginalised male groups. At present a confrontation looms between 'struggle masculinity' and 'post-struggle masculinity' within townships, the former oppositional and anti-authority due to its birth during Apartheid repression, the latter stressing co-operation and respect for institutional authority in the new democratic order. Re-orientation of 'struggle' masculinist ideology is exasperated by few socio-economic prospects and certainly none affording the material or social success many young 'comrades' believe themselves due (Xaba, 2001). This increases the appeal of criminal gang membership. Notably gangs have surfaced across all ethnic groups, although they remain largely confined to economically disadvantaged areas, these asymmetrically representative of the 'black' population. Mooney (1998) describes the emergence of 'white' youth gangs during the disruptive post-Second World War period. Using the

'Ducktails' as an example of this subculture, the author describes the young men as rejecting dominant masculine ideals of respectability, whilst accepting normative white societal racial and sexual prejudices.

Violent heterosexuality provides a means through which marginalised men regularly lay claim to 'true' masculinity. Wood and Jewkes (2001) observe that young male Xhosa township youths commit high levels of sexual violence. Operating in a context where sexual success remains one of the few avenues through which they might display 'real' masculinity, these men maintain jurisdiction over sexual definition, and as such normalise their coercion and control over the early sexual experiences of Xhosa girls (Wood, Maforah & Jewkes, 1996). The importance placed on male sexual success in this disempowered environment, together with traditional tolerance displayed toward "normal boyish (violent) behaviour" (Wood & Jewkes, 2001: 330) and male control in sexual relations, merges to support the high incidence of sexual violence. This serves both as a means to ensure continued female acquiescence in existing relationships or appease fear against real or imagined threats to the continuation of such relationships.

Hemson (2001) notes that notions of township masculinity tend toward the oppositional and violent as a result of having developed during political struggle and material hardship. For instance mineworkers are said to have structured adaptive masculinities that aid them in coping in physically dangerous and emotionally isolated settings (Campbell, 2001). Breckenridge (1998: 669) describes the high levels of violence prevalent on South African goldmines in the Witwatersrand. It is argued that as virtually all-male spaces, in which an inclination toward personal violence served as a key indicator of masculine attainment, the mines contributed to the perpetuation of violent race-based relationships between men. That is to say the author traces "the defining features of the hierarchical relationship between white and black men on the gold mines, and the heart of masculinity for both groups of men: the capacity for violence".

Thus it is clear that all South African men have been, and continue to be, 'men of fire'. Their location in a socio-historical milieu characterised by hostility has contributed toward their defining masculinity in violent terms. The above review should not be considered exhaustive, but rather provides a taste of the violence that has defined South

African life, and particularly the lives of men. Importantly this does not suggest that spaces do not appear that challenge normative masculine aggression. Hemson (2001) describes how 'black' lifesavers in Durban have redefined masculinity according to two traditional African conceptualisations: the first (*ukubekezela*) stressing 'patience, forbearance, and long-sufferance' and the second (*ukuzithemba*) 'self-trust and self-confidence' both finding support in the demands of their work environment. This redefinition largely rejects the notions of township masculinity that favour violent expression. Likewise police members in the Soweto Flying Squad have through necessity adopted a 'utilitarian' masculinity. The term implies the absence of stereotypical police machismo in this group of (predominantly male) officers. In a setting defined by complex interactions, in which the potentialities for serious injury or death remain ubiquitous, police manage their external masculine persona in a contextually appropriate manner. Through their mastery of subtle contextual reading, policemen reflexively mediate self and other interactions, achieving the best possible outcome through an understanding of the social environment and personal restraint. In essence these individuals constantly engage a hostile space as puppeteers of multiple masculinities so as to avoid engendering hostile reactions (Wardrop, 2001). However these spaces of non-violent masculinities remain marginal. Given South African history it is plausible to suggest they will continue to be marginal voices in the foreseeable future.

### *5.1.2. Theorising Male Aggression*

Psychological literature overwhelmingly supports the contention that women are less overtly aggressive than men (Levinson, 1994). Traditionally psychological theorising has remained overly simplistic, choosing to focus on straightforward causal-type relationships, rather than an interwoven approach. Klineberg (1981: 122) usefully reminds us "it is impossible to find a single cause of all forms of violence. We are dealing here clearly with a multidimensional phenomenon, and our understanding of it demands that we keep many facets simultaneously in mind". It is encouraging that contemporary understanding of aggression has attained a better degree of integration than has ever been the case before (Geen, 1990). Despite the increasing adoption of holistic theoretical

explanation concerning violence, two broad ontological camps remain: the essentialist vs. the constructionist (tivist).

#### a) Essentialist Explanation

Findings that men are more visibly aggressive than women in all cultures, especially in the conduct of war, have repeatedly been used to suggest their inherent aggression (Kenrick & Trost, 1993). Aggression as innate has found explanation either as an 'instinct' or alternatively as a 'genetic predisposition'.

Ethological approaches dominated early thinking surrounding the aggressive human 'drive'. It was theorised that aggression existed as an innate adaptive reaction to specific stimuli and therefore operated in a fashion similar to the behavioural response of many lower order animals (Geen, 1990). Individuals, particularly males, were argued to own aggressive instincts (Levinson, 1994) that were said to emerge as intervening variables between stimulus and response. Later more advanced drive models were developed so as to consider the role of motivation and cognition in aggressive behaviour (Geen, 1990).

However ethological approaches have largely been displaced by an emphasis on the importance of innate personality or temperament traits (Geen, 1990), these often situated in socio-biological explanations of aggression that understand it to exist as a genetic predisposition, rather than as an intangible human instinct. At the forefront of this explanatory framework evolutionary theorists suggest that aggression has found genetic consolidation through its reproductively beneficial outcomes (Levinson, 1994). For instance Ghiglieri (1999) argues that war acts to define a fundamental difference between men and women. He asserts that women innately invest more in child rearing due to their biology. This in turn leaves men to compete reproductively through violence, during which the most violent males attain reproductive success, and in so doing entrench their genetic dominance. Primate studies readily provide evidence in support of these claims. Amongst these the study of male Chimpanzee violence is seen to parallel human evolution well. As a process of natural selection Chimp violence is strategically argued to advance reproductive group strength.

Two core criticisms of essentialist theorising emerge surrounding sex differences in aggression. The first claims that on the whole more within-sex differences than between-sex differences exist in aggression. The second accuses essentialist theory of denying the role of culture in human development. Kenrick and Trost (1993) offer a rebuttal to both. They argue that evolutionary theorists are interested in average differences between men and women, rather than absolute differences, this providing evidence in support of innate universal male aggression. Moreover, it is suggested that far from denying the role of culture in human development, the evolutionary perspective views the gene-environment interaction as a reciprocal process, in which gene parameters shape culture whilst culture directs genetic evolution.

Essentialist theorists remain sceptical of social understanding of aggression. Although perhaps lacking in social scientific appreciation, Ghiglieri (1999: 179) expresses this doubt, his strongly worded statement indicative of the dismissal of social explanation:

“The central ‘truth’ of sociologists is that nature, especially that of human kind, is nice and that people are designed to do things that, all in all, favor the survival of their species. Hence people could never be equipped by nature with instincts to kill other people”.

#### b) Constructionist (tivist) Explanation

The essentialist position is likewise open to critical evaluation. Winter (1989) argues that biological explanations of innate aggression are not only misconceived but also dangerous. Those in favour of human predisposition toward violence often rely on reasoning selectively stressing continuity between humankind and animals species (Klineberg, 1981). In addition the approach is considered naïve in its adoption of raw positivism where researchers assume a truth and assemble evidence to support it, despite a plethora of historical evidence that points to the complexity of human interaction; well illustrated by the outbreak of conflict during that 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> World Wars. It is helpful to remember that only a small minority of people ever engage in violent interaction, in an otherwise co-operative sociality, even during periods of social upheaval (Klineberg, 1981).

The use of cross-cultural research by essentialists to substantiate the universality of male aggression demonstrates the oversimplification to which they are prone. That is to say, not only do cultural groups differ in their endorsement of male aggression but most studies also indicate only small differences in overt aggression by males, as compared to higher indirect aggressive behaviour by females (Levinson, 1994). Social learning theory first challenged these 'drive' explanations. This theory suggested that far from occurring as an inherent human behaviour, aggression found form as a learnt response (Geen, 1990), within each individual. Thus whilst nature provides humans with the capacity for violence, the social world was argued to determine the degree to which that capacity was actualised, specifically through cultural or material reward. Social learning theory offered (particularly experimental) researchers a framework for studying aggression that located its origin in social instrumentality rather than biological fact: in essence exploring how behaviours were acquired, elicited, and sustained.

This theoretical approach argued that reward for violence is particularly strong in cultures that endorse machismo (Klineberg, 1981). Sex role theory found fertile root within the social learning perspective so as to account for such gendered phenomenon. The theory stressed that sex differences in aggression occurred due to prescribed behaviours, expectations, and values deemed appropriate for men and women in each culture. In particular the male gender role was argued to support the use of aggression by men. That is to say male violence was seen to stem from: (a) the male gender role stressing the importance of assertiveness, aggression and unemotionality, and (b) gender role conflict and strain. In brief: "gender-role conflict (was) defined as 'a psychological state in which gender roles have negative consequences or impact' and gender role strain which (was) defined as 'excessive mental or physical tension caused by gender role conflict'" (O'Neil, 1982 cited in Marshall, 1993: 205-206).

More recent debate has surrounded the reproduction of aggression within the male group. Archer (1994) argues that men engage in higher levels of violence so as to maintain status within their gender group. As normative male behaviour, the enactment of aggression provides men with a sense of personal identity, as well as belonging to a social collective. Group (male) identity may therefore be said to encourage support for violent behaviour in which it acts as a pivotal means through which to achieve masculine

identity. This resonates with notions encapsulated by social identity theory – more specifically self-categorization theory (Turner, 1987). This school of theorising suggests that people categorise the surrounding social world in an attempt to make it understandable. The process involves the definition of in- and out-groups, in which a need for positive self-evaluation leads to negative out-group and favourable in-group characterisation. Language is argued to act as the central medium through which categorisation takes place and finds perpetuation. Crucially this process is seen to take place within structures of domination, these entrenching a discursive hegemony, in which the in-group defines dominant discourses of identity. Ultimately the in- vs. out-group dichotomy is believed to act as the basis for discrimination and violence (Jabri, 1996).

As is discussed above, this research endeavour understands masculinity to exist as a contested construct rather than an objective fact. Dominant definitions of masculinity are believed to be constant collective practices that serve to gain individuals access to power and privilege as well as reinforcing structural relations of domination over women and subordinate masculinities. In the problematisation of a stable and unitary masculinity, an understanding of innate sex-based aggression becomes destabilised, requiring a theoretical reorientation toward constructivist (ionist) as opposed to essentialist explanation.

In embracing a particular theoretical framework one need remain mindful of what Anderson (1992: 17) calls “‘Chomsky’s dictum’: Does the research in question carry costs, and if so are they outweighed by its significance?” The essentialist perspective carries costs. In its assertion that aggression is innate, but differentially salient across social groups, this perspective condemns particular human beings to a state of perpetual violence. The definition of these social groups takes place in an uncritical fashion.

The notion of an innate aggressive instinct continues to find support in some quarters, demanding attention not because of its academic merit, but because it persists to inform public opinion (Klineberg, 1981). The often poor quality of essentialist debate is apparent in Ghiglieri’s (1999: 186-187) use of ‘evidence’ that men who have lead in battle “were better educated and scored higher on intelligence tests than men who did not fire”

supposedly “because true warriors are smart enough to know that their success in combat will earn them (evolutionary) rewards”.

Apart from the dubious use of intelligence in debate surrounding aggression, the argument that empirical evidence supports the notion that intelligence and aggression co-occur within individuals due to their determining reproductive success throughout evolution, is fundamentally flawed. Among numerous other oversights, such reasoning neglects to consider that intelligence remains a function of education, where individual access to learning is socio-structurally determined. Despite the unconvincing nature of the overall argument, which equates intelligence and aggression, this would suggest that violence in battle ultimately resides in the social.

However essentialist theorists have argued that the constructivist (ionist) perspective flounders on a social determinism that merely views females as passive pawns in male defined power arrangements. They assert that unlike the hypocritical determinism of social theory, the evolutionary perspective offers women active agency in their choice of competing men, thus the ultimate power of selection resting with them (Kenrick & Trost, 1993). The approach adopted here would reject such oversimplification. Any process of social negotiation involves interplay between structure and individual agency. Only an appreciation of the power of social negotiation in shaping lived reality allows for substantive change in the future.

### *5.1.3. Measuring Aggression*

A distinction needs to be made between direct and indirect aggression, these differing in the extent to which the aggressor is easily identified by the victim, as well as its physical and verbal forms (Bushman & Anderson, 1998). Measuring direct physical aggression remains a difficult task. Researchers are regularly confronted with dangerous situations or ethical dilemmas in its assessment, in which they, or others may be exposed to potentially harmful conditions (Baron & Richardson, 1994). Nevertheless various methods have been devised for its study:

Naturalistic approaches involve the observation and recording of aggressive episodes in the natural environment. This proves difficult in practice, not only in isolating the occurrence of such events, but also due to the inherent danger often surrounding them. Additionally this method fails to provide a clear map of aggressive causality as a result of its location in a natural environment diffuse with complex interrelationships (Baron & Richardson, 1994).

Directive approaches attempt to measure aggression through enquiring about its occurrence by means of archival evidence, verbal information, self reports, personality scales, or ratings by others (Baron & Richardson, 1994). The latter three of these remain the most popular. Nonetheless few written measures of aggression exist, and those that do, appear predominantly in the form of questionnaire ratings (Berkowitz, 1993). Other instruments, such as the Balanced Emotional Empathy Scale (Mehrabian, 2000), assess aggression indirectly or as covert measures of the construct. For example research has shown a negative correlation ( $r = -0.5$ ) between BEES and violence (Mehrabian, 1997). Recently O'Connor, Archer & Frederick (2001) discussed the development of the Aggressive Provocation Questionnaire. This instrument attempts to assess participant inclination toward aggression through providing individuals with a set of provocative hypothetical situations. Promisingly this approach differs from those that require individuals to rate their typical response to set situations or indicate behaviour that they have used in the past.

Alternatively indirect approaches seek to study aggression without the participants knowledge – this through their interpretation of 'ambiguous stimuli'. The Rorschach Inkblot emerges as the most well known of these techniques, however receives heavy criticism for its poor reliability, as well as the high expertise required for its administration (Baron & Richardson, 1994).

Apart from the 'naturalistic approach', all the methods described thus far fail in their ability to prevent participant fabrication surrounding reported, or expected aggressive response (Buss, 1961). Only experimental approaches enable researchers to systematically study cause-and-effect relationships through the control of independent and dependent

variables. In addition the method provides for the efficient study of aggression in ethically 'safe' environment (Baron & Richardson, 1994).

Experimental studies of direct physical aggression usually involve an interaction between two people within a laboratory setting; requiring the administration of some form of aversive stimuli. The participant's choice of stimuli is used as a measure of his/her aggression. These experiments have typically taken one of three forms:

- i) The **Berkowitz Aggression Procedure** involves two individuals (the participant and a confederate) who rate each other's performance on a set task through the use of increasingly aversive stimuli (Baron & Richardson, 1994; Geen, 1990).
- ii) The **Buss Aggression Procedure** surfaces as the most popular technique, originally formulated to assess the effects of frustration, but undergoing modification over the years in order to explore a range of topics. Individuals (the participant and a confederate) are told that they will be participating in a learning task. The participant is asked to evaluate each response the confederate provides during this task supposedly through the use of electric shocks. Different adaptations of the technique have made use of a variety of shock measures, these including intensity, duration and frequency (Baron & Richardson, 1994; Berkowitz, 1993; Bushman & Anderson, 1998; Geen, 1990; Siann, 1985). Baron and Richardson (1994) note that a 'total aversive stimulation score' may be obtained through the multiplication of average shock intensity by total duration.
- iii) The **Taylor Aggression Paradigm** has also proven popular, having been creatively applied in diverse research undertakings, for instance in the appraisal of aggression among intoxicated individuals (Gustafson, 1985). It involves two individuals competing in a reaction-time task (the actual performance outcome determined by the experimenter) in which the slower of the two competitors receives a shock. Advantageously, it positions the victim in a situation in which he/she does not feel entirely helpless, whilst the use of a confederate enables flexible testing of participant response. However critics argue against a procedure that requires individuals to actually receive shocks,

and suggest that the task serves to engender competition, rather than aggression (Baron & Richardson, 1994; Bushman & Anderson, 1998; Geen, 1990).

Laboratory study offers a means of measuring aggression directly where participants are exposed to tasks containing instrumental value (Buss, 1961). However experiments have been criticised for their poor face validity, in that procedures do not replicate actual aggression in a recognisable everyday fashion, and participant samples are not usually representative of the entire population under investigation. As such critics warn that the results of these studies should only tentatively act as estimates surrounding the actual frequency of aggression outside of the laboratory (Baron & Richardson, 1994; Berkowitz, 1993; Buss, 1961).

In defence of experimental procedures Berkowitz (1993) suggests that their external validity lies in their psychological, rather than physical, similarity to everyday aggression. It is argued that the extent to which communication in the laboratory mirrors aggression in the real world depends upon whether they hold similar meaning in both contexts. That is to say laboratory studies hold external validity when individuals understand their behaviour to be aggressive and need not rely on their participation reflecting real world interaction (Baron & Richardson, 1994; Bushman & Anderson, 1998). Findings from laboratory and real world studies that have produced convergent results across individual variables such as sex, as well as situational variables such as anonymity and media violence, provide support for this argument (Bushman & Anderson, 1998).

Although the debate concerning the external validity of laboratory experiments may continue, consensus surrounds their internal validity, in that variables are successfully open to manipulation and control in the testing of causal relationships (Geen, 1990). Additionally Berkowitz (1993) stresses that firm evidence exists for both the construct and criterion validity of experimental procedures.

Geen (1990) remarks that laboratory studies no longer hold the dominating position in aggression research as they did in the past, but rather multiple methods inform its

contemporary exploration, these ranging from naturalistic to directive approaches. Novel techniques continue to find production. Many claim to overcome the pitfalls in experimental techniques: that is to say that harm may come to the target of aggression, participant scepticism concerning the likelihood of real hurt befalling the target, and familiarity with other participants confounding the likelihood of aggressive response. For example the recently devised 'hot sauce paradigm':

"...requires manipulating some variable that is hypothesized to influence aggression and providing participants with an opportunity to aggress against a target by choosing the amount of extremely spicy hot sauce to be allocated to a fellow participant" (Lieberman, Solomon, Greenberg & McGregor 1999: 333).

Nevertheless an experimental approach was deemed most suitable in the current study, due to its efficiency, as well as its underlying theoretical assumptions concerning the nature of aggression. Siann (1985) notes that experimental psychologists predominantly remain opposed to explanation that locates it as an innate drive, arguing instead that all people hold the potentiality for aggression; the extent of its occurrence influenced by environmental factors. That is to say the social perspective adopted within this research merges well with experimental philosophy, which interprets differential aggression between men and women to stem from societal demand, where men are expected to assert their dominance through aggressive practice (Siann, 1985).

#### *5.1.4. Summary*

In the past psychological theorising concerning aggression remained overly simplistic, choosing to examine linear causal relationships, at the expense of more complex interactions. However contemporary understanding has attained both a better degree of theoretical and methodological integration. In particular, recognition exists that aggression may be studied at numerous levels of analysis, including the individual, social and historical. Nevertheless two broad ontological camps remain: the essentialist *vs.* the constructivist (ionist). The former suggests that aggression exists as an innate 'instinct' or 'genetic predisposition' within humans, whilst the latter understands it to originate in social learning or societal demand. This study adopts a constructionist viewpoint in its assertion that male aggression finds perpetuation in society, due to its close association

with manliness, and as such acting as a key means through which men may lay claim to masculine identity.

Measuring direct physical aggression remains a difficult task. The theoretical stance taken in this research is closely allied to that taken by experimental psychologists who predominantly remain opposed to explanations of aggression that locates it as an innate drive. It is argued that that all people hold the potentiality for aggression, the extent to which it occurs influenced by environmental factors, and therefore most suitably studied through the use of controlled experiments. Despite claims as to their often-dubious external validity, only experimental approaches enable researchers to systematically study cause-and-effect relationships through the control of independent and dependent variables. In addition the method provides for the efficient study of aggression in an ethically 'safe' environment.

Thus through constructionist theory and experimental methods the current chapter seeks to investigate the core hypothesis that: low age and education, together with strong hegemonic masculine endorsement, are predictive of high aggression whilst high age and education, together with weak hegemonic masculine endorsement are predictive of low aggression.

## **5.2. Method**

### *5.2.1. Sample*

Stratified purposive sampling provided an efficient means with which to isolate 432 suitable male South African participants, ranging between 15 and 87 years old, and averaging an approximate age of 37. This sampling method considerably reduced the sample size traditionally required by random procedures whilst nevertheless maintaining some degree of representative strength. That is to say although random sampling should ideally have been used to ensure representivity, its efficacy in an exercise seeking to characterise an entire national population was clearly questionable, this largely due to limited resources.

The structure of stratification remained critically important in which a limited number of defining variables, related to the test construct, were included. It has been argued that every level of stratification need incorporate a minimum of 300 participants to ensure representivity within a national population sample (Anastasi & Urbina, 1997; Kline, 1995). However a smaller categorical sample size of 30 was deemed adequate in this case, providing sufficient variability in masculine response, and optimising the economy of exploring the relationship between masculinities and aggression.

Literature stressed the centrality of four variables in the differential construction of masculinity: (i) Social class (Connell, 1993; Connell, 1995; Edley & Wetherell, 1995; Messner, 1997; Morgan, 1992; Pleck, 1995; Pyke, 1996), (ii) race (Connell, 1993; Edley & Wetherell, 1995; Messner, 1997; Spain, 1992), (iii) age (Frank, 1987; Spain, 1992) and (iv) sexuality (Boyarin, 1997; Brittan, 1989; Connell, 1995; Frank, 1987; Fuss, 1989; Jackson, 1990; Messner, 1997; Weeks, 1990). The inclusion of race as a core variable in masculine negotiation found substitute representation within measures of social class. Crankshaw (1996) discusses the close relationship between occupational class and race in South Africa. This relationship, wrought as a result of the country's discriminatory past, suggested that a comprehensive appraisal of social class would also sufficiently traverse ethnic-bound understanding of masculinity.

In operationalising *social class*, levels of educational attainment were used to embody the concepts underlying quality, as is suggested by Spain (1992):

- i) Little or No Education ( $\geq$  Grade 4 or Standard 2).
- ii) Primary Education (Grade 4 – 9 or Standard 2 – 7).
- iii) Secondary Education (Grade 10 –12 or Standard 8 – 10).
- iv) Under-graduate Training (Under-graduate degree or diploma).
- v) Post-graduate Training (Post-graduate degree or diploma).

Similarly three *age* categories were included in order to reflect a representative range of masculine understanding:

- i) 15 – 35
- ii) 36 – 55
- iii) 56 +

Although it was originally considered important to incorporate a single undifferentiated category of *sexuality* (comprising those sexualities that diverged from normative societal heterosexual prescription) within the sampling stratification, this proved hard to actualise in practice, and efforts to do so were eventually abandoned. The final stratified sampling frame, depicting obtained sample size within each category, appears below in table 5.1.

Table 5.1 Sampling categories and their size in the application of MANI-II and the Buss Aggression measure.

	15-35	36-55	56 +	Row Total
No Education	33	53	43	129
Primary	64	45	16	125
Secondary	62	26	3	91
Graduate	36	8	7	51
Post-Graduate	31	6	0	37
Column Total	226	138	69	433

In some cases reaching an exact figure of 30 individuals within each category transpired to be a challenging task, particularly amongst older men that held higher educational qualifications, and consequently a number of categories fell short of their desired targets. Despite this leading to an uneven distribution of participant involvement over defined age and social class criteria, it may be argued that the ensuing participant profile reflects the educational, social class and ethnic profile of South Africa to an improved extent than would otherwise have been the case. For instance by means of a comparison between secondary source data depicting the ‘racial’ composition of the South African population (United States CIA, 2001), and descriptive demographic participant data from the current

study, it is clear that the resulting sample closely mirrors actual ethnic divisions within the country (see Table 5.2).

*Table 5.2 Ethnic representation within the study sample in comparison to actual ethnic representation within the South African population.*

<b>'Race'</b>	<b>Demographic Data</b>	
	<b>% Total Population Profile</b>	<b>% Total Participant Profile</b>
<b>'Black'</b>	75.2 %	76.9 %
<b>'White'</b>	13.6 %	10.4 %
<b>'Coloured'</b>	8.6 %	9.7 %
<b>'Indian' / 'Asian'</b>	2.6 %	1.4 %
<b>'Other'</b>	0.0 %	1.6 %
<b><i>Column Total</i></b>	<b><i>100.0 %</i></b>	<b><i>100.0 %</i></b>

This finds substantiation in a summary of participant home languages: the majority of whom were Xhosa speakers (65.7%), followed by English individuals (21.3%), whilst the remainder were found to prefer the use of Afrikaans (13.0%).

A multi-pronged participant recruitment strategy was adopted in order to successfully enlist the wide diversity of men demanded by the sample. Eight steps were undertaken in the enlistment of individuals to participate in the completion of MANI-II and the Buss Aggression procedure:

- i) + - 8 000 flyers were distributed throughout the Cape Town metropolitan area, appearing in Afrikaans, English and Xhosa.
- ii) 2 Afrikaans and 2 English advertisements appeared in regional daily newspapers over a two-week period.

- iii) Community leadership within townships across the City were employed to recruit suitable participants, the majority of whom held secondary, primary or little education.
- iv) + – 20 Rotary Clubs operating in greater Cape Town were notified of the research and asked to publicise participation amongst their, predominantly well educated and older, male membership.
- v) The Triangle Project agreed to alert their ‘Other’sexual male membership to involvement in the study.
- vi) + – 125 posters were placed in faculties throughout the University of Cape Town so as to recruit appropriate male undergraduate and post-graduate students.
- vii) Post-graduate students within the University of Cape Town were notified of the research via email.
- viii) Faculties throughout the University of Cape Town were requested, via fax, to bring the research to the attention of their male students.

### 5.2.2. Procedure

#### a) MANI-II and Buss Aggression Procedures

‘Experimental sessions’ were held over a five-month period, each separate meeting lasting roughly 3 hours in length, during which volunteers were required to complete both the Male Attitude Norms Inventory-II as well as participate in the Buss Aggression procedure.

Each individual randomly received a participant number on arrival. This ensured anonymity in addition to their correct sample categorisation. Once all persons were seated the researcher introduced himself and gave a brief description of the study aims: individuals were purposely misinformed that they were about to participate in two separate studies, the first a questionnaire assessing ‘what they felt it was to be a man’, and the second an experiment exploring ‘male response under stress’. This deception proved necessary for two reasons:

- i) To ensure that there were no order effects in which the completion of MANI-II, and its emphasis on masculinity, altered participant behaviour during the Buss Aggression procedure.
- ii) To limit demand characteristics where individuals might have behaved in a fashion believed to aid the research hypotheses.

Participants initially completed the Male Attitude Norms Inventory-II by themselves. Once this was done (taking no more than fifteen minutes) every person separately underwent the experimental procedure. This required that two individuals be introduced to each other, one the participant, the other a research confederate. They were again told the necessary cover story: that they would be participating in an experiment designed to assess 'how men respond in stressful situations', where one would act as the 'feedback-giver' (participant), and the other the 'feedback-receiver' (confederate). The participants were first shown a room where the confederate would supposedly be seated, and were then taken to an adjoining room, where they were seated alone. They were instructed to provide feedback to a series of tasks completed by the confederate who ostensibly was to memorise a random sequence of lights. Each individual was asked to make a personal decision as to the form of feedback given, choosing between seven possible options, ranging from a non-electric buzzer choice to one of six increasing shock levels (see Figure 5.1).

*Figure 5.1. An individual seated in front of the Buss Aggression Machine (Participant Terminal).*



It was stressed that the choice to apply an electric shock was a voluntary one, where an alternative non-electric feedback option was available, in the form of a loud buzzer. Additionally experimenters suggested to participants that shock feedback would not necessarily aid experimental aims, thereby avoiding possible demand characteristics, in which participant response was merely an artefact of acquiescence to perceived research goals. Should participants have elected to, they were entitled to experience the shocks for themselves, at which time a generator was activated in order to authenticate the cover story. Guideline instructions that were given to experimenters provide an example of what each participant was told (see Box 5.1).

**Box 5.1.**

Could you please take part in the following experiment? It seeks to explore how men respond to a specific task under stress. We have found a group of volunteers who – like you – have also agreed to take part in this experiment.

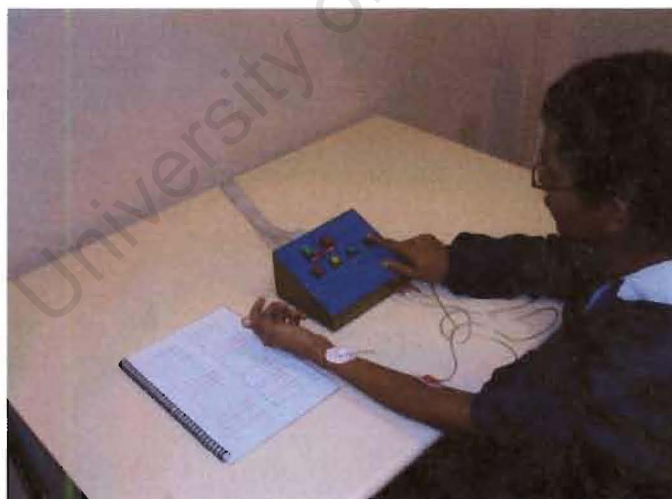
[Introduce participant and confederate]

You (confederate) will be responding to a pre-programmed task. You will notice a series of lights flashing in front of you. The experiment requires you to remember the sequence of these flashes, by pushing the buttons that lit-up, in the correct order. The machine will let both of you know whether you remembered correctly, by flashing the green light if you were right, and the red light if you were wrong. You will have this electrode connected to your arm. In each case he (participant) will decide what form of 'feedback' to give you. You will either hear a loud buzzer or receive varying levels of shock.

You (participant) will notice these four lights flashing in various ways. He (confederate) also sees these lights, which require him to remember the order in which they were lit, by pushing the buttons that flashed on his control panel. It is your job to give him 'feedback', after the green or the red light has flashed, by pushing one of the following buttons. You have a choice which button to press. The first button delivers a loud buzzing sound. The second to seventh button each delivers an increasing level of shock. The lowest level of shock is similar to touching a penlight battery to your tongue. This might tingle a little. Have you ever done that? On the other hand the highest level of shock is similar to touching a car battery. Have you ever done that? This is certainly unpleasant but not lethal. You have been asked to take part in this way, as we are afraid that should those of us involved in the study fulfill your role we might behave in a biased fashion, which will alter the results in a negative way.

Once participants had been seated the confederate in the adjoining room entered 40 predetermined cues, each appearing as a unique sequence of lights, which were standardised in the form of an experimental protocol. This not only indicated the order of each light sequence, but also depicted whether they should be observed to be right or wrong, through the flashing of the green or red lights respectively (see Appendix E, Figures E.2 and E.3, Page 215). That is to say, all participants received a standard set of randomly ordered light sequences, 25 of which appeared ‘correct’, whilst the remaining 15 were seen to be ‘incorrect’ (see Appendix F: Page 218). After either the red or green light flashed on the participant terminal, they were required to provide a single form of ‘feedback’, based on their own personal decision as to the suitability of their response. In this sense the participants were free to interpret the confederate’s ‘performance’ as they wished, in which choice of feedback remained a private preference, argued to measure an individuals actual propensity toward aggression.

*Figure 5.2. An individual seated in front of the Buss Aggression Machine (Confederate Terminal).*



Thus this procedure provided a means with which to assess aggressive response directly, either through measuring shock duration, or through its frequency. Measures of intensity, duration and frequency are significantly positively correlated in a number of studies (Bushman & Anderson, 1998). Specifically, Berkowitz (1993: 415) notes that measures of frequency and intensity provide little difference in the assessment of aggression,

although the “conscious choice of a particular intensity could conceivably be controlled to a greater extent by a person’s beliefs about what is socially permissible than would the number of times the same person would press a shock key”. Similarly it was believed that the inclusion of both frequency and duration measures would enable an appraisal of any divergence found to exist in the measurement of participant aggression. Results indicated a modest positive correlation ( $r = 0.26$ ;  $p < 0.05$ ) between transformed frequency and transformed duration scores. Transformation of these scores was considered justified given the assumption that higher shock intensity is indicative of increased aggression [i.e.  $(F^1 \times 1) + (F^2 \times 2) \dots (F^7 \times 7) = F^T$  and  $(D^1 \times 1) + (D^2 \times 2) \dots (D^7 \times 7) = D^T$ ]. Although this result seems to indicate difference in each registers assessment of aggression, it should be viewed with some caution, as the duration measure proved at times unreliable. That is to say, the punishment buttons were ‘double-pole devices’ that triggered a 20ms pulse to start the timer on contact, whilst releasing the button sent a similar pulse to stop the timer. In cases where participant response lasted less than 20ms, the device failed to register a pulse to stop the timer, and as such captured an inflated duration score. In these cases a basic cumulative substitute score of  $0.019\text{ms} \times \text{frequency}$  was used, this if anything underestimating duration, which on average exceeded the 20ms minimum relay period per response. The poor reliability of the duration measure led to its exclusion during further statistical analysis.

It is important to note that researchers played no role in forcing participant compliance, as was the case in the well-documented Milgram (1977) experiments, leaving the observation room during the assessment period. No individual actually underwent shock-punishment, and participants were fully debriefed of this fact, as well as the real purpose of research after the experiment had been conducted.

#### b) Ethical Considerations

Given the aims of the study it proved impossible to gain informed consent from participants at the outset of the procedure. This proves a common dilemma in psychological research, where deception often emerges as unavoidable, in a bid to obtain the least biased results possible. Evaluating the ‘cost’ of such deception remains

important in determining its ethical worth. Numerous measures were taken to limit the extent to which participants were deceived:

- i) Participants were informed of their rights concerning voluntary participation, anonymity, confidentiality of data, and their entitlement to withdraw from the research at any stage.
- ii) Possible discomfort as a result of experiencing an electric shock was underlined. That is to say, in the event of participants choosing to experience the shock for themselves before the study commenced, they were made aware of potential unpleasantness.
- iii) Researchers disclosed their identity to participants who were made to understand that they were free to contact these persons in the future should they have any questions.
- iv) Participant access to findings was facilitated. Individuals were informed that the research was likely to appear in an accredited academic journal. In addition experimenters agreed to forward results to participants who requested personal feedback.

Having taken these precautions it was felt that many of the detrimental consequences surrounding deception would be considerably reduced. Participants overwhelmingly showed delight once the true aims of the experiment had been explained to them. To date no participant has contacted the researcher(s) for further information.

It is crucial to underline the dissimilarity between the current procedure and those undertaken in the infamous Milgram (1977) experiments. The aims of the respective studies imply vast ethical differences: -

The Milgram experiments sought to assess conformity to authority. In doing so, participants were placed under extreme pressure to do as the experimenter required, despite the often-vocal protests of the research confederate who (at times) received 'lethal' shock treatment. This was seen to stimulate great discomfort in many participants. In contrast the present study sought to avoid any suggestion of conformity to authority, so as to assess each individual's personal propensity toward 'aggression', rather

than their acquiescence to experimenter demand. In order to limit possible demand characteristics and associated discomfort:

- i) Care was taken to stress to participants that the study did not necessarily require the use of shock feedback.
- ii) It was explained that the form of feedback given was entirely the choice of the participant.
- iii) Experimenters were not present during the actual procedure.

Participants were made fully aware of the purpose of the study, introduced to the confederate after the procedure, and given ample time to ask questions of interest. In particular participants were assured that no individual received shock feedback during the experiment.

### 5.2.3. Instruments

#### a) The Buss Aggression Machine

The Buss Aggression procedure (Berkowitz, 1993; Buss, 1961) informed the construction of a machine that would measure individual aggressive response directly. Although conceptually based on the previously devised Buss Aggression procedure, the design of the machine used in the present study found novel form, in particular making use of light cues rather than verbal prompts so as to overcome language barriers inherent in cross-cultural research (For further detail concerning machine design see Appendix E, Figure E.1, Page 214).

#### b) The Male Attitude Norms Inventory-II

Chapter 2 and 3 sought to enhance the content validity of MANI-II through a comprehensive contextual exploration of masculinity. The construct validity of the instrument underwent confirmation in the 4<sup>th</sup> chapter by means of convergent and factorial investigation. The measure's internal reliability was also found to be strong. The

current chapter makes use of MANI-II, as a multi-dimensional measure of masculinities, in its exploration of male aggression.

### **5.3. Results**

#### *5.3.1. Establishing Sub-Scale Measures of Masculinity*

Three theoretically meaningful dimensions emerged following factor analytic exploration of MANI-II undertaken in Chapter 4. That is to say previous findings indicated the existence of three core factors; namely 'Toughness', 'Control', and 'Sexuality'; underlying the construct of masculinity. These results served to guide construction of a multi-dimensional model of masculinity (see Appendix H, Table H.1: Pages 223-225) in which each of the 40 scalar items was intuitively ordered under one of these three appropriate dimensions. Notably most items included under 'Toughness', 'Control', or 'Sexuality' had previously been found to hold a substantive factor loading with their allocated dimension.

Item Analysis (see Appendix H: Pages 226-228) revealed that a number of items in each theoretical dimension held low item-total correlation ( $r \leq 0.20$ ). These items were accordingly abandoned in further analysis due to their negligible explanatory contribution. Additionally the majority of items displayed skew distribution, suggesting uniformity of participant response, in which notions of hyper-masculinity gained general support. Rummel (1970) notes that when conducting factor analysis an assumption of normality is made concerning response distribution within variables. This assumption proves pivotal for the correlation coefficient to be a true measure of statistical significance between variables. Specifically in cases where "statistical inference is used to determine the number of factors, multivariate normality is assumed" (Tabachnick & Fidell, 1989: 603). This suggested that a standard factor analytic exploration or confirmation of the theoretical three-factor model of masculinity would not render useful findings.

Alternatively items within each theoretical dimension, excluding those with a low item-total correlation, were independently subjected to factor analytic exploration. Principal factor analytic procedures (Communalities Multiple R<sup>2</sup>) rendered single-factor solutions in each case, in which all items with a loading of  $\geq 0.35$  were retained; this to some extent confirming the validity of the hypothesised dimensions. Item 40 (“Men should be calm in difficult situations”) exhibited a factor loading of  $< 0.35$  and was consequently discarded from further analysis. Although item 11 (“Men should be able to sleep close together in the same bed”) displayed a substantive factor loading of  $- 0.39$ , it was surprisingly found to exhibit a negative value, this in antithesis to other positive item loadings. On closer examination the item appeared to have been insensitive to cross-class differences in the acceptable display of heterosexuality. That is to say poor men may not have the opportunity of deciding whether ‘to sleep close together in the same bed’ as this material resource is often in short supply. This militates against the use of the item as a measure of participant endorsement of heterosexuality and as such it was excluded from future analysis. Table 5.3 presents the results of each single-factor solution.

Table 5.3 Independent single-factor solutions for the three theorised dimensions.

TOUGHNESS		CONTROL		SEXUALITY	
QUESTION	FACTOR LOADING	QUESTION	FACTOR LOADING	QUESTION	FACTOR LOADING
<i>Question 1</i>	0.71	<i>Question 7</i>	0.53	<i>Question 6</i>	0.49
<i>Question 2</i>	0.37	<i>Question 8</i>	0.43	<i>Question 11</i>	- 0.39
<i>Question 3</i>	0.43	<i>Question 9</i>	0.60	<i>Question 15</i>	0.47
<i>Question 4</i>	0.36	<i>Question 10</i>	0.59	<i>Question 16</i>	0.55
<i>Question 5</i>	0.69	<i>Question 12</i>	0.63	<i>Question 21</i>	0.65
<i>Question 20</i>	0.32	<i>Question 13</i>	0.63	<i>Question 30</i>	0.64
<i>Question 22</i>	0.57	<i>Question 14</i>	0.65	<i>Question 37</i>	0.56
<i>Question 27</i>	0.33	<i>Question 23</i>	0.63		
		<i>Question 28</i>	0.58		
		<i>Question 29</i>	0.68		
		<i>Question 31</i>	0.48		
		<i>Question 32</i>	0.62		
		<i>Question 38</i>	0.35		
		<i>Question 39</i>	0.65		
		<i>Question 40</i>	0.21		
<b>Eigenvalue</b>	1.96	<b>Eigenvalue</b>	4.79	<b>Eigenvalue</b>	2.05
<b>% Item Variance</b>	24.52 %	<b>% Item Variance</b>	31.92 %	<b>% Item Variance</b>	29.25 %

Items loading substantively on Factor 1, 2 and 3 (apart from item 11) were retained to form three sub-scale measures of masculine Toughness, Control and Sexuality. A combined scale (28 items) was found to have excellent overall internal reliability demonstrated in a Cronbach's Alpha of 0.90. In addition all three sub-scales exhibited high reliability: Toughness ( $\alpha = 0.69$ ; 8 items), Control ( $\alpha = 0.86$ ; 14 items), and Sexuality ( $\alpha = 0.74$ ; 6 items) [For greater detail surrounding subscale analysis see Appendix H: Pages 229-232].

### 5.3.2. Explaining Aggression

Three statistical techniques were applied in order to examine the hypothesis that low age and education, together with strong hegemonic masculine endorsement, are related to high aggression whilst high age and education, together with weak hegemonic masculine endorsement are related to low aggression.

#### a) Correlation Matrix

A series of simple correlations was undertaken in order to explore simple relationships existing between variables considered important within the study (See Appendix H, Table H.10, Page 232). These included:

- i) Age (Category 1: 15-35 years; Category 2: 36+ years)
- ii) Education (Level 1: No & primary education; Level 2: Secondary, graduate & post-graduate education)
- iii) Masculine Toughness Score
- iv) Masculine Control Score
- v) Masculine Sexuality Score
- vi) Combined Masculinity Score

- vii) Transformed Frequency Aggression
- viii) Transformed Duration Aggression

Significant relationships ( $\alpha = 0.05$ ) materialised between most of these variables. The value attached to each by-and-large confirmed theoretical assumptions concerning the manner in which they would be related. Education was significantly correlated to frequency aggression (- 0.22); masculine toughness (- 0.56), control (- 0.47), and sexuality (- 0.47); as well as the combined masculinity variable (- 0.59). This indicated that aggression and endorsement of hegemonic masculinity decreased with higher education. Age (- 0.01) was not significantly related to frequency aggression. In addition the relationship between age and the four masculine variables diverged from what was expected. That is to say age was significantly positively correlated to masculine toughness (0.19), control (0.31), sexuality (0.34), and the combined sub-scale (0.34). This suggested that, as men got older, so too did they increasingly support hegemonic masculine ideology. The masculinity variables of toughness (0.12), control (0.11), sexuality (0.15), and the combined measure (0.14) emerged significantly positively correlated to frequency aggression. This implied that aggression increased in cases where men supported hegemonic masculinity to a greater extent. The magnitude of these correlations was at times weak. This hinted the worth of extending exploration of these interrelations through the use of multiple regression procedures.

#### b) Forward Stepwise Multiple Regression

A forward stepwise regression was undertaken to assess the extent to which theoretically relevant variables contributed to the occurrence of aggression amongst men participating in the study. In essence a stepwise procedure determines at each stage of the regression which predictor variables to include or exclude until the most useful regression model is achieved. Predictor variables included:

- i) Age (Category 1: 15-35 years; Category 2: 36+ years)
- ii) Education (Level 1: No & primary education; Level 2: Secondary, graduate & post-graduate education)
- iii) Masculine Toughness Score
- iv) Masculine Control Score
- v) Masculine Sexuality Score

Only main effects were considered in this analysis. Howell (1997) warns against the blithe inclusion of interaction effects. At worst the addition of these variables lead to predictive replication in which “the sample data may be overfit to the extent that results no longer generalise to a population” (Tabachnick & Fidell, 1989:126). It was hoped that the use of the three sub-scale measures of masculinity, rather than their combined score, would provide a more nuanced understanding surrounding the relationship between masculinity and aggression. In addition their separate application underlines the theoretical argument that scales of masculine measurement should not assume a single masculinity standard.

Three predictor variables were found to contribute meaningfully to a regression model accounting for aggression using the more reliable transformed frequency measure. Both ‘masculine sexuality’ (Beta = 0.12;  $p < 0.05$ ) and ‘education’ (Beta = - 0.12;  $p < 0.05$ ) made a significant individual input toward the model. ‘Age’ (Beta = - 0.10;  $p = 0.08$ ) failed to do so despite making a useful contribution to the model as a whole. The overall regression model accounted for 3.8 % of the variance in aggression [ $F(3,36) = 4.62$ ;  $p < 0.001$ ]. Table 5.4 provides a helpful summary of these results.

Table 5.4 Forward Stepwise Regression Summary for D.V. Frequency Aggression.

REGRESSION SUMMARY						
<b>Multiple R</b>						0.194
<b>R<sup>2</sup></b>						0.038
<b>Adjusted R<sup>2</sup></b>						0.029
<b>Standard Error</b>						10.615
<b>Standard Error of Estimate</b>						48.877
<b>F(3.36)</b>						4.623
<b>P</b>						0.001

Variable	BETA	St. Error of BETA	B	St. Error of B	t(355)	p-level
Intercept			110.78	10.62	10.44	0.000
Sexuality	0.12	0.06	1.06	0.50	2.12	0.035
Education	-0.12	0.06	-5.89	2.96	-1.99	0.047
Age	-0.10	0.06	-4.83	2.77	-1.75	0.081

### c) Independent Samples T-Test

Two separate t-tests for independent samples were performed. The first made use of transformed frequency aggression scores in order to explore the hypothesis that men diverging in age, education, and their support for hegemonic masculinity (combined masculinity scale) would differ significantly in aggressive response. That is to say the aggression data of young, low educated males who supported hegemonic notions surrounding masculinity were contrasted against aggression scores obtained from older, highly educated males who endorsed hegemonic notions of masculinity to a lesser extent. This comparison enabled a means through which to assess difference in aggression between groups of men who diverged most markedly in terms of their age, education and endorsement of hegemonic masculinity. It was expected that the young, low educated males who supported hegemonic notions of masculinity would aggress more readily than older, highly educated males who endorsed hegemonic notions of masculinity to a lesser extent.

The second independent samples t-test was undertaken in order to explore the surprising simple correlation finding that age was significantly positively related to masculine toughness, control, sexuality and the combined scale. This suggested that, as men got older, so too did they increasingly support hegemonic masculine ideology. This result could well reflect the highly traditionalist culture among older ( $\geq 36$  years) Xhosa participants who comprised a substantial proportion of the entire sample (145 out of 433 participants). This assumption, that younger Xhosa men would endorse hegemonic masculinity to a lesser extent than older Xhosa men, was accordingly explored.

In each case homogeneity of variance was confirmed through the use of Levene's test designed to probe this assumption. For convenience these results are presented in Table 5.5 and suggest the applicability of conducting standard t-test procedures.

*Table 5.5 Levene's test for homogeneity of variance.*

	<b>Levene F (1, df)</b>	<b>Df</b>	<b>Levene (p)</b>
<i>Frequency Aggression</i>	0.20	56	0.66
<i>Combined Masculinity</i>	3.94	253	0.05

T-test exploration into the difference between mean aggression scores revealed highly significant results ( $t(56) = 2.40; p < 0.01$ ). Young, poorly educated men who strongly supported hegemonic masculinity ( $M = 139.74$ ; Valid  $N = 23$ ) were found to aggress more readily than older, well educated men who endorsed hegemonic masculinity to a lesser extent ( $M = 110.17$ ; Valid  $N = 35$ ).

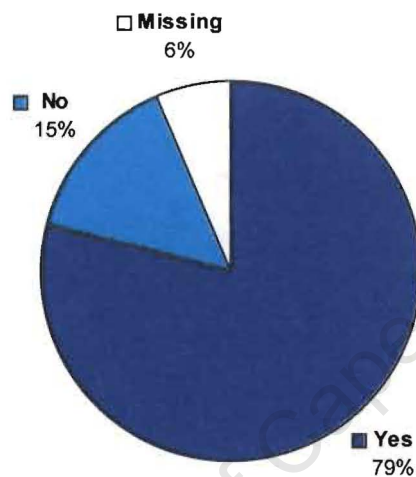
The second t-test delving into the difference between mean combined masculinity scores also produced highly significant results ( $t(253) = -6.49; p < 0.01$ ). Young Xhosa men ( $M = 107.39$ ; Valid  $N = 128$ ) were found to support hegemonic masculinity to a significantly lesser extent than older Xhosa men ( $M = 119.20$ ; Valid  $N = 127$ ).

### *5.3.3. Post-Experimental Evaluation*

Three post-experimental questions were devised in order to assess participant understanding concerning the aims of the study. Baron and Richardson (1994) suggest that these offer a worthwhile opportunity to establish whether participants were (a) suspicious of experimental procedures and (b) free to act as they wished. In the current study it was imperative that individuals accept the cover story: that they were contributing to research attempting to gauge 'how men respond in stressful situations', as opposed to the actual aim of the research, which sought to measure their preparedness to aggress. Berkowitz (1993) notes that researchers have increasingly modified the Buss aggression procedure, substituting electric shocks with other aversive stimuli, as the general public have increasingly been exposed to this well-publicised methodology. However the sample used in the current study, indicated that such alterations would be unnecessary, as the vast majority of individuals lacked a privileged education that might have informed them as to the study's purpose. Conventionally the Buss Aggression procedure has also been applied in a fashion that neglects to account for demand characteristics generated by the institutional authority of the experimental environment (Siann, 1985). The three questions used to determine every individual's understanding concerning the aims of the study, as well as the extent to which their behaviour was self-motivated, appear alongside the figures below.

**Figure 5.3: Post-Experimental Question 1**

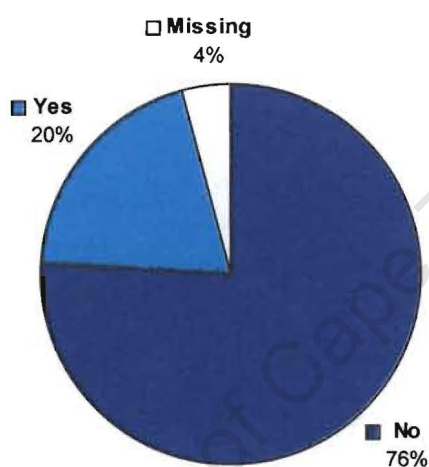
*Did the shocks have an effect on the number of correct responses? Yes or No?*



It was hoped that participants would answer “yes” to the first question. A response of this kind would suggest that an individual believed the cover story. That is to say that the stress caused as a result of shocks had a deleterious, harmless, or beneficial effect on confederate response. In cases where individuals replied “no”, they were asked to elaborate on their reasoning, as this might have meant that they were suspicious of the experimental task. For example participants may have been doubtful whether the confederate did in fact receive shocks or alternatively whether the experiment was truly attempting to measure ‘male response under stress’.

**Figure 5.4: Post-Experimental Question 2**

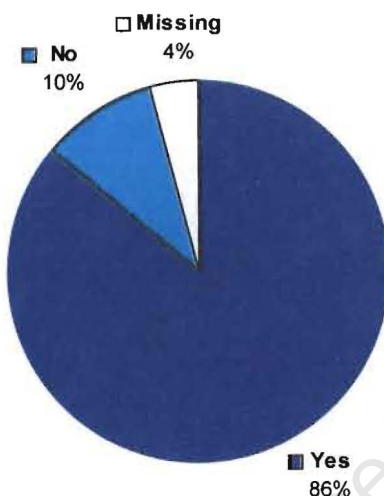
*Was it important for the other individual to receive shocks in this experiment? Yes or No?*



The desired response in this case was “no”, as it was crucial that participant use of electric shock stemmed from their own willingness to apply such procedures, rather than as a result of demand characteristics. In instances where individuals replied “yes”, they were asked to explain their reasoning, as they may have felt that the use of electric shock was required by the experiment.

**Figure 5.5: Post-Experimental Question 3**

*Did shocking another person make you feel uncomfortable? Yes or No?*



It was hoped that participants would reply “yes” in response to the third question. Such an answer would imply that a participant accepted the cover story. That is to say that the confederate was indeed receiving electric shocks. In cases where individuals answered “no”, they were asked to expand upon their reckoning, as this might have signified a suspicion surrounding the research task. For example participants may have reported to feel little discomfort due to their doubt whether the confederate was receiving electric shocks.

The vast majority of participants answered these questions in the desired fashion [Question 1 (79%); Question 2 (76%); and Question 3 (86%)]. However the evaluative strength of these questions lies less in a consideration of how participants cumulatively responded to each, although this does serve to demonstrate a trend toward participant acceptance of the cover story, but rather the fashion in which every individual replied to all three questions in turn. That is to say few individuals answered all three questions in an unfavourable manner, and in those cases where they did, further probing uncovered their actual overall acceptance of the cover story.

Thus it would seem that not a single participant doubted the deception that the study sought to assess 'how men cope under stress' and felt free to respond in the manner of their choosing. Despite the experiment's success in this regard it is worthwhile to note that "by and large, the behavior-distorting motives apparently work against the aggression researcher. In many instances the significant laboratory results occur in spite of the subjects' awareness of the experiment's interest in their aggression – not because of their awareness" (Berkowitz, 1993: 424). In other words even in instances where aggression experiment aims remain obvious, participants are considered loathe to act aggressively due to what is known as 'evaluation apprehension', which may be described as an inability to behave in a manner that is socially inappropriate. It is argued that far from encouraging aggressive responses as a demand characteristic, knowledge of the research focus would have in fact acted to reduce such behaviour, in accordance with social expectation (Baron & Richardson, 1994).

#### **5.4. Discussion**

Post-experimental results indicated that participants accepted the cover story that the study sought to assess 'how men cope under stress', and felt free to respond in the manner of their choosing, rather than in acquiescence to the supposed research aims.

The three theoretically meaningful dimensions that emerged following factor analytic exploration of MANI-II in Chapter 4; namely 'Toughness', 'Control', and 'Sexuality'; served to guide construction of a multi-dimensional model of masculinity. This model provided a blueprint for the construction of three similar sub-scales in the current analysis. Each sub-scale was refined so as to exclude items displaying a low item-total correlation as well as insubstantive factor loadings. The combined scale (28 items), in addition to all three sub-scales exhibited high internal reliability, assessed by means of Cronbach's Alpha. The content and construct validity of the instrument (discussed in great detail in Chapters 3 and 4) was found to be sound.

The Toughness Sub-Scale reflects the belief that men should remain both emotionally contained (e.g. "Men should share their worries with other people") and inexpressive (e.g.

“If a man hurts himself he should try not to let others see he is in pain”). Active expression alternatively finds display in assertive physicality (e.g. “Men should be prepared to fight their way out of a bad situation”). Eight items rendering a substantive loading of  $\geq 0.35$  were retained to form the sub-scale measure. These are best described as conveying notions surrounding internal and external masculine ‘toughness’.

The **Control Sub-Scale** decidedly stresses the importance of control in men’s lives. Male mastery over their lived reality appears to encompass the need to exert control over familial (e.g. “A man deserves the respect of his family”), social (e.g. “Men should have everyone’s respect and admiration”), situational (e.g. “It is admirable for a man to take the lead when something needs to be done”), sexual (e.g. “A man should make sure that he knows about sex”), financial (e.g. “It is important for a man to be successful in his job”), cognitive (e.g. “Men should think logically about problems”) and self experiences (e.g. “Men should be calm in difficult situations”). The term ‘control’ is seen to encompass a wide range of experiences that men feel compelled to regulate. A total of fourteen items were incorporated to form a subscale measure that again only included those with a substantive loading of  $\geq 0.35$ .

Six items were found to load substantively on the **Sexuality Sub-Scale** at  $\geq 0.35$ . These explicitly articulate the importance of (hetero)sexuality in dominant masculine expression. Not only do these items distance ‘real’ masculinity from (Other)sexualities (e.g. “It is wrong for a man to be seen in a gay bar”) but also cautiously stress the value of male sexual performance (e.g. “Men should feel embarrassed if they cannot get an erection during sex”).

These three sub-scales were seen to provide a firm base on which future exploration into the relationship between South African masculinities and aggression could be built. It was hypothesised that low age and education, together with strong hegemonic masculine endorsement, would be related to high aggression whilst high age and education, together with weak hegemonic masculine endorsement would be related to low aggression. A multiple correlation analysis provided a springboard for the exploration of this hypothesis.

Transformed frequency data provided a means with which to assess participant aggression. Correlation results indicated only a modest positive relationship between weighted frequency and weighted duration scores. Although this result seemed to indicate difference in each registers assessment of aggression, it was viewed with some caution, as the duration measure proved at times unreliable.

Despite their lack of sophistication, simple correlation findings did indeed suggest that aggression increased in cases of lower education, as well as in the strong endorsement of hegemonic masculinity. A number of studies indicate a relationship between hegemonic masculine endorsement and aggression. For instance Downs and Gold (1997) conducted research that implied that 'hypermasculine' men were more likely to resort to anger at times of threat to their masculine identity due to their greater need for domination and control over interpersonal relations. Likewise a study conducted by Beaver, Gold and Prisco (1992) suggested that 'hypermasculine' men support the use of coercion and control in interpersonal relations with women to a greater extent than those placing less importance on masculine qualities. A study similar to the current venture, conducted by Weisbuch, Beal, and O'Neal (1999), made use of the Bem Sex Role Inventory and Taylor Aggression paradigm. Overall findings indicated that men with high masculinity scores were found to behave most overtly aggressively.

However simple correlation results demonstrated that age was not significantly related to frequency aggression. Additionally a counter-intuitive significant positive association was found to exist between age and masculinity. This suggested that, as men got older, so too did they increasingly support hegemonic masculine ideology. Carton (2001) mentions the traditional authority of 'African' patriarchs. This result could well reflect the highly traditionalist culture among older Xhosa participants who comprised a substantial proportion of the entire sample. This was somewhat supported through t-test findings that indicated that young Xhosa men supported hegemonic masculinity to a significantly lesser extent than older Xhosa men. However, as noted above, the magnitude of these correlations was at times weak. This implied the worth of extending exploration of these interrelations through the use of multiple regression procedures.

Three predictor variables were found to contribute meaningfully to a regression model accounting for aggression. Participant endorsement of hegemonic masculine sexuality was found to make a unique contribution toward its prediction. That is to say support for the central tenets of heterosexuality, including the 'Othering' of alternative sexual expression and an emphasis on male sexual performance, was related to aggressive response among participants. It is informative that 'sexuality' surfaced as a significant predictor of aggression rather than masculine 'toughness' or 'control'. It is obvious that the practice of 'Othering' plays a central role in hegemonic masculine 'sexuality' where out-groups ('queers') exist as objects of disdain. The two alternative dimensions involve 'Othering' to a lesser degree. Jabri (1996) remarks that the production of social identity involves cognitive (or discursive) processes such as stereotyping, social judgement, and conformity that are involved in the process and ultimate legitimization of violence. It is reasonable to suggest that the maintenance of hegemonic masculine 'sexuality' relies on these processes more firmly than the other dimensions. In other words an emphasis on 'Othering' among supporters of hegemonic masculine 'sexuality', may lead these individuals to involve themselves in violence as a product of the increased use of stereotyping, social judgement and conformity. Thus individual male violence may be encouraged through processes of group categorisation. Hegemonic masculine sexual identity involves categorisation to a greater extent than other dimensions of masculine identity. This might explain its strength as a predictor of aggression. This deserves further exploration.

**Education** was also found to be significantly predictive of aggression. Increased aggression was related to lower-level educational attainment. As is noted above, levels of educational attainment serve as a useful means with which to operationalise the concept of social class (Spain, 1992). To state this finding differently: disadvantaged social class appears predictive of aggressive behaviour. A great deal of research substantiates this finding. For example low-income young men in Rio de Janeiro strongly endorsed 'machista' values, this seemingly related to a legitimating of domestic and sexual violence against women, as well as a preparedness to resort to violence as a key element in being man (Barker & Loewenstein, 1997). However recognition surrounding the role social class plays in the reproduction of violent masculinity should not silence alternate voices among the disempowered. Edley and Wetherell (1995) note that an overarching

emphasis on the 'brutish masculinity' of working class men, especially among middle-class researchers, serves to obscure sites in which violence is absent and even resisted.

Age failed to make a unique contribution toward the prediction of aggression despite making a useful contribution to the model as a whole. O'Connor, Archer & Frederick (2001) underline that whilst age remains a sorely neglected variable in the study of aggression, the few findings that do exist indicate that aggression decreases in older males, often theorised to take place as a result of young men's competitive inter-rivalry. Despite not appearing as a significant predictor, age was nevertheless negatively related to aggression, supporting to some extent the notion that aggression increases amongst younger men. In most settings reported incidence of violence bear this finding out. Klineberg (1981) remarks that age is clearly related to the occurrence of violence that is overwhelmingly perpetrated by young males in socio-economically deprived settings.

Although the overall regression model accounted for a mere 3.8 % of the variance in aggression it should be remembered that the complexity of the phenomenon enlightens us against any simplistic understanding concerning its genesis. From this perspective such a finding appears adequate in its explanatory power. Groebel and Hilde (1989) remind researchers that aggression cannot be understood to occur in a monocausal fashion. This they say is well illustrated in an account of war, in which among other variables, individual and social processes combine in its origin.

The findings of the multiple regression procedure gained added support in the use of the independent samples t-test. Young, poorly educated men who strongly supported hegemonic masculinity were found to differ significantly more in aggressive response than older, well-educated men who endorsed hegemonic masculinity to a lesser extent.

In sum statistical findings suggest that: young males who both originate from socially disadvantaged classes (low education) and strongly endorse hegemonic masculinity are more likely to behave in an overtly aggressive fashion, than older males from socially advantaged classes (high education). This may be interpreted in terms of an exaggerated form of masculinity argued frequently to develop in contexts of working-class powerlessness as overstated rituals of gender appropriate practice. Through the collective

performance of these practices, including violence, young uneducated men are able to accomplish manhood (Connell, 1995). From within this frame of reference violence may indeed provide an ideal tool through which young working-class men are able to deal with their experience of structured powerlessness (Messerschmidt, 1997). Thus in this sense aggression may be seen to play a pivotal role in the lives of many disempowered males, enabling them to collectively display a core manly attribute, and thereby reinforce their status as 'true' men in agreement with hegemonic notions of masculinity.

## 5.5. Conclusion

This chapter sought to explore the relationship between hegemonic South African masculine conceptualisation and propensity toward aggression. An endeavour of this nature held importance given the historically close association between masculinities and structures of violence in the country. It was principally hypothesised that low age and education, together with strong hegemonic masculine endorsement, would be related to high aggression whilst high age and education, together with weak hegemonic masculine endorsement would be related to low aggression.

Three theoretically meaningful dimensions; namely 'Toughness', 'Control', and 'Sexuality'; served to guide construction of a multi-dimensional model of masculinity. This model provided a blueprint for the construction of three similar sub-scales in the current analysis – this facilitating exploration into masculinity and aggression. Further statistical analysis provided support for the above hypothesis. Lower social class (low education) and high endorsement of hegemonic masculinity (particularly 'sexuality') was seen to be significantly predictive of aggression. Lower age, although not uniquely related to aggression, materialised to hold some importance in its overall prediction. It was argued that aggression plays a pivotal role in the lives of young disempowered males, enabling them to collectively display a core manly attribute, and thereby reinforce their status as 'true' men in agreement with hegemonic notions of masculinity.

These findings suggest further avenues for research. The discovery that 'sexuality' surfaced as a significant predictor of aggression rather than masculine 'toughness' or

'control' holds particular interest. Individual male violence may be encouraged through processes of group categorisation. Given that masculine 'sexuality' involves categorisation to a greater extent than other dimensions of masculine identity it is unsurprising that it surfaces as a stronger predictor of aggression. The link between social categorisation and masculine sexual identity in the genesis of violence requires deeper exploration.

The correlation result implying that, as men got older, so too did they increasingly support hegemonic masculine ideology, also deserves further exploration. It was suggested that the highly traditionalist culture among older Xhosa participants who comprised a substantial proportion of the entire sample may have contributed toward this finding. Even so a separate study comparing hegemonic masculine endorsement across cultural age groups in South Africa may prove insightful.

Finally it is important to highlight the somewhat simplistic nature of the statistical analyses undertaken in this study. In the future the full complexity of interaction between the variables of education, age, and masculinities should be examined in greater detail.

# CONCLUSION

## 6. THE FUTURE: MASCULINITY AND AGGRESSION

This research has attempted to problematise masculinity within South Africa. It is hoped that its deconstruction as a monolith might contribute toward the destabilisation of unequal gender power relations that characterise our society. In particular this thesis wished to question the naturalness of male aggression, describing its reproduction among South African men, and attributing its genesis to hegemonic societal expectations and values surrounding violent masculinity.

### 6.1. Male Violence as 'History'

Toch's (1969: 1) recognition that research "concern(ed) with violence is directed at a myth" alerts the reader to the fact that there are no easy paths to its eradication in society. It is argued that societal violence encompasses many 'islands' in an 'ocean' of explanation. This research attempted to map the topography of male aggression in South Africa. It is emphasised that through the localised study of aggression, progress may be achieved. Few grandiose claims are made concerning a final solution to this scourge. Desire for change needs to be tempered through an understanding that progress will be slow, in which altering masculine ideology exists merely as a part of a much larger whole in the explanation and transcendence over human aggression.

Male aggression is undeniably detrimental in its destructive consequences. Suffering continues to occur on a staggering scale due to its perpetuation. Neither the 'private' or 'public' arena is immune to its ill effects. Women continue to be abused at home and intra- / inter-state conflict remains a feature of global politics. The study of sex as a variable in the occurrence of aggression is well researched (O'Connor, Archer & Frederick, 2001). Experimental research repeatedly demonstrates that men are more

overtly aggressive than women (Buss, 1961; Siann, 1985). However these results are not consistent. Men and women have been found to aggress to a similar extent in situations where their actions have been given institutional legitimacy. In addition “where sex differences in aggression exist these are consistently found in the style and target of aggression rather than in the quantity of aggression displayed” (Siann, 1985: 159). Research has also found that neither masculinity or femininity were powerfully predictive of attitudes toward war (Jensen, 1987). These findings suggest that gender differences in behaviour do not exist as an innate quality. Rather, contextual social legitimation of gender-appropriate behaviour proves important in determining the ‘style’ of aggression. Crucially Flax (1990) suggests that women may not be any less aggressive than men but rather express their aggression in a less overt fashion. This points to the importance of studying aggression as a cross-gender phenomenon. A crude focus on men alone neglects to account for the complexity of gender negotiation in society, and often leads to the flawed assumption that men inherently own aggressive tendencies, whilst in actuality male violence occurs as an enactment of gender appropriate behaviour. Research needs to account for aggression as a gender phenomenon, effecting both men and women, albeit in a stylistically dissimilar manner.

Nevertheless male violence remains the concern of this study. Quintessentially “the process of social change will require that we address those norms, values and structures which legitimate and glorify other forms of violence in our society” (Alder, 1992: 274). In particular, prevention strategies should acknowledge the need to provide and validate alternative non-violent masculinities within societal institutions (Marshall, 1993). This process will require that ‘white’, heterosexual, middle-class men resist taking their institutional privilege for granted (Messner, 1997). They need to acknowledge their tacit support for inequality through their location in structured power relations. Agency in these structures is not defeated. Critical debate surrounding the status quo will provide absolution.

## 6.2. Closing the Epistemological Frame

This research positions itself as a critical feminist enterprise. Levett & Kottler (1998) note that women in South Africa still exercise caution in the self-descriptive use of the word 'feminist'. The multiple and contested meanings surrounding feminism, as well as the feminist political project, have served to alienate many women. Complex differences underlie method, methodology, and epistemology in feminist research (Stanley & Wise, 1993).

The founding principles of western feminism have undergone dramatic challenge over the last few decades. Feminist goals seeking to uncover universal causation in female oppression have been abandoned. Post-modernist thought stresses the non-linear complexity of the social world where 'universalistic discourses of rationalism' hold no place (Barrett & Phillips, 1992). Dominant thinking at present appears to converge in its attempt:

"to understand and (re)constitute the self, gender, knowledge, social relations, and culture without resorting to linear, teleological, hierarchical, holistic, or binary ways of thinking and being" (Flax, 1990: 39).

Yeatman (1994) suggests that post-modernity may be defined by a refusal by the 'Other' to remain silent within regimes of knowledge in which they are objectified. In this sense the study may be understood to exist as a post-modern exercise. It attempts to give voice to the 'Other' by underlining the reproduction of structured inequality and thereby the detrimental perpetuation of male aggression. In agreement with critical feminist research this exercise disavows the utility of grand theory, objectivity and value free research, and as such stresses the value in the de-construction of the local and the particular in a bid to destabilise the normative (Barrett & Phillips, 1992).

Barrett and Phillips (1992) raise the important point that in denying the worth of universal and causative laws in social enquiry, feminists contribute to the specific, whilst having little useful to say in generality. Nevertheless a shared politics of oppression provides a locus for unity. That is to say whilst:

“The strategic questions that face contemporary feminism are now informed by a much richer understanding of heterogeneity and diversity...they continue to revolve around the alliances, coalitions and commonalities that give meaning to the idea of feminism” (Barrett & Phillips, 1992: 9).

Given the complex division among female feminists a crucial question emerges surrounding male entitlement to, as well as involvement in, the feminist mission. Burman (1996) raises discussion concerning male participation in feminist research. Serious questions need to be considered. For example would a focus on male issues not simply serve to place males, once again, at the centre of debate (Middleton, 1992)? However ‘doing gender’ is unavoidable (West & Zimmerman, 1991). As such both men and women are constantly engaged in a political pursuit. It is essential that both categories remain critically aware of their politics. An exclusionary feminism will continue to pressurise men to find ‘safe’ shelter in conservative organisations such as the Promise Keepers (Levant, 1996). Men need be welcomed into the feminist movement, in which they openly acknowledge their unequal dominance in structured relations of power, and accept responsibility for their role in change. Finally the notion of a ‘crisis in masculinity’ (Levant, 1997), although stemming from within the male feminist paradigm, needs to be abandoned. This term is faulty in its underlying assumption that a stable masculinity may exist before and after the resolution of ‘the crisis’ (Messner, 1997). Gender will remain a negotiated concept in which both women and men have a part to play.

### **6.3. Closing the Research Frame**

This research recognised gendered aggression as a source of great concern, in which young men feature disproportionately as both perpetrators, and victims of violence. Exploration of this kind held added importance given the omnipresence of violence in South African society.

Rhetorical analysis helped to sketch the complexity of masculine negotiation within the country, in which seven key ‘hegemonic metaphors’ were seen to emerge from participant debate, these providing the conceptual framework within which argument took form. Although debate predominantly served to support these normative masculine

metaphors, dominant notions also found challenge, this providing a guiding blueprint of contemporary masculine construction in the country. It is important to note that the notion of rhetoric foregrounds questions of reflexivity in research (Leach, 2000). That is to say not only did it provide a method of analysis, but in addition informed research conduct, where a purposeful attempt was made to highlight the subjective in the description of the 'defended interview'. It remains important to remember that: "By its very nature, rhetorical analysis is a discursive act: it is creating arguments about arguments" (Leach, 2000: 218).

The revision of the Male Attitude Norm Inventory (MANI) was largely undertaken so as to ensure the contextual validity of the Male Attitude Norms Inventory-II (MANI-II). Archer (1994: 137) stresses that:

"one drawback of the rating-scale approach is that it only captures some surface aspects of what is a coherent set of cultural values. Ideally, rating-scale items need to be integrated with other approaches lest they become separated from the underlying culture".

Qualitative exploration of South African masculinities served as a means to ensure its valid incorporation of these 'cultural values'. That is to say the improved measure displays greater content validity, and echoes to a better extent the underlying theoretical assumptions of masculinity ideology, than MANI exhibited. Two essential criteria demanded of instrument construction were fulfilled: providing (1) valuable reliability data and (2) further information supporting MANI-II's construct validity.

The newly revised Male Attitude Norms Inventory-II (MANI-II) was utilised as a multi-dimensional measure of masculinity ideology. Three theoretically meaningful dimensions; namely 'Toughness', 'Control', and 'Sexuality'; served to guide construction of a multi-dimensional model of masculinity. This model provided an outline for the construction of three like sub-scales within MANI-II. These sub-scales proved useful in the analysis of masculinities relationship to aggression. An adaptation of the Buss Aggression procedure (Buss, 1961) was used to assess individual propensity toward aggression, in which men were required to administer electric shocks during a set task, these serving as a measure of their aggression. Although technical limitations were highlighted throughout this research, it is essential to underline flaws within experimental

study, which specifically lead to a mechanistic understanding of human motivation: (1) a reductionist focus on the individual rather than the social group, (2) neglect to locate discussion in terms of structured societal inequality, and (3) an over-reliance on positivist methodology that restricts exploration of aggression to measurable behaviour rather than its emotive quality (Siann, 1985). These criticisms are justified. In an ideal research setting aggression should be studied through multiple methods. It is hoped that the theoretical approach adopted in this endeavour served to guide the interpretation of results in a fashion overcoming the limiting assumptions embedded within the experimental measurement of aggression. However in general this thesis did not pay homage to a single theoretical or methodological standpoint. This was purposeful. Eclectic use of theory and method was seen to contribute both the unique strengths, as well as compensate for the weaknesses, of differing approaches. Three statistical procedures provided support for the core hypothesis: multiple correlation, multiple regression, and independent samples t-test. Lower social class (low education) and high endorsement of hegemonic masculinity (particularly 'sexuality') was seen to be significantly predictive of aggression. Low age, although not uniquely contributory to aggression, materialised to hold importance in an overall predictive model. It was argued that aggression plays a pivotal role in the lives of young disempowered males, enabling them to collectively display a core manly attribute, and thereby reinforce their status as 'true' men in agreement with hegemonic notions of masculinity.

It is important to underline that this study's focus on the 'specificities' of South African male aggression, should not detract from its ultimate contributory aim toward gender equality and the challenge of oppression on a global scale, rather than remaining within the trappings of 'plurality' (Hearn & Collinson, 1994). It is worthwhile to reiterate Kimmel's (2001: 340) observation that it is "...from these local and national studies that the larger regional and international theories of gender construction will be built."

The practical ramifications for gender change are endless. Focus on theory and empirical evidence is only one side of the coin. Feminist research need ultimately foster substantive political change. The social implications for real change in societal expectations surrounding male aggression are vast. The impact this might have on military establishments alone acts as a fruitful example that indicates the complexity of change in

practice. That is to say crucial questions surface surrounding the possibility for realistic change. How may we actively re-construct notions of masculinity in such institutions? Is it possible for institutions such as the military to operate effectively without their emphasis on normative aggressive masculinity? Is it feasible to question the utility of masculine aggression in the military in a period of growing regional instability? Questions such as these underline the need to invest greater emphasis in exploring not only theory and empirical evidence, but also what this realistically implies for society in the future; politics ‘in action’ should not be forgotten.

This thesis specifically indicates the need to invest greater effort in the study of cross-cultural masculine conceptualisation. Subtle differences in the understanding of normative sexuality were particularly salient points of conceptual divergence across culture. The finding that ‘Sexuality’ exists as a strong predictor of aggression holds the most promise for future enquiry. However this should not be taken to suggest that either ‘Toughness’ or ‘Control’ lack importance in hegemonic masculine negotiation. Rather it implies that further research should take cognisance of the possible link between social / self categorisation and masculine sexual identity in the genesis of male violence.

#### 6.4. Summary

Aggression among South African men may in large find root in hegemonic societal expectations and values surrounding violent masculinity. In the light of rational modernity, such explanations of aggression that locate it within the ‘masculine myth’, hold little persuasive power among mainstream ‘scientists’ (Seidler, 1997). As *F. Scott Fitzgerald’s* character Gatsby did, those of us who are committed to real change need to demonstrate resilience, in which we continue to believe-in:

“the orgastic future that year by year recedes before us. It eluded us then, but that’s no matter – tomorrow we will run faster, stretch out our arms farther... And one fine morning – So we beat on, boats against the current, borne back ceaselessly into the past” (F. Scott Fitzgerald; *The Great Gatsby*: Chapter IX).

## REFERENCES

- Alder, C. (1992). Violence, gender and social change. International Social Science Journal, 44, 267-276.
- Anastasi, A. & Urbina, S. (1997). Psychological Testing. Upper Saddle River, New Jersey: Prentice Hall.
- Anderson, M. (1992). Intelligence and Development: A Cognitive Theory. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Appolis, P. (1998). Workers as fathers. Agenda, 37, 78-81.
- Archer, J. (1989). The relationship between gender-role measures: a review. British Journal of Social Psychology, 28, 173-184.
- Archer, J. (1994). Violence between men. In J. Archer (Ed.), Male Violence (pp. 121-138). New York: Routledge.
- Augoustinos, M. & Walker, I. (1995). Social Cognition: An Integrated Introduction. London: Sage Publications.
- Bal, M. (1997). Narratology: Introduction to the Theory of Narrative. Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto Press.
- Barker, G. & Loewenstein, I. (1997). Where the boys are. Youth and Society, 29, 166-196.
- Baron, R.A. & Richardson, D.R. (1994). Human Aggression. New York: Plenum Press.
- ✓ Barrett, M. & Phillips, A. (1992). Introduction. In M. Barrett & A. Phillips (Eds.), Destabilizing Theory: Contemporary feminist debates (pp. 1-9). Cambridge: Polity Press.

Bartky, S.L. (1990). Femininity and Domination: Studies in the Phenomenology of Oppression. New York: Routledge.

Baumeister, R.F. (1999). Evil: Inside Human Cruelty and Violence. New York: W.H. Freeman and Company.

Beaver, E.D., Gold, S.R. & Prisco, A.G. (1992). Priming macho attitudes and emotions. Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 7, 321-333.

Beere, C.A. (1990). Gender Roles: A Handbook of Tests and Measures. New York: Greenwood Press.

Berkowitz, L. (1993). Aggression: Its Causes, Consequences, and Control. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Billig, M. (1985). Prejudice, categorization and particularization: from a perceptual to a rhetorical approach. European Journal of Social Psychology, 15, 79-103.

Billig, M. (1991). Ideology and Opinions. London: Sage Publications.

Billig, M. (1993). Studying the thinking society. In G.M. Breakwell & D.V. Canter (Eds.), Empirical Approaches to Social Representations (pp. 39-62). New York: Oxford University Press.

Billig, M. (1996). Arguing and Thinking: A Rhetorical Approach to Social Psychology. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Billig, M. (1997). Discursive, rhetorical, and ideological messages. In C. McGarty & S.A. Haslam (Eds.), The Message of Social Psychology (pp. 127-145). Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Billig, M. (2000). Towards a critique of the critical. Discourse and Society, 11, 291-292.

Billig, M., Condor, S., Edwards, D., Gane, M., Middleton, D. & Radley, A. (1989). Ideological Dilemmas: A Social Psychology of Everyday Thinking. London: Sage Publications.

Bird, S.R. (1996). Welcome to the men's club. Gender and Society, 10, 120-132.

Boyarin, D. (1997). Unheroic Conduct: The Rise of Heterosexuality and the Invention of the Jewish Man. Berkley, U.S.A: University of California Press.

Breckenridge, K. (1998). The allure of violence: men, race and masculinity on the South African goldmines, 1900-1950. Journal of Southern African Studies, 24, 669-693.

Brittan, A. (1989). Masculinity and Power. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Brogden, M. & Shearing, C. (1993). Policing for a New South Africa. London: Routledge.

Bryant, F.B. & Yarnold, P.R. (1998). Principal-components analysis and exploratory and confirmatory factor analysis. In L.G. Grimm & P.R. Yarnold (Eds.), Reading and Understanding Multivariate Statistics (pp. 99-136). Washington, D.C: American Psychological Association.

✗ Buchbinder, D. (1994). Masculinities and Power. Victoria, Australia: Melbourne University Press.

✗ Burman, E. (1996). Feminist research. In P. Banister, E. Burman, I. Parker, M. Taylor & C. Tindall (Eds.), Qualitative Methods in Psychology (pp. 121-141). Buckingham, Great Britain: Open University Press.

Burr, V. (1998). Gender and Social Psychology. London: Routledge.

Bushman, B.J. & Anderson, C.A. (1998). Methodology in the study of aggression. In R.G. Geen & E. Donnerstein (Eds.), Human Aggression: Theories, Research, and Implications for Social Policy (pp. 23-47). San Diego: Academic Press.

Buss, A.H. (1961). The Psychology of Aggression. New York: John Wiley and Sons.

Campbell, C. (2001). 'Going underground and going after women': masculinity and HIV transmission amongst black workers on the mines. In R. Morrell (Ed.), Changing Men in Southern Africa (pp. 275-286). Pietermaritzburg, South Africa: University of Natal Press.

Canaan, J.E. (1996). 'One thing leads to another': drinking, fighting and working-class masculinities. In M. Mac an Gahail (Ed.), Understanding Masculinities (pp. 95-111). Buckingham, Great Britain: Open University Press.

Carrigan, T., Connell, B. & Lee, J. (1987). Toward a new sociology of masculinity. In H. Brod (Ed.), The Making of Masculinities (pp. 88-100). Boston: Allen and Unwin.

Carton, B. (2001). Locusts fall from the sky: manhood and migrancy in KwaZulu. In R. Morrell (Ed.), Changing Men in Southern Africa (pp. 129-140). Pietermaritzburg, South Africa: University of Natal Press.

Cawthra, G. (1994). Policing South Africa: The South African Police and the Transition from Apartheid. Cape Town, South Africa: David Philip.

Chidester, D. (1992). Shots in the Street: Violence and Religion in South Africa. Cape Town, South Africa: Oxford University Press.

Cock, J. (1988). Keeping the fires burning: Militarisation and the politics of gender in South Africa. South African Sociological Review, 1, 1-22.

Cock, J. (1991). Colonels and Cadres: War and Gender in South Africa. Cape Town, South Africa: Oxford University Press.

Cock, J. (2001). Gun violence and masculinity in contemporary South Africa. In R. Morrell (Ed.), Changing Men in Southern Africa (pp. 43-55). Pietermaritzburg, South Africa: University of Natal Press.

Coleman, W. (1990). Doing masculinity / doing theory. In J. Hearn & D. Morgan (Eds.), Men, masculinities & social theory (pp. 170-199). London: Unwin Hyman.

Connell, R.W. (1987). Gender and Power: Society, the Person and Sexual Politics. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.

Connell, R.W. (1990). An iron man: The body and some contradictions of hegemonic masculinity. In M.A. Messner & D.F. Sabo (Eds.), Sport, Men, and the Gender Order: Critical Feminist Perspectives (pp. 83-95). Champaign: Human Kinetics Books.

Connell, R.W. (1993). The big picture: Masculinities in recent world history. Theory and Society, 22, 597-623.

Connell, R.W. (1995). Masculinities. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Crankshaw, O. (1996). Changes in the racial division of labour during the apartheid era. Journal of Southern African Studies, 22, 633-656.

Daba, L. (1991). Gangsterism in Schools in Black Residential Areas. Braamfontein, South Africa: South African Institute of Race Relations.

Davin, A. (1997). Historical masculinities: Regulation, fantasy and empire. Gender and History, 9, 135-138.

de Villiers, C. (1998). Qualified parental rights for unmarried fathers. Agenda, 37, 82-85.

Douglas-Hamilton, D. (1995). Warriors of the "Ghetto": Ganging as a Rite of Passage. Cape Town, South Africa: Institute of Criminology, University of Cape Town.

Downs, K. & Gold, S.R. (1997). The role of blame, distress, and anger in the hypermasculine man. Violence and Victims, 12, 19-33.

du Pisani, K. (2001). Puritanism transformed: Afrikaner masculinities in the apartheid and post apartheid period. In R. Morrell (Ed.), Changing Men in Southern Africa (pp.157-175). Pietermaritzburg, South Africa: University of Natal Press.

Edley, N. & Wetherell, M. (1995). Men in Perspective: Practice, Power and Identity. London: Prentice Hall / Harvester Wheatsheaf.

Epstein, D. (1997). Taking it Like a Man: Narratives of dominant white masculinities in South Africa. Durban, South Africa: Paper presented at the Colloquium on Masculinities in South Africa.

Evans, R.J. (1996). Rituals of Retribution: Capital Punishment in Germany 1600-1987. New York: Oxford University Press.

Feinstein, A., Teeling-Smith, A., Moyle, D. & Savage, M. (1986). Some attitudes towards conscription in South Africa. Psychology in South Africa, 5, 66-80.

Feld, M.D. (1977). The Structure of Violence: Armed Forces as Social Systems. Beverly Hills, California: Sage Publications.

Flax, J. (1990). Postmodernism and gender relations in feminist theory. In L.J. Nicholson (Ed.), Feminism / Postmodernism (pp. 39-62). New York: Routledge.

Flisher, A. (1987). Some psychological aspects of commencing 'national service' in South Africa. Psychology in Society, 7, 36-52.

Foster, D. (1997). Perpetrators of Gross Violations of Human Rights. Cape Town, South Africa: Report made to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

Foucault, M. (1979). Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison. London: Penguin Books.

Frank, B. (1987). Hegemonic heterosexual masculinity. Studies in Political Economy, 24, 159-170.

✓ Fukuyama, F. (1992). The End of History and the Last Man. London: Hamish Hamilton.

Fuss, D. (1989). Essentially Speaking: Feminism, Nature and Difference. London: Routledge.

Gaskell, G. (2000). Individual and group interviewing. In M. Bauer & G. Gaskell (Eds.), Qualitative Researching: With Text, Image and Sound (pp. 38-56). London: Sage Publications.

Geen, R.G. (1990). Human Aggression. Milton Keynes: Open University Press.

Ghiglieri, M.P. (1999). The Dark Side of Man: Tracing the Origins of Male Violence. Reading, Massachusetts: Perseus Books.

Gill, A.M. & Whedbee, K. (1997). Rhetoric. In T.A. van Dijk (Ed.), Discourse as Structure and Process (pp. 156-184). London: Sage Publications.

Glaser, C. (1998). Swines, Hazels and the Dirty Dozen: Masculinity, territoriality and youth gangs of Soweto, 1960-1976. Journal of Southern African Studies, 24, 719-736.

Gray, G.J. (1996). The Enduring Appeals of Battle. In L. May, R. Strikwerda & P.D. Hopkins (Eds.), Rethinking Masculinity: Philosophical Explorations in Light of Feminism (pp. 45-62). London: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers.

Griffin, C. & Wetherell, M. (1992). Feminist psychology and the study of men and masculinity. Part II: Politics and practices. Feminism and Psychology, 2, 133-168.

Groebel, J. & Hilde, R.A. (1989). Aggression and War. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Grundy, K.W. (1988). The Militarization of South African Politics. London: Tauris.

Gustafson, R. (1985). Alcohol and aggression. Psychological Reports, *57*, 667-676.

Gutteridge, W. & Spence, J.E. (1997). Violence in Southern Africa. In W. Gutteridge & J.E. Spence (Eds.), Violence in Southern Africa (pp. 1-10). London: Frank Cass.

Hantover, J.P. (1995). The boy scouts and the validation of masculinity. In M.S. Kimmel & M.A. Messner (Eds.), Men's Lives (pp. 74-80). Boston, Massachusetts: Allyn and Bacon.

Hagedorn, J.M. (1998). Frat boys, bossmen, studs, and gentlemen. In L.H. Bowker (Ed.), Masculinities and violence (pp. 152-167). Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.

Hearn, J. (1992). Men in the Public Eye: The construction and deconstruction of public men and public patriarchies. London: Routledge.

Hearn, J. (1994). The organisation(s) of violence: Men, gender relations, organizations, and violences. Human Relations, *47*, 731-754.

Hearn, J. & Collinson, D.L. (1994). Theorising unities and differences between men and between masculinities. In H. Brod & M. Kaufman (Eds.), Theorising masculinities (pp. 95-115). Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.

Hemson, C. (2001). Ukubekezela or ukuzithemba: African lifesavers in Durban. In R. Morrell (Ed.), Changing Men in Southern Africa (pp. 57-73). Pietermaritzburg, South Africa: University of Natal Press.

Hollway, W. & Jefferson, T (1999). Gender, generation, anxiety, and the reproduction of culture. In R. Josselson & A. Lieblich (Eds.), Making Meaning of Narratives (pp. 107-141). Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.

Hollway, W. & Jefferson, T. (2000). Doing qualitative research differently: Free association, narrative and the interview method. London: Sage Publications.

hooks, b. (1995). Comrades in struggle. In M.S. Kimmel and M.A. Messner (Eds.), Men's lives. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

Horrocks, R. (1994). Masculinity in Crisis: Myths Fantasies and Realities. London: MacMillan Press.

Howell, D.C. (1997). Statistical Methods for Psychology. Belmont, California: Duxbury Press.

Hyslop, J. (2001). Jandamarra, my great-grandfather and the British Empire: Reflections on family history, colonial war, and the making of men and women. In R. Morrell (Ed.), Changing Men in Southern Africa (pp. 141-155). Pietermaritzburg, South Africa: University of Natal Press.

Jabri, V. (1996). Discourses on Violence: Conflict analysis reconsidered. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Jackson, D. (1990). Unmasking Masculinity: A Critical Autobiography. London: Unwin Hyman.

Jeffords, S. (1989). The Remasculinization of America: Gender and the Vietnam War. Indianapolis, U.S.A: Indiana University Press.

Jensen, M.P. (1987). Gender, sex roles, and attitudes toward war and nuclear weapons. Sex Roles, 17, 253-267.

Jordan, E. & Cowan, A. (1995). Warrior narratives in the kindergarten classroom: Renegotiating the social contract? Gender & Society, 9, 727-743.

Jovchelovitch, S. & Bauer, M. (2000). Narrative interviewing. In M. Bauer & G. Gaskell (Eds.), Qualitative Researching: With Text, Image and Sound (pp. 57-74). London: Sage Publications.

Kandiyoti, D. (1996). The paradoxes of masculinity: Some thoughts on segregated societies. In A. Cornwall & N. Lindisfarne (Eds.), Dislocating Masculinity: Comparative Ethnographies (pp. 197-213). London: Routledge.

Karner, T.X. (1998). Engendering violent men: Oral histories of military masculinity. In L.H. Bowker (Ed.), Masculinities and Violence (pp. 197-231). Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.

Kaufman, M. (1995). The construction of masculinity and the triad of men's violence. In M.S. Kimmel & M.A. Messner (Eds.), Men's Lives (pp. 13-21). Boston, Massachusetts: Allyn and Bacon.

Kenrick, D.T. & Trost, M.R. (1993). The evolutionary perspective. In A.E. Beall & R.J. Sternberg (Eds.), The Psychology of Gender (pp. 148-173). New York: Guilford Press.

Kimmel, M. (2001). Afterword. In R. Morrell (Ed.), Changing Men in Southern Africa (pp. 337-340). Pietermaritzburg, South Africa: University of Natal Press.

Kinnes, I. (1995). Reclaiming the Cape Flats: A community challenge to crime and gangsterism. Crime and Conflict, 2, 5-8.

Kite, M.E. & Whitley, B.E. (1998). Do heterosexual women and men differ in their attitudes toward homosexuality? A conceptual and methodological analysis. In G.M. Herek (Ed.), Stigma and Sexual Orientation: Understanding Prejudice Against Lesbians, Gay Men, and Bisexuals (pp. 39-61). Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.

Kitzinger, C. & Wilkinson, S. (1993). Theorising heterosexuality. In S. Wilkinson & C. Kitzinger (Eds.), Heterosexuality: a Feminism and Psychology Reader (pp. 1-32). London: Sage Publications.

Kline, P. (1995). Handbook of Psychological Testing. London: Routledge.

Klineberg, O. (1981). The causes of violence. In J. Domenach, H. Laborit, A. Joxe, J. Galtung, D. Senghaas, O. Klineberg, J.D. Halloran, V.P. Shupilov, K. Poklewski-Koziell, R. Khan, P. Spitz, P. Mertens, E. Boulding (Eds.), Violence and its Causes (pp. 111-123). Paris: Unesco.

Krueger, R.A. (1994). Focus Groups: A Practical Guide for Applied Research. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.

Lakoff, G. & Johnson, M. (1980). Metaphors We Live By. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Leach, J. (2000). Rhetorical analysis. In M. Bauer & G. Gaskell (Eds.), Qualitative Researching: With Text, Image and Sound (pp. 207-226). London: Sage Publications.

Lenney, E. (1991). Sex roles: Measurement of masculinity, femininity, and androgyny. In J.P. Robinson, P.R. Shaver & L.S. Wrightsman (Eds.), Measures of Personality and Social Psychological Attitudes. San Diego, U.S.A: Academic Press.

Levant, R.F. (1996). The new psychology of men. Professional Psychology: Research and Practice, 27, 259-265.

Levant, R.F. (1997). The masculinity crisis. The Journal of Men's Studies, 5, 221-231.

Levant, R.F. & Fischer, J. (1996). The Male Role Norms Inventory. In C.M. Davis, W.H. Yarber, R. Bauserman, G. Schreer & S.L. Davis (Eds.), Sexuality-Related Measures: A Compendium. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.

Levant, R.F. & Fischer, J. (1998). The Male Role Norms Inventory. In C.M. Davis, W.L. Yarber, R. Bauserman, G. Scheer & S.L. Davis (Eds.), Handbook of Sexuality-Related Measures (pp. 469-472). Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.

Levant, R.F., Hirsch, L., Celentano, E., Cozza, T., Hill, S., MacEachern, M., Marty, N. & Schnedeker, J. (1992). The male role: An investigation of contemporary norms. Journal of Mental Health Counseling, *14*, 325-337.

✓ Levett, A. & Kottler, A. (1998). Through a lens, darkly. In E. Burman (Ed.), Deconstructing Feminist Psychology (pp. 184-205). Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.

Levinson, D. (1994). Aggression and Conflict: A Cross-Cultural Encyclopedia. Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO.

Liakopoulos, M. (2000). Argumentation analysis. In M. Bauer & G. Gaskell (Eds.), Qualitative Researching: With Text, Image and Sound (pp. 152-171). London: Sage Publications.

Lieberman, J.D., Soloman, S., Greenberg, J. & McGregor, H.A. (1999). A hot new way to measure aggression: Hot sauce allocation. Aggressive Behaviour, *25*, 331-348.

Linstead, S. (1997). Abjection and organisation: Men, violence, and management. Human Relations, *50*, 1115-1145.

Lorber, J. (1997). Believing is seeing: Biology as ideology. In M.B. Zinn, P. Hondagneu-Sotelo & M.A. Messner (Eds.), Through the Prism of Difference: Reading on Sex and Gender (pp. 13-22). Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

Louw, R. (2001). Mkhumbane and new traditions of (un)African same-sex weddings. In R. Morrell (Ed.), Changing Men in Southern Africa (pp. 287-296). Pietermaritzburg, South Africa: University of Natal Press.

Luddy, J.G. & Thompson, E.H. (1997). Masculinities and violence: A father-son comparison of gender traditionality and perceptions of heterosexual rape. Journal of Family Psychology, 11, 462-477.

Luyt, R. (2001). Book review: Changing men in Southern Africa. South African Journal of Psychology, 31, 57-58.

Luyt, R. & Foster, D. (2001). Hegemonic masculine conceptualisation in gang culture. South African Journal of Psychology, 31, 1-11.

MacKinnon, C.A. (1989). Toward a Feminist Theory of the State. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Mager, A. (1998). Young organizations and the construction of masculine identities in Ciskei and Transkei, 1945-1960. Journal of Southern African Studies, 4, 653-667.

Mamputa, G. (1991). Gangs on the Cape Flats. Braamfontein, South Africa: South African Institute of Race Relations.

Mangan, J.A. (1996). Games field and battlefield: A romantic alliance in verse and the creation of militaristic masculinity. In J. Nauright & T.J.L. Chandler (Eds.), Making Men: Rugby and Masculine Identity (pp. 140-157). London: Frank Cass.

Marshall, D.L. (1993). Violence and the male gender role. Journal of College Student Psychotherapy, 8, 203-218.

McCarthy, B. (1994). Warrior values: A socio-historical survey. In J. Archer (Ed.), Male Violence (pp. 105-118). New York: Routledge.

McKendrick, B. & Hoffmann, W. (1990). People and Violence in South Africa. Cape Town, South Africa: Oxford University Press.

Mehrabian, A. (1997). Relations among personality scales of aggression, violence, and empathy: Validation evidence bearing on the Risk of Eruptive Violence Scale. Aggressive Behaviour, 23, 433-445.

Mehrabian, A. (2000). Manual for the Balanced Emotional Empathy Scale (BEES). Monterey, California: Unpublished.

Mertens, P. (1981). 'Institutional' violence, 'democratic' violence and repression. In J. Domenach, H. Laborit, A. Joxe, J. Galtung, D. Senghaas, O. Klineberg, J.D. Halloran, V.P. Shupilov, K. Poklewski-Koziell, R. Khan, P. Spitz, P. Mertens, E. Boulding (Eds.), Violence and its Causes (pp. 215-234). Paris: Unesco.

Messerschmidt, J.W. (1997). Crimes as Structured Action: Gender, Race, Class, and Crime in the Making. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.

✕ Messner, M.A. (1997). Politics of Masculinities: Men in Movements. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.

Middleton, P. (1992). The Inward Gaze: Masculinity and Subjectivity in Modern Culture. London: Routledge.

Milgram, S. (1977). The Individual in a Social world: Essays and Experiments. Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company.

Moodie, T.D. (2001). Black migrant mine labourers and the vicissitudes of male desire. In R. Morrell (Ed.), Changing Men in Southern Africa (pp. 297-315). Pietermaritzburg, South Africa: University of Natal Press.

Mooney, K. (1998). 'Ducktails, flick-knives and pugnacity': Subcultural and hegemonic masculinities in South Africa, 1948-1960. Journal of Southern African Studies, 24, 753-774.

Morgan, D.H.J. (1992). Discovering Men. London: Routledge.

Morrell, R. (1998). Of boys and men. Journal of Southern African Studies, 24, 605-630.

Morrell, R. (2001). The times of change: Men and masculinity in South Africa. In R. Morrell (Ed.), Changing Men in Southern Africa (pp. 3-37). Pietermaritzburg, South Africa: University of Natal Press.

Morris, P.T. (1993). Women, resistance, and the use of force in South Africa. In R.H. Howes & M.R. Stevenson (Eds.), Women and the Use of Military Force (pp. 185-203). Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Moscovici, S. (1984). The phenomenon of social representations. In R.M. Farr & S. Moscovici (Eds.), Social Representations (pp. 3-69). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mosse, G.L. (1996). The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity. New York: Oxford University Press.

Nathan, L. (1989). Troops in the townships, 1984-1987. In J. Cock & L. Nathan (Eds.), War and Society: The Militarisation of South Africa (pp. 65-78). Cape Town, South Africa: David Philip.

Neuman, W.L. (1997). Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

O'Connor, D.B., Archer, J. & Wu, F.W.C. (2001). Measuring aggression: Self-reports, partner reports, and responses to provoking scenarios. Aggressive Behaviour, 27, 79-101.

Oyegun, J. (1998). Working masculinities back into gender. Agenda, 37, 13-23.

Phillips, M. (1989). The nuts and bolts of military power: the structure of the SADF. In J. Cock & L. Nathan (Eds.), War and Society: The Militarisation of South Africa (pp. 16-27). Cape Town, South Africa: David Philip.

Pinnock, D. (1980). Elsies River. Cape Town, South Africa: University of Cape Town Press.

Pinnock, D. (1984). The Brotherhoods: Street Gangs and State Control in Cape Town. Cape Town, South Africa: David Philip.

Pleck, J.H. (1995). Men's power with women, other men, and society: A men's movement analysis. In M.S. Kimmel & M.A. Messner (Eds.) Men's Lives (pp.5-12). Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

Potter, J. (1996). Representing Reality: Discourse, Rhetoric and Social Construction. London: Sage Publications.

Punch, K.F. (1998). Introduction to Social Research: Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches. London: Sage Publications.

Pyke, K.D. (1996). Class-based masculinities: The interdependence of gender, class, and interpersonal power. Gender and Society, 10, 527-549.

Ratele, K. (1998). The end of the black man. Agenda, 37, 60-64.

Reddy, V. (1998). Negotiating gay masculinities. Agenda, 37, 65-70.

Regan, P.M. (1994). Organizing Societies for War: The Process and Consequences of Societal Militarization. Westport, Connecticut: Praeger.

Roth, B.E. (1997). Violence the western way. Psychoanalytic Review, 84, 743-751.

Rummel, R.J. (1970). Applied Factor Analysis. Evanston, U.S.A: Northwestern University Press.

Schärf, W. (1985). Street Gangs, Survival, and Political Consciousness in the Eighties. Cape Town, South Africa: Centre for African Studies, University of Cape Town.

Scott, G.R. (1952). The History of Corporal Punishment: A Survey of Flagellation in its Historical Anthropological and Sociological Aspects. London: Torchstream Books.

Seidler, V.J. (1994). Unreasonable Men: Masculinity and Social Theory. London: Routledge.

Shaw, M. (1991). Post-Military Society: Militarism, Demilitarization and War at the End of the Twentieth Century. Oxford: Polity Press.

Shefer, T. & Ruiters, K. (1998). The masculine construct in heterosex. Agenda, 37, 39-45.

Shotter, J. (1993). Cultural Politics of Everyday Life. Buckingham, Great Britain: Open University Press.

Siann, G. (1985). Accounting for aggression: Perspectives on aggression and violence. Boston: Allen & Unwin.

Sloth-Nielsen, J. (1989). Corporal punishment: The past and the future. Cape Town, South Africa: Institute of Criminology, University of Cape Town.

Sloth-Nielsen, J. (1990). Legal violence: Corporal and capital punishment. In B.W. McKendrick & W. Hoffmann (Eds.), People and Violence in South Africa (pp. 73-95). Cape Town, South Africa: Oxford University Press.

Spain, D. (1992). The spatial foundations of men's friendships and men's power. In P.M. Nardi (Ed.), Men's Friendships (pp. 59-73). Newbury Park, California: Sage Publications.

Stanley, L. & Wise, S. (1993). Method, methodology and epistemology in feminist research process. In L. Stanley (Ed.), Feminist Praxis: Research, theory and epistemology in feminist sociology (pp. 20-52). London: Routledge.

Stepan, A. (1988). Rethinking Military Politics: Brazil and the Southern Cone. Princeton: Princeton University Press

Swart, S. (2001). 'Man, gun and horse': Hard right Afrikaner masculine identity in post-apartheid South Africa. In R. Morrell (Ed.), Changing Men in Southern Africa (pp. 75-89). Pietermaritzburg, South Africa: University of Natal Press.

Swartz, L. (1998). Culture and Mental Health: A Southern African View. Cape Town, South Africa: Oxford University Press.

Tabachnick, B.G. & Fidell, L.S. (1989). Using Multivariate Statistics. New York: HarperCollins Publishers.

Tambling, J. (1991). Narrative and Ideology. Milton Keynes, Great Britain: Open University Press.

Thompson, E.H. & Pleck, J.H. (1986). The structure of Male Role Norms. American Behavioral Scientist, 29, 531-543.

Thompson, E.H. & Pleck, J.H. (1987). Reformulating the male role: The structure of male role norms. In M.S. Kimmel (Ed.), Changing Men: New Directions in Research on Men and Masculinity (pp. 25-35). London: Sage Publications.

Thompson, E.H. & Pleck, J.H. (1995). Masculinity ideologies: A review of research instrumentation on men and masculinities. In R.F. Levant & W.S. Pollack (Eds.), A New Psychology of Men (pp.129-163). New York: BasicBooks.

Thompson, E.H., Pleck, J.H. & Ferrera, D.L. (1992). Men and masculinities: Scales for masculinity ideology and masculinity-related constructs. Sex Roles, 27, 573-607.

Toch, H. (1969). Violent Men. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company.

Toch, H. (1998). Hypermasculinity and prison violence. In L.H. Bowker (Ed.), Masculinities and Violence (pp. 168-178). Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.

Turner, J.C. (1987). Rediscovering the Social Group: A self-categorization theory. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

United States Central Intelligence Agency (2001). The World Factbook 2001. Washington D.C: Central Intelligence Agency.

Waetjen, T. & Maré, G. (2001). 'Men amongst men': Masculinity and Zulu nationalism in the 1980's. In R. Morrell (Ed.), Changing Men in Southern Africa (pp.195-206). Pietermaritzburg, South Africa: University of Natal Press.

Walker, D.F., Tokar, D.M. & Fischer, A.R. (2000). What are eight popular masculinity-related instruments measuring? Underlying dimensions and their relations to sociosexuality. Psychology of Men and Masculinity, 1, 98-108.

Wardrop, J. (2001). 'Simply the best': The Soweto flying squad, professional Masculinities and the rejection of machismo. In R. Morrell (Ed.), Changing Men in Southern Africa (pp. 255-270). Pietermaritzburg, South Africa: University of Natal Press.

✓ Weedon, C. (1987). Feminist Practice and Poststructuralist Theory. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Weeks, J. (1990). Sexuality. London: Routledge.

Weisbuch, M., Beal, D. & O'Neal, E.C. (1999). How masculine ought I be? Sex Roles, 40, 583-592.

West, C. & Zimmerman, D.H. (1991). Doing gender. In J. Lorber & S.A. Farrell (Eds.), The social construction of gender (pp. 13-37). Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.

Wetherell, M. & Griffin, C. (1991). Feminist psychology and the study of men and masculinity. Part I: Assumptions and perspectives. Feminism and Psychology, 1, 361-391.

Williams, C.L. (1994). Militarized Masculinity. Qualitative Sociology, 17, 415-422.

Winter, J.M. (1989). Causes of war. In J. Groebel & R.A. Hinde (Eds.), Aggression and War (pp. 194-201). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wood, K. & Jewkes, R. (2001). 'Dangerous' love: Reflections on violence among Xhosa township youth. In R. Morrell (Ed.), Changing Men in Southern Africa (pp. 317-336). Pietermaritzburg, South Africa: University of Natal Press.

Wood, K., Maforah, F. & Jewkes, R. (1996). Sex, Violence and Constructions of Love Amongst Xhosa Adolescents: putting violence on the sexuality education agenda. Tygerberg, South Africa: CERSA – Women's Health Medical Research Council.

Xaba, T. (2001). Masculinity and its malcontents: The confrontation between 'struggle masculinity' and 'post-struggle masculinity' (1990-1997). In R. Morrell (Ed.), Changing Men in Southern Africa (pp. 105-124). Pietermaritzburg, South Africa: University of Natal Press.

Yeatman, A. (1994). Postmodern epistemological politics and social science. In K. Lennon & M. Whitford (Eds.), Knowing the Difference: Feminist perspectives in epistemology (pp. 187-203). London: Routledge.

## APPENDIX A

### A.1. Individual Interview Schedule

1. Can you tell me something of your past? For example: where did you go to school, what did you study, why did you choose your career path?
2. Can you tell me anything about your experiences of growing-up?
3. Can you think of things that encourage you to be friendly with other people?
4. Can you think of situations that required you to behave in a certain way even though this made you feel uncomfortable?
5. Can you think of anything in your personal experience that illustrates something good about being a man?
6. Can you think about anything in your personal experience that illustrates something bad about being a man?

## A.2. Focus Group Interview Schedule

*The moderator should introduce the discussion. Welcome participants. Note that the conversation will be video-taped. Explain that this will enable the researcher(s) to view it again at a later stage. Stress both the anonymity and confidentiality of the data.*

Suggest that few people are interested in what men think about their lives. Explain that many different men are taking part in the study in order to understand what men feel is important about being a man. Underline that this is a chance for them to speak freely and everybody should get time to talk.

What is everybody's name? Where do people live?

- What is difficult about living there?
- What is pleasant about living there?
- What sort of things do men not enjoy doing?
- What sort of things do men enjoy doing?

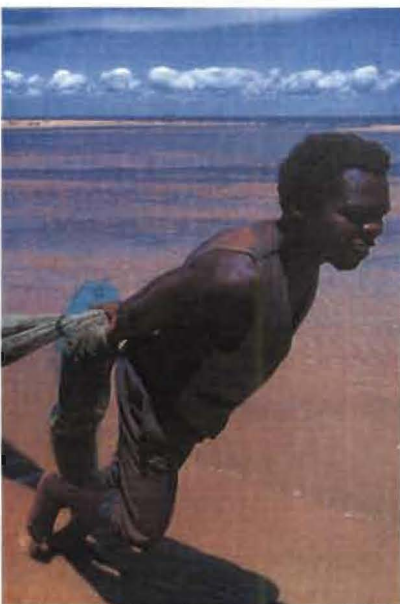
What do you like or dislike about the men in the pictures?

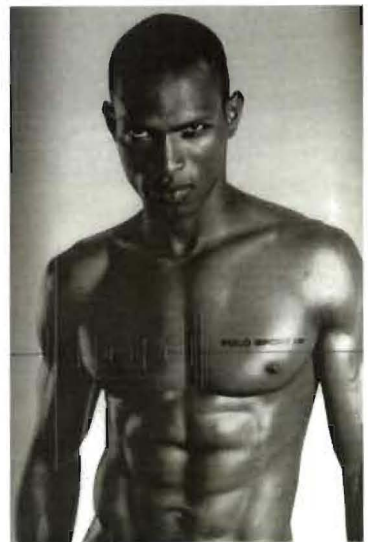
If you could change something about other men what would it be?

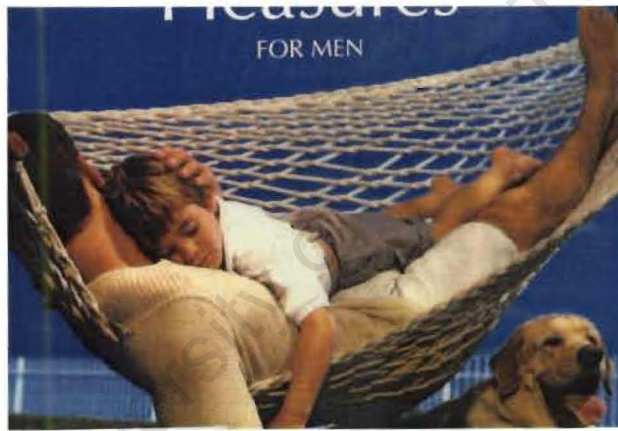
If you could change something about yourself what would it be?

*The moderator should provide a brief summary of the discussion. This should take no longer than three minutes. Participants should be asked whether they agree with this outline. Thank the men for their participation and compensate them for their time.*

### B.3. Pictorial Representations of Masculinities







## APPENDIX B

### B.1. Male Attitude Norm Inventory

*The statements listed below describe interesting situations involving men. There are no right or wrong answers, only opinions. You are asked to express your feelings about each statement by indicating whether you (A) Strongly Disagree, (B) Disagree, (C) have No Opinion, (D) Agree, or (E) Strongly Agree.*

FOR EXAMPLE:

Men enjoy ice-cream much more than women do.

Strongly Disagree [ ] Disagree [ ] No Opinion [ ] Agree [ × ] Strongly Agree [ ]

- 1) A man should prefer sports like rugby and soccer to activities like cooking and sewing.
- 2) Men who have a job that women normally do, should feel a little embarrassed.
- 3) Women are too emotional to be of any use in a difficult situation.
- 4) Women often do not understand how money matters work.
- 5) If a man hurts himself he should try not to let others see he is in pain.
- 6) When somebody dies in the family, it is the man's duty to remain calm.
- 7) I think that men who cry in public are really very weak.
- 8) It is important for men never to rely on others, even during times of difficulty.
- 9) Men should keep their worries to themselves.
- 10) If a man is frightened he should try and not let others see it.
- 11) To be a man you need to be tough.
- 12) Using a gun is sometimes the only way to get out of a bad situation.
- 13) It is natural for men to enjoy taking risks.
- 14) I admire a man who always takes the lead when something needs to be done.
- 15) Men should think carefully and logically about the things they do.

- 16) A real man is able to remain calm even in bad situations.
- 17) Real men try to get woman to have sex with them.
- 18) I respect a man who always seems totally sure of himself.
- 19) A man should be responsible for his own success.
- 20) Gay men should be beaten-up.
- 21) A man should make all the final decisions in the family.
- 22) Women should do as men tell them to.
- 23) It is important for men to know more about sex than women.
- 24) Men who are competitive are most successful in life.
- 25) Men should be determined to do well no matter what the cost.
- 26) Men should have a job that earns them respect.
- 27) I believe that it is important for a man to be successful in his job.
- 28) Gay men should not be allowed to join the army.
- 29) A man's car tells a lot about how successful he is.
- 30) A man is successful if he makes a lot of money.
- 31) A man deserves the respect of his wife and children.
- 32) Men should have the respect and admiration of everyone who knows them.
- 33) A father should be embarrassed if he finds out that his son is gay.
- 34) I enjoy talking about a woman's 'looks' with my friends.
- 35) Being called a 'faggot' is one of the worst insults to a man.
- 36) Men should never kiss their fathers.
- 37) I think it is strange when men hug each other.
- 38) A real man should never pick flowers for himself.
- 39) Men should not wear bracelets.
- 40) It is pointless to try and have a serious discussion with a woman.

## **B.2. Male Role Norms Inventory**

*Thank you for your help with our study! We are exploring the roles of men in our society and are very interested in your opinions. Please answer the brief demographic questions on this page, and then complete the questionnaire by circling the number which indicates your level of agreement or disagreement with each statement. We would like this survey to remain anonymous, so please do not put your name on the questionnaire. Again, we appreciate your co-operation.*

- 1) It is disappointing to learn that a famous athlete is gay.

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

- 2) If necessary a man should sacrifice personal relationships for career advancement.
- 3) A man should do whatever it takes to be admired and respected.
- 4) A boy should be allowed to quit a game if he is losing.
- 5) A man should prefer football to needlecraft.
- 6) A man should never count on someone else to get the job done.
- 7) Men should be allowed to kiss their fathers.
- 8) A man should not continue a friendship with another man if he finds out that the man is a homosexual.
- 9) Hugging and kissing should always lead to intercourse.
- 10) A man must be able to make his own way in the world.
- 11) Nobody likes a man who cries in public.
- 12) It is important for a man to take risks, even if he might get hurt.
- 13) Men should make the final decision involving money.
- 14) It is important for a man to be good in bed.
- 15) It is OK for a man to ask for help changing a tire.
- 16) A man should never reveal worries to others.
- 17) Boys should be encouraged to find a means of demonstrating physical prowess.
- 18) A man should try to win at any sport he participates in.
- 19) Men should always be realistic.
- 20) One should not be able to tell how a man is feeling by looking at his face.
- 21) A man who takes a long time and has difficulty making decisions will usually not be respected.
- 22) Men should be allowed to wear bracelets.
- 23) A man should not force the issue if another man takes his parking place.
- 24) In a group, it's up to the man to get things organised and moving ahead.
- 25) A man should love his sex partner.
- 26) It is too feminine for a man to use clear nail polish on his fingernails.
- 27) Being called "faggot" is one of the worst insults to a man or boy.
- 28) Jobs like firefighter and electrician should be reserved for men.
- 29) When physically provoked, men should not resort to violence.

- 30) A man should be able to openly show affection to another man.
- 31) A man doesn't need to have an erection in order to enjoy sex.
- 32) When the going gets tough, men should get tough.
- 33) Housework is women's work.
- 34) It is not particularly important for a man to control his emotions.
- 35) Men should not be too quick to tell others that they care about them.
- 36) Boys should prefer to play with trucks rather than dolls.
- 37) It's OK for a man to buy a fast, shiny sports car if he wants, even if he may have to stretch beyond his budget.
- 38) A man should never doubt his own judgement.
- 39) A man shouldn't have to worry about birth control.
- 40) A man shouldn't bother with sex unless he can achieve orgasm.
- 41) A man should avoid holding his wife's purse at all times.
- 42) There are some subjects which men should not talk about with other men.
- 43) Men should always take the initiative when it comes to sex.
- 44) Fathers should teach their sons to mask fear.
- 45) Being a little down in the dumps is not a good reason for a man to act depressed.
- 46) A man should always be ready for sex.
- 47) Boys should not throw baseballs like girls.
- 48) If a man is in pain, it's better for him to let people know than to keep it to himself.
- 49) Men should get up to investigate if there is a strange noise in the house at night.
- 50) A man should think things out logically and have good reasons for what he does.
- 51) For a man, sex should always be spontaneous, rather than a pre-planned activity.
- 52) A man who has no taste for adventure is not very appealing.
- 53) It is not important for men to strive to reach the top.
- 54) For men, touching is simply the first step toward sex.
- 55) A man should always be the major provider in his family.
- 56) A man should be level-headed.
- 57) Men should be detached in emotionally charged situations.

### B.3. Male Role Norms Scale

Assessed along a seven-point Likert scale

1                      2                      3                      4                      5                      6                      7

#### *Status Norm Scale*

- 1) Success in his work has to be a man's central goal in his life.
- 2) The best way for a young man to get the respect of other people is to get a job, take it seriously, and do it well.
- 3) A man owes it to his family to work at the best-paying job he can get.
- 4) A man should generally work overtime to make more money whenever he gets the chance.
- 5) A man always deserves the respect of his wife and children.
- 6) It is essential for a man always to have the respect and admiration of everyone who knows him.
- 7) A man should never back down in the face of trouble.
- 8) I always like a man who's totally sure of himself.
- 9) A man should always think everything out coolly and logically, and have rational reasons for everything he does.
- 10) A man should always try to project an air of confidence even if he really doesn't feel confident inside.
- 11) A man must stand on his own two feet and never depend on other people to help him do things.

#### *Toughness Norm Scale*

- 12) When a man is feeling a little pain he should try not to let it show very much.
- 13) Nobody respects a man very much who frequently talks about his worries, fears, and problems.
- 14) A good motto for a man would be "When the going gets tough, the tough get going".
- 15) I think a young man should try to become physically tough, even if he is not big.
- 16) Fists are sometimes the only way to get out of a bad situation.
- 17) A real man enjoys a bit of danger now and then.
- 18) In some kinds of situations a man should be ready to use his fists, even if his wife or girlfriend would object.
- 19) A man should always refuse to get into a fight, even if there seems no way to avoid it.

### *Anti-femininity Norm Scale*

- 20) It bothers me when a man does something that I consider “feminine”.
- 21) A man whose hobbies are cooking, sewing, and going to the ballet probably wouldn’t appeal to me.
- 22) It is a bit embarrassing for a man to have a job that is usually filled by a woman.
- 23) Unless he was really desperate, I would probably advise a man to keep looking rather than accept a job as a secretary.
- 24) If I heard about a man who was a hairdresser and a gourmet cook, I might wonder how masculine he was.
- 25) I think it is extremely good for a boy to be taught to cook, sew, clean the house, and take care of younger children.
- 26) I might find it a little silly or embarrassing if a male friend of mine cried over a sad love scene in a movie.

### **B.4. Male Attitude Norms Inventory-II**

*Thank you for agreeing to take part in this study. The statements listed below describe interesting situations involving men. There are no right, or wrong answers, only opinions. You are asked to express your feelings about each statement by indicating whether you – (A) Strongly Disagree, (B) Disagree, (C) have No Opinion, (D) Agree, or (E) Strongly Agree – by placing a cross in the appropriate box.*

**FOR EXAMPLE:**

Men should eat vegetables every day.

Strongly Disagree  Disagree  No Opinion  Agree  Strongly Agree

- 1) A man should prefer sports like rugby and soccer to activities like art and drama.
- 2) If a man hurts himself he should try not to let others see he is in pain.
- 3) Men who cry in public are weak.
- 4) Men should share their worries with other people.
- 5) To be a man you need to be tough.
- 6) Being called a 'faggot' is one of the worst insults to a man.
- 7) Men should think logically about problems.
- 8) Men should appear confident even if they are not.
- 9) A man should make all the final decisions in the family.
- 10) Men participate in games to win.
- 11) Men should be able to sleep close together in the same bed.
- 12) Men should have a job that earns them respect.
- 13) A successful man should be able to live a comfortable life.
- 14) A man deserves the respect of his family.
- 15) Men have a sex drive that needs to be satisfied.
- 16) Men should feel embarrassed if they are unable to get an erection during sex.
- 17) Men who teach children, or cook in restaurants, should be proud of what they do.
- 18) It is not important for men to achieve orgasm during sex.
- 19) It is okay for men to rely on others.
- 20) If a man is frightened he should try and not let others see it.
- 21) It is wrong for a man to be seen in a gay bar.
- 22) Men should be prepared to physically fight their way out of a bad situation.
- 23) It is admirable for a man to take the lead when something needs to be done.
- 24) A heterosexual man should not feel embarrassed that he has gay friends.
- 25) A man should not worry about the future.
- 26) Gay men should be beaten-up.
- 27) A man's decision should not be questioned.
- 28) Men should be determined to do well.
- 29) It is important for a man to be successful in his job.
- 30) Gay men are not suited to many jobs.
- 31) Men should remain focused in difficult situations.
- 32) Men should have the respect and admiration of everyone who knows them.
- 33) Men should be able to kiss each other without feeling ashamed.
- 34) Men should feel embarrassed to talk about sex with their friends.
- 35) Men are prepared to take risks.
- 36) It is not always a man's task to ask someone on a date.

- 37) A father should be embarrassed if he finds out that his son is gay.
- 38) A man should make sure that he knows about sex.
- 39) A man is successful if he makes a lot of money.
- 40) Men should be calm in difficult situations.

## APPENDIX C

### C.1. Revision of the Male Attitude Norm Inventory

*Table C.1. Items included in the original Male Attitude Norm Inventory.*

No.	Original Items	Construct	Substantive Factor Loading
1+	A man should prefer sports like rugby and soccer to activities like cooking and sewing.	<b>Anti-feminine Practice</b> <i>(Masculine vs. feminine activities)</i>	✓ YES (0.464)
2*	Men who have a job that women normally do, should feel a little embarrassed.	<b>Anti-feminine Practice</b> <i>(Masculine vs. feminine work)</i>	✓ YES (0.463)
3	Women are too emotional to be of any use in a difficult situation.	<b>Female Belittlement</b> <i>(Female emotionality)</i>	✓ YES (0.412)
4	Women often do not understand how money matters work.	<b>Female Belittlement</b> <i>(Female intellect)</i>	✗ NO
5*	If a man hurts himself he should try not to let others see he is in pain.	<b>Discomfort Tolerance</b> <i>(Physical tolerance)</i>	✓ YES (0.480)
6	When somebody dies in the family, it is the man's duty to remain calm.	<b>Discomfort Tolerance</b> <i>(Emotional tolerance)</i>	✗ NO
7*	I think that men who cry in public are really very weak.	<b>Emotional Detachment</b> <i>(Non-display of emotion)</i>	✓ YES (0.533)
8	It is important for men never to rely on others, even during times of difficulty.	<b>Emotional Detachment</b> <i>(Non-reliance on others)</i>	✓ YES (0.504)
9	Men should keep their worries to themselves.	<b>Self-containment</b> <i>(Non-expression of worries)</i>	✓ YES (0.567)
10	If a man is frightened he should try and not let others see it.	<b>Self-containment</b> <i>(Non-expression of fears)</i>	✓ YES (0.517)
11*	To be a man you need to be tough.	<b>Physical Endurance</b> <i>(Physical toughness)</i>	✓ YES (0.432)
12*	Using a gun is sometimes the only way to get out of a bad situation.	<b>Physical Endurance</b> <i>(Physical violence)</i>	✗ NO

13*	It is natural for men to enjoy taking risks.	<b>Assertive Activity</b> <i>(Active risk)</i>	✗ NO
14	I admire a man who always takes the lead when something needs to be done.	<b>Assertive Activity</b> <i>(Active initiative)</i>	✓ YES (0.477)
15	Men should think carefully and logically about the things they do.	<b>Level-headed Practice</b> <i>(Rational/logical practice)</i>	✗ NO
16	A real man is able to remain calm even in bad situations.	<b>Level-headed Practice</b> <i>(Calm practice)</i>	✗ NO
17	Real men try to get woman to have sex with them.	<b>Male Sexual Prowess</b> <i>(Active sexuality)</i>	✗ NO
18*	I respect a man who always seems totally sure of himself.	<b>Male Independence</b> <i>(Confidence)</i>	✗ NO
19	A man should be responsible for his own success.	<b>Male Independence</b> <i>(Self-motivation)</i>	✗ NO
20	Gay men should be beaten-up.	<b>Homophobic Violence</b> <i>(Physical violence)</i>	✓ YES (0.518)
21+	A man should make all the final decisions in the family.	<b>Interpersonal Dominance</b> <i>(Authoritarian family leadership)</i>	✓ YES (0.510)
22	Women should do as men tell them to.	<b>Interpersonal Dominance</b> <i>(Unquestioning compliance)</i>	✓ YES (0.592)
23	It is important for men to know more about sex than women.	<b>Male Sexual Prowess</b> <i>(Sexual control)</i>	✗ NO
24	Men who are competitive are most successful in life.	<b>Achievement Management</b> <i>(Competitive)</i>	✗ NO
25	Men should be determined to do well no matter what the cost.	<b>Achievement Management</b> <i>(Determination)</i>	✗ NO
26*	Men should have a job that earns them respect.	<b>Career Management</b> <i>(Respected career/work)</i>	✓ YES (0.426)
27	I believe that it is important for a man to be successful in his job.	<b>Career Management</b> <i>(Success in career/work)</i>	✓ YES (0.555)
28	Gay men should not be allowed to join the army.	<b>Homophobic Ostracism</b> <i>(Work ostracism)</i>	✗ NO
29	A man's car tells a lot about how successful he is.	<b>Resource Management</b> <i>(Vehicle symbolism)</i>	✗ NO
30	A man is successful if he makes a lot of money.	<b>Resource Management</b> <i>(Monetary symbolism)</i>	✓ YES (0.489)

31	A man deserves the respect of his wife and children.	<b>Power Management</b> ( <i>Familial respect</i> )	✓ YES (0.421)
32*	Men should have the respect and admiration of everyone who knows them.	<b>Power Management</b> ( <i>General respect</i> )	✓ YES (0.508)
33	A father should be embarrassed if he finds out that his son is gay.	<b>Homophobic Ostracism</b> (Family ostracism)	✓ YES (0.553)
34	I enjoy talking about a woman's 'looks' with my friends.	<b>Female Sexual Objectification</b> (Objectification of female body)	✓ YES (-0.481)
35+	Being called a 'faggot' is one of the worst insults to a man.	<b>Homophobic Violence</b> (Verbal violence)	✓ YES (0.454)
36+	Men should never kiss their fathers.	<b>Anti-homoerotic Practice</b> (Anti man-to-man kissing)	✓ YES (0.412)
37	I think it is strange when men hug each other.	<b>Anti-homoerotic Practice</b> (Anti man-to-man embrace)	✗ NO
38	A real man should never pick flowers for himself.	<b>Heterosexual Self-regulation</b> (Self-regulation of behaviour)	✗ NO
39+	Men should not wear bracelets.	<b>Heterosexual Self-regulation</b> (Self-regulation of dress)	✗ NO
40	It is pointless to try and have a serious discussion with a woman.	<b>Female Sexual Objectification</b> (Objectification of female intellect)	✓ YES (0.486)

+ Male Role Norms Inventory (Levant et al, 1992).

\* Male Role Norms Scales (Thompson & Pleck, 1986).

Table C. 2. Revision of items included in the Male Attitude Norms Inventory-II.

No.	Original Items	Revised Items
1+	A man should prefer sports like rugby and soccer to activities like cooking and sewing.	A man should prefer sports like rugby and soccer to activities like art and drama.

<b>Revision required:</b>		
<i>The original item is <u>gender comparative</u> in its use of activities that are overtly gender stereotypic: rugby &amp; soccer (masculine) vs. cooking and sewing (feminine). The revised item includes activities that are considered 'unigendered' whilst at the same time traditionally 'non-masculine'. Thus, the revised item now attempts to assess participant support for traditional masculine activities, rather than the rejection of those usually considered feminine.</i>		
2*	Men who have a job that women normally do, should feel a little embarrassed.	Men who teach children, or cook in restaurants, should be proud of what they do.
<b>Revision required:</b>		
<i>The original item is <u>gender comparative</u> in its mention of both men and women. The revised item attempts to assess participant support for traditionally 'non-masculine' work rather than the rejection of work that is typically considered feminine. As such the statement accommodates a 'progressive', rather than 'traditional', masculine ideology toward Masculine Practice.</i>		
3	Women are too emotional to be of any use in a difficult situation.	<b>Item abandoned</b>
<b>Reason:</b>		
<i>The item assesses participant attitude toward females, as well as femininity, and as such extends beyond understanding of masculinity. The concept of masculine emotionality is better dealt with separately in item 7 &amp; 8.</i>		
4	Women often do not understand how money matters work.	<b>Item abandoned</b>
<b>Reason:</b>		
<i>The item assesses participant attitude toward females, as well as femininity, and as such extends beyond understanding of masculinity.</i>		
5*	If a man hurts himself he should try not to let others see he is in pain.	<b>Item retained without revision.</b>
6	When somebody dies in the family, it is the man's duty to remain calm.	Men should be calm in difficult situations.
<b>Revision required:</b>		
<i>Item factor loading was <u>insubstantive</u>. Interestingly item 5, similarly assessing Discomfort Tolerance, emerged substantive. The example given in item 6, namely 'a death in the family', might have acted to restrict response in accordance with the situational illustration. The revised item attempts to assess traditional masculine emotional tolerance in the absence of any specific situational example.</i>		
7*	I think that men who cry in public are really very weak.	Men who cry in public are weak.
<b>Revision required:</b>		
<i>The original item appeared in the <u>1<sup>st</sup> person</u>, argued to better assess gender orientation, than gender ideology. As such the revised item appears in the <u>3<sup>rd</sup> person</u>. Additionally the words: '...really very...' are excluded. This accommodates a less extreme attitude towards masculine non-display of emotion.</i>		

8	It is important for men never to rely on others, even during times of difficulty.	It is okay for men to rely on others.
<b>Revision required:</b>		
<i>The original item is <u>redundant</u>, in its use of 'even during times of difficulty', and may be shortened. Additionally the revised item excludes use of the word 'never'. This accommodates a 'progressive', rather than 'traditional', masculine ideology toward Emotional Detachment.</i>		
9	Men should keep their worries to themselves.	Men should share their worries with other people.
<b>Revision required:</b>		
<i>The original item was written to express 'traditional' masculine ideology. In order to accommodate non-conventional attitudes the revised item now reflects a 'progressive' masculine ideology toward Self-containment.</i>		
10	If a man is frightened he should try and not let others see it.	<b>Item retained without revision.</b>
11*	To be a man you need to be tough.	<b>Item retained without revision.</b>
12*	Using a gun is sometimes the only way to get out of a bad situation.	Men should be prepared to physically fight their way out of a bad situation.
<b>Revision required:</b>		
<i>Item factor loading was <u>insubstantive</u>. Interestingly item 11, similarly assessing Physical Endurance, emerged substantive. In retrospect, the notion of using a weapon might well have been a poor means of assessing violent physicality, due to the absence of notable bodily action in its use. The revised item attempts to assess support for the use of physical violence in a direct fashion. In addition this accommodates a less extreme attitude towards support for the use of physical violence.</i>		
13*	It is natural for men to enjoy taking risks.	Men are prepared to take risks.
<b>Revision required:</b>		
<i>Item factor loading was <u>insubstantive</u>. Interestingly item 14, similarly assessing Assertive Activity, emerged substantive. The revised item discards the original stress placed on both, the 'naturalness', as well as the 'enjoyment' of masculine risk-taking. In short this accommodates a less extreme attitude towards active masculine risk-taking behaviour.</i>		
14	I admire a man who always takes the lead when something needs to be done.	It is admirable for a man to take the lead when something needs to be done.
<b>Revision required:</b>		
<i>The original item appeared in the <u>1<sup>st</sup> person</u>, argued to better assess gender orientation, than gender ideology. As such the revised item appears in the <u>3<sup>rd</sup> person</u>.</i>		
15	Men should think carefully and logically about the things they do.	Men should think logically about problems.

<b>Revision required:</b>		
<i>Item factor loading was <u>insubstantive</u>. In addition the original item is <u>ambiguous</u>, making mention of two separate concepts: care &amp; logic. The revised item attempts to assess participant support for traditional masculine logic in the absence of notions concerning carefulness.</i>		
<b>16</b>	A real man is able to remain calm even in bad situations.	Men should remain focused in difficult situations.
<b>Revision required:</b>		
<i>Item factor loading was <u>insubstantive</u>. The construct of Discomfort Tolerance deals better with the concept of calmness, as seen in item 6, than does the construct of Level-headed Practice. As such the revised item now finds operationalisation around the concept of masculine rationality.</i>		
<b>17</b>	Real men try to get woman to have sex with them.	It is not always a man's task to ask someone on a date.
<b>Reason:</b>		
<i>Item factor loading was <u>insubstantive</u>. In addition the original item is <u>gender comparative</u> in its mention of both men and women. The concept of active male sexuality (Male Sexual Prowess) is better explored separately under the newly incorporated concept of male sexual orchestration (Sexual Control).</i>		
<b>18*</b>	I respect a man who always seems totally sure of himself.	Men should appear confident even if they are not.
<b>Revision required:</b>		
<i>Item factor loading was <u>insubstantive</u>. The revised item discards the original emphasis within the statement; seen in the use of the words; 'always' &amp; 'totally'. This accommodates a less extreme attitude towards male confidence. Additionally the original item appeared in the 1<sup>st</sup> person, argued to better assess gender orientation, than gender ideology. As such the revised item appears in the 3<sup>rd</sup> person.</i>		
<b>19</b>	A man should be responsible for his own success.	A man should not worry about the future.
<b>Revision required:</b>		
<i>Item factor loading was <u>insubstantive</u>. In retrospect the use of the words 'responsible' &amp; 'success', might have been a poor means of assessing self-motivation, fostering <u>ambiguity</u> in the mention of two separate concepts. The revised item attempts to assess participant support for traditional masculine self-motivation in simplified terms. Additionally the original item was written to express 'traditional' masculine ideology. In order to accommodate non-conventional attitudes the revised item now reflects a 'progressive' masculine ideology toward Male Independence.</i>		
<b>20</b>	Gay men should be beaten-up.	<b>Item retained without revision.</b>
<b>21+</b>	A man should make all the final decisions in the family.	<b>Item retained without revision.</b>
<b>22</b>	Women should do as men tell them to.	A man's decision should not be questioned.

<b>Revision required:</b>		
<i>The original item is <u>gender comparative</u> in its mention of both men and women. The revised item attempts to assess participant support surrounding the traditional importance of male Interpersonal Dominance rather than conventional male backing of female compliance.</i>		
<b>23</b>	It is important for men to know more about sex than women.	<b>Item abandoned</b>
<b>Reason:</b>		
<i>Item factor loading was <u>insubstantive</u>. In addition the original item is <u>gender comparative</u> in its mention of both men and women. The concept of male sexual control (Male Sexual Prowess) is better explored separately under the newly incorporated concept of male sexual knowledge (Sexual Control).</i>		
<b>24</b>	Men who are competitive are most successful in life.	Men participate in games to win.
<b>Revision required:</b>		
<i>Item factor loading was <u>insubstantive</u>. In addition the original item is <u>ambiguous</u>, making mention of two separate constructs: competition &amp; success. The revised item attempts to assess participant support for traditional masculine competitiveness in the absence of notions concerning success.</i>		
<b>25</b>	Men should be determined to do well no matter what the cost.	Men should be determined to do well.
<b>Revision required:</b>		
<i>Item factor loading was <u>insubstantive</u>. The revised item discards the original stress placed on the importance of success, 'no matter what the cost', accommodating a less extreme attitude towards determination.</i>		
<b>26*</b>	Men should have a job that earns them respect.	<b>Item retained without revision.</b>
<b>27</b>	I believe that it is important for a man to be successful in his job.	It is important for a man to be successful in his job.
<b>Revision required:</b>		
<i>The original item appeared in the <u>1<sup>st</sup> person</u>, argued to better assess gender orientation, than gender ideology. As such the revised item appears in the <u>3<sup>rd</sup> person</u>.</i>		
<b>28</b>	Gay men should not be allowed to join the army.	Gay men are not suited to many jobs.
<b>Revision required:</b>		
<i>Item factor loading was <u>insubstantive</u>. Interestingly item 33, similarly assessing Homophobic Ostracism, emerged substantive. The example given in item 28, namely 'gay men' joining 'the army', might have acted to restrict response in accordance with the situational illustration. In addition the question of male enrolment in the military was, and still is to a certain extent, a topical issue. Its popular debate may have served to alter participant response. The revised item attempts to assess traditional masculine Homophobic Ostracism in the absence of any specific situational example.</i>		
<b>29</b>	A man's car tells a lot about how successful he is.	A successful man should be able to live a comfortable life.

<b>Revision required:</b>		
<i>Item factor loading was <u>insubstantive</u>. Interestingly item 30, similarly assessing Resource Management, emerged substantive. Class-bound definitions surrounding status differ, particularly with regard to the possession of resources, where non-specific social indicators of material success hold greater cross-class relevance. The revised item abandons such specificity in favour of participant defined understanding surrounding 'comfortable' success.</i>		
<b>30</b>	A man is successful if he makes a lot of money.	<b>Item retained without revision.</b>
<b>31</b>	A man deserves the respect of his wife and children.	A man deserves the respect of his family.
<b>Revision required:</b>		
<i>The original item is <u>gender comparative</u> in its mention of both men and women. The revised item attempts to assess participant support for masculine Power Management within the family, including both male and female members, rather than exploring male attitudes toward females within the family.</i>		
<b>32*</b>	Men should have the respect and admiration of everyone who knows them.	<b>Item retained without revision.</b>
<b>33</b>	A father should be embarrassed if he finds out that his son is gay.	<b>Item retained without revision.</b>
<b>34</b>	I enjoy talking about a woman's 'looks' with my friends.	Men have a sex drive that needs to be satisfied.
<b>Revision required:</b>		
<i>The original item is <u>gender comparative</u> in its implicit mention of both men and women. The revised item attempts to assess participant support for traditional male Objectification of Sex, through its instrumental understanding, rather than the Sexual Objectification of the females. Additionally the original item appeared in the <u>1<sup>st</sup> person</u>, argued to better assess gender orientation, than gender ideology. As such the revised item appears in the <u>3<sup>rd</sup> person</u>.</i>		
<b>35+</b>	Being called a 'faggot' is one of the worst insults to a man.	<b>Item retained without revision.</b>
<b>36+</b>	Men should never kiss their fathers.	Men should be able to kiss each other without feeling ashamed.
<b>Revision required:</b>		
<i>The original item might have assessed participant rejection of incestuous familial relations, in addition to Homoerotic Practice, suggesting the need to abandon mention of 'fathers'. In addition the inclusion of the word 'ashamed' in the revised item, implies homoerotic practice, thereby achieving greater cross-cultural relevance in defining inappropriate male kissing. The original item was written to express 'traditional' masculine ideology. In order to accommodate non-conventional attitudes the revised item now reflects a 'progressive' masculine ideology toward Homoerotic Practice.</i>		
<b>37</b>	I think it is strange when men hug each other.	Men should be able to sleep close together in the same bed.

<b>Revision required:</b>		
<i>Item factor loading was <u>insubstantive</u>. Interestingly item 36, similarly assessing Anti-homoerotic Practice, appeared substantive. Cross-cultural definitions surrounding homoerotic practice differ, some considering male embrace heterosexually appropriate, others not. The revised item attempts to achieve cross-cultural relevance through implying homoerotic practice in more explicit terms. Secondly the original item was written to express 'traditional' masculine ideology. In order to accommodate non-conventional attitudes the revised item now reflects a 'progressive' masculine ideology toward Homoerotic Practice. Lastly the original item appeared in the 1<sup>st</sup> person, argued to better assess gender orientation, than gender ideology. As such the revised item appears in the 3<sup>rd</sup> person.</i>		
<b>38</b>	A real man should never pick flowers for himself.	<b>Item abandoned</b>
<b>Reason:</b>		
<i>Cross-cultural displays of heterosexuality are varied. This militates against the use of culturally specific (Western) notions of heterosexual behavioural practice in assessing participant endorsement of heterosexuality.</i>		
<b>39+</b>	Men should not wear bracelets.	<b>Item abandoned</b>
<b>Reason:</b>		
<i>Cross-cultural displays of heterosexuality are varied. This militates against the use of culturally specific (Western) notions of heterosexual behavioural practice in assessing participant endorsement of heterosexuality.</i>		
<b>40</b>	It is pointless to try and have a serious discussion with a woman.	Men should feel embarrassed to talk about sex with their friends.
<b>Revision required:</b>		
<i>The original item is <u>gender comparative</u> in its implicit mention of both men and women. The revised item attempts to assess participant support for male discursive Objectification of Sex, rather than male dismissal of female intellect, and hence their subtle Sexual Objectification of females. In order to accommodate non-conventional attitudes the revised item now reflects a 'progressive' masculine ideology toward the Objectification of Sex.</i>		

+ Male Role Norms Inventory (Levant et al, 1992).

\* Male Role Norms Scales (Thompson & Pleck, 1986).

*Table C.3. Items included in the Male Attitude Norms Inventory-II.*

No.	Revised Items	Construct	Statement Type
1+	A man should prefer sports like rugby and soccer to activities like art and drama.	<b>Masculine Practice</b> <i>(Masculine activities)</i>	- 3 <sup>rd</sup> person. - Prescriptive.

			- Traditional.
2*	Men who teach children, or cook in restaurants, should be proud of what they do.	<b>Masculine Practice</b> <i>(Masculine work)</i>	- 3 <sup>rd</sup> person. - Prescriptive. - Progressive.
3	Women are too emotional to be of any use in a difficult situation.	<b>Item abandoned</b>	
4	Women often do not understand how money matters work.	<b>Item abandoned</b>	
5*	If a man hurts himself he should try not to let others see he is in pain.	<b>Discomfort Tolerance</b> <i>(Physical tolerance)</i>	- 3 <sup>rd</sup> person. - Prescriptive. - Traditional.
6	Men should be calm in difficult situations.	<b>Discomfort Tolerance</b> <i>(Emotional tolerance)</i>	- 3 <sup>rd</sup> person. - Prescriptive. - Traditional.
7*	Men who cry in public are weak.	<b>Emotional Detachment</b> <i>(Non-display of emotion)</i>	- 3 <sup>rd</sup> person. - Descriptive. - Traditional.
8	It is okay for men to rely on others.	<b>Emotional Detachment</b> <i>(Non-reliance on others)</i>	- 3 <sup>rd</sup> person. - Prescriptive. - Progressive.
9	Men should share their worries with other people.	<b>Self-containment</b> <i>(Non-expression of worries)</i>	- 3 <sup>rd</sup> person. - Prescriptive. - Progressive.
10	If a man is frightened he should try and not let others see it.	<b>Self-containment</b> <i>(Non-expression of fears)</i>	- 3 <sup>rd</sup> person. - Prescriptive. - Traditional.
11*	To be a man you need to be tough.	<b>Physical Endurance</b> <i>(Physical toughness)</i>	- 3 <sup>rd</sup> person. - Prescriptive. - Traditional.
12*	Men should be prepared to physically fight their way out of a bad situation.	<b>Physical Endurance</b> <i>(Physical violence)</i>	- 3 <sup>rd</sup> person. - Prescriptive. - Traditional.
13*	Men are prepared to take risks.	<b>Assertive Activity</b> <i>(Active risk)</i>	- 3 <sup>rd</sup> person. - Descriptive. - Traditional.
14	It is admirable for a man to take the lead when something needs to be done.	<b>Assertive Activity</b> <i>(Active initiative)</i>	- 3 <sup>rd</sup> person. - Prescriptive. - Traditional.
15	Men should think logically about problems.	<b>Level-headed Practice</b>	- 3 <sup>rd</sup> person.

		<i>(Logical practice)</i>	- Prescriptive. - Traditional.
16	Men should remain focused in difficult situations.	<b>Level-headed Practice</b> <i>(Rational practice)</i>	- 3 <sup>rd</sup> person. - Prescriptive. - Traditional.
17	Real men try to get woman to have sex with them.	<b>Item abandoned</b>	
18*	Men should appear confident even if they are not.	<b>Male Independence</b> <i>(Confidence)</i>	- 3 <sup>rd</sup> person. - Prescriptive. - Traditional.
19	A man should not worry about the future.	<b>Male Independence</b> <i>(Self-motivation)</i>	- 3 <sup>rd</sup> person. - Prescriptive. - Progressive.
20	Gay men should be beaten-up.	<b>Homophobic Violence</b> <i>(Physical violence)</i>	- 3 <sup>rd</sup> person. - Prescriptive. - Traditional.
21+	A man should make all the final decisions in the family.	<b>Interpersonal Dominance</b> <i>(Authoritarian family leadership)</i>	- 3 <sup>rd</sup> person. - Prescriptive. - Traditional.
22	A man's decision should not be questioned.	<b>Interpersonal Dominance</b> <i>(Unquestioning compliance)</i>	- 3 <sup>rd</sup> person. - Prescriptive. - Traditional.
23	It is important for men to know more about sex than women.	<b>Item abandoned</b>	
24	Men participate in games to win.	<b>Achievement Management</b> <i>(Competitive)</i>	- 3 <sup>rd</sup> person. - Descriptive. - Traditional.
25	Men should be determined to do well.	<b>Achievement Management</b> <i>(Determination)</i>	- 3 <sup>rd</sup> person. - Prescriptive. - Traditional.
26*	Men should have a job that earns them respect.	<b>Career Management</b> <i>(Respected career/work)</i>	- 3 <sup>rd</sup> person. - Prescriptive. - Traditional.
27	It is important for a man to be successful in his job.	<b>Career Management</b> <i>(Success in career/work)</i>	- 3 <sup>rd</sup> person. - Prescriptive. - Traditional.
28	Gay men are not suited to many jobs.	<b>Homophobic Ostracism</b> <i>(Work ostracism)</i>	- 3 <sup>rd</sup> person. - Descriptive. - Traditional.

29	A successful man should be able to live a comfortable life.	<b>Resource Management</b> ( <i>Comfort symbolism</i> )	- 3 <sup>rd</sup> person. - Prescriptive. - Traditional.
30	A man is successful if he makes a lot of money.	<b>Resource Management</b> ( <i>Monetary symbolism</i> )	- 3 <sup>rd</sup> person. - Prescriptive. - Traditional.
31	A man deserves the respect of his family.	<b>Power Management</b> ( <i>Familial respect</i> )	- 3 <sup>rd</sup> person. - Prescriptive. - Traditional.
32*	Men should have the respect and admiration of everyone who knows them.	<b>Power Management</b> ( <i>General respect</i> )	- 3 <sup>rd</sup> person. - Prescriptive. - Traditional.
33	A father should be embarrassed if he finds out that his son is gay.	<b>Homophobic Ostracism</b> ( <i>Family ostracism</i> )	- 3 <sup>rd</sup> person. - Prescriptive. - Traditional.
34	Men have a sex drive that needs to be satisfied.	<b>Objectification of Sex</b> ( <i>Instrumental sex</i> )	- 3 <sup>rd</sup> person. - Descriptive. - Traditional.
35+	Being called a 'faggot' is one of the worst insults to a man.	<b>Homophobic Violence</b> ( <i>Verbal violence</i> )	- 3 <sup>rd</sup> person. - Prescriptive. - Traditional.
36+	Men should be able to kiss each other without feeling ashamed.	<b>Anti-homoerotic Practice</b> ( <i>Anti-kissing</i> )	- 3 <sup>rd</sup> person. - Prescriptive. - Progressive.
37	Men should be able to sleep close together in the same bed.	<b>Anti-homoerotic Practice</b> ( <i>Anti-embrace</i> )	- 3 <sup>rd</sup> person. - Prescriptive. - Progressive.
38	A real man should never pick flowers for himself.	<b>Item abandoned</b>	
39+	Men should not wear bracelets.	<b>Item abandoned</b>	
40	Men should feel embarrassed to talk about sex with their friends.	<b>Objectification of Sex</b> ( <i>Discursive objectification</i> )	- 3 <sup>rd</sup> person. - Prescriptive. - Progressive.

+ Male Role Norms Inventory (Levant et al, 1992).

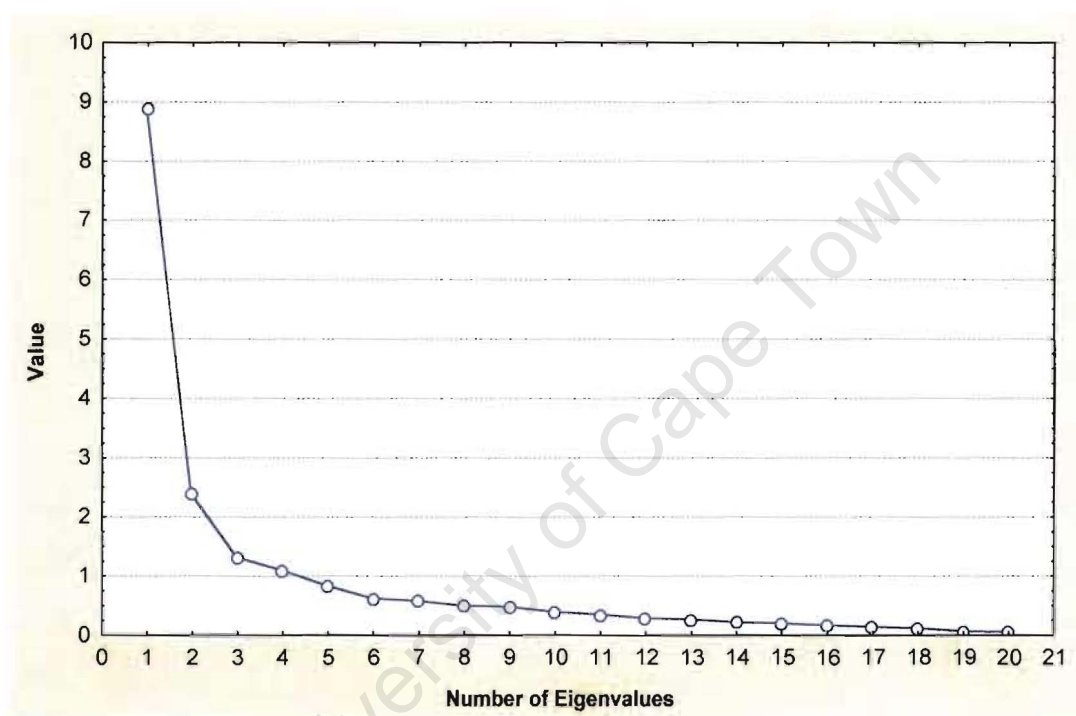
\* Male Role Norms Scales (Thompson & Pleck, 1986).

No.	New Items	Construct	Statement Type
1	It is not important for men to achieve orgasm during sex.	<b>Sexual Performance</b> <i>(Orgasm achievement)</i>	- 3 <sup>rd</sup> person. - Prescriptive. - Progressive.
2	Men should feel embarrassed if they are unable to get an erection during sex.	<b>Sexual Performance</b> <i>(Erectile function)</i>	- 3 <sup>rd</sup> person. - Prescriptive. - Traditional.
3	A man should make sure that he knows about sex.	<b>Sexual Control</b> <i>(Sexual knowledge)</i>	- 3 <sup>rd</sup> person. - Prescriptive. - Traditional.
4	It is not always a man's task to ask someone on a date.	<b>Sexual Control</b> <i>(Sexual orchestration)</i>	- 3 <sup>rd</sup> person. - Prescriptive. - Progressive.
5	It is wrong for a man to be seen in a gay bar.	<b>Homophobic Avoidance</b> <i>(Situational avoidance)</i>	- 3 <sup>rd</sup> person. - Prescriptive. - Traditional.
6	A heterosexual man should not feel embarrassed that he has gay friends.	<b>Homophobic Avoidance</b> <i>(Friendship avoidance)</i>	- 3 <sup>rd</sup> person. - Prescriptive. - Progressive.

## APPENDIX D

### D.1. Exploratory Factor Analysis of MANI-II

Figure D.1. Scree Plot of Eigenvalues.



### D.2. Sub-Scale Analysis: Descriptive Statistical Data

Table D.1. Descriptive data surrounding each of the three Sub-Scales.

	<b>COMBINED Scale</b>	<b>TOUGHNESS: Sub-Scale</b>	<b>CONTROL: Sub-Scale</b>	<b>SEXUALITY: Sub-Scale</b>
<i>Mean</i>	96.23	24.05	53.69	21.48
<i>Sum</i>	32622.20	8153.84	18200.20	7283.15

<b>Standard Dev.</b>	16.86	6.91	7.37	6.78
<b>Variance</b>	284.11	47.73	54.38	45.92
<b>Skewness</b>	0.44	0.76	-0.15	0.49
<b>Kurtosis</b>	-0.16	0.69	-0.23	-0.27
<b>Minimum</b>	56.00	11.00	28.00	8.00
<b>Maximum</b>	147.00	49.00	70.00	40.00
<b>Cronbach's <math>\alpha</math></b>	0.91	0.83	0.83	0.85
<b>Standardised <math>\alpha</math></b>	0.90	0.83	0.84	0.85
<b>Av. Inter-Item Correlation</b>	0.24	0.33	0.27	0.42
	<b>31 Items</b>	<b>10 Items</b>	<b>14 Items</b>	<b>8 Items</b>

Table D.2. Relative contribution made by items included in the Toughness Sub-Scale.

	<b>Mean if Deleted</b>	<b>Variance if Deleted</b>	<b>St. Dev. if Deleted</b>	<b>Item-Total Correlation</b>	<b>Alpha if Deleted</b>
<b>Question 1</b>	21.73	37.10	6.09	0.59	0.81
<b>Question 2</b>	21.65	38.30	6.19	0.59	0.81
<b>Question 3</b>	21.63	37.31	6.11	0.61	0.81
<b>Question 4</b>	21.84	41.32	6.43	0.42	0.83
<b>Question 5</b>	21.06	37.75	6.14	0.56	0.81
<b>Question 9</b>	21.84	39.48	6.28	0.53	0.82
<b>Question 17</b>	22.36	42.72	6.54	0.41	0.83
<b>Question 20</b>	21.23	38.77	6.23	0.54	0.81
<b>Question 22</b>	21.06	39.43	6.28	0.44	0.83
<b>Question 27</b>	22.07	40.43	6.36	0.53	0.82

Table D.3. Relative contribution made by items included in the Control Sub-Scale.

	Mean if Deleted	Variance if Deleted	St. Dev. if Deleted	Item-Total Correlation	Alpha if Deleted
<i>Question 5</i>	50.69	45.02	6.71	0.48	0.82
<i>Question 7</i>	49.61	48.44	6.96	0.46	0.82
<i>Question 12</i>	50.23	44.49	6.67	0.55	0.81
<i>Question 13</i>	49.76	47.52	6.89	0.42	0.82
<i>Question 14</i>	49.79	44.87	6.70	0.57	0.81
<i>Question 15</i>	50.06	46.80	6.84	0.43	0.82
<i>Question 23</i>	49.82	48.49	6.96	0.41	0.82
<i>Question 28</i>	49.53	48.59	6.97	0.46	0.82
<i>Question 29</i>	49.62	47.38	6.88	0.55	0.82
<i>Question 31</i>	49.45	49.49	7.03	0.46	0.82
<i>Question 32</i>	50.39	45.15	6.72	0.53	0.82
<i>Question 35</i>	49.83	48.84	6.99	0.42	0.82
<i>Question 38</i>	49.52	49.51	7.04	0.35	0.83
<i>Question 40</i>	49.64	48.36	6.95	0.47	0.82

Table D.4. Relative contribution made by items included in the Sexuality Sub-Scale.

	Mean if Deleted	Variance if Deleted	St. Dev. if Deleted	Item-Total Correlation	Alpha if Deleted
<i>Question 11</i>	18.18	37.57	6.13	0.47	0.84
<i>Question 16</i>	18.51	37.93	6.16	0.43	0.85
<i>Question 21</i>	18.45	33.24	5.77	0.69	0.82
<i>Question 24</i>	19.28	36.99	6.08	0.56	0.83
<i>Question 26</i>	19.62	35.57	5.96	0.64	0.82
<i>Question 30</i>	19.26	36.14	6.01	0.60	0.83
<i>Question 33</i>	18.16	34.72	5.89	0.64	0.82
<i>Question 37</i>	18.99	34.33	5.86	0.67	0.82

Table D.5. Relative contribution made by all items included in MANI-II.

	<b>Mean if Deleted</b>	<b>Variance if Deleted</b>	<b>St. Dev. if Deleted</b>	<b>Item-Total Correlation</b>	<b>Alpha if Deleted</b>
<i>Question 1</i>	122.68	379.02	19.47	0.57	0.91
<i>Question 2</i>	122.61	385.95	19.65	0.49	0.91
<i>Question 3</i>	122.59	380.91	19.52	0.56	0.91
<i>Question 4</i>	122.79	393.02	19.82	0.38	0.91
<i>Question 5</i>	122.02	380.32	19.50	0.57	0.91
<i>Question 6</i>	121.71	386.91	19.67	0.40	0.91
<i>Question 7</i>	120.94	396.33	19.91	0.36	0.91
<i>Question 8</i>	121.76	386.49	19.66	0.46	0.91
<i>Question 9</i>	122.80	387.38	19.68	0.48	0.91
<i>Question 10</i>	121.60	391.70	19.79	0.33	0.91
<i>Question 11</i>	121.70	385.67	19.64	0.46	0.91
<i>Question 12</i>	121.55	384.66	19.61	0.50	0.91
<i>Question 13</i>	121.08	394.08	19.85	0.34	0.91
<i>Question 14</i>	121.12	384.93	19.62	0.53	0.91
<i>Question 15</i>	121.39	390.65	19.76	0.39	0.91
<i>Question 16</i>	122.03	385.64	19.64	0.45	0.91
<i>Question 17</i>	123.32	395.61	19.89	0.39	0.91
<i>Question 18</i>	121.68	396.67	19.92	0.23	0.91
<i>Question 19</i>	122.68	387.75	19.69	0.42	0.91
<i>Question 20</i>	122.19	385.19	19.63	0.50	0.91
<i>Question 21</i>	121.97	375.14	19.37	0.61	0.91
<i>Question 22</i>	122.02	385.38	19.63	0.45	0.91
<i>Question 23</i>	121.14	393.82	19.84	0.40	0.91
<i>Question 24</i>	122.81	384.89	19.62	0.51	0.91
<i>Question 25</i>	120.95	401.07	20.03	0.16	0.91
<i>Question 26</i>	123.14	381.05	19.52	0.57	0.91
<i>Question 27</i>	123.03	390.02	19.75	0.48	0.91
<i>Question 28</i>	120.85	396.58	19.91	0.37	0.91
<i>Question 29</i>	120.95	392.02	19.80	0.49	0.91
<i>Question 30</i>	122.79	384.70	19.61	0.49	0.91
<i>Question 31</i>	120.77	399.46	19.99	0.32	0.91
<i>Question 32</i>	121.71	385.19	19.63	0.51	0.91
<i>Question 33</i>	121.68	379.04	19.47	0.57	0.91
<i>Question 34</i>	120.70	409.62	20.24	-0.05	0.91
<i>Question 35</i>	121.15	395.86	19.90	0.37	0.91

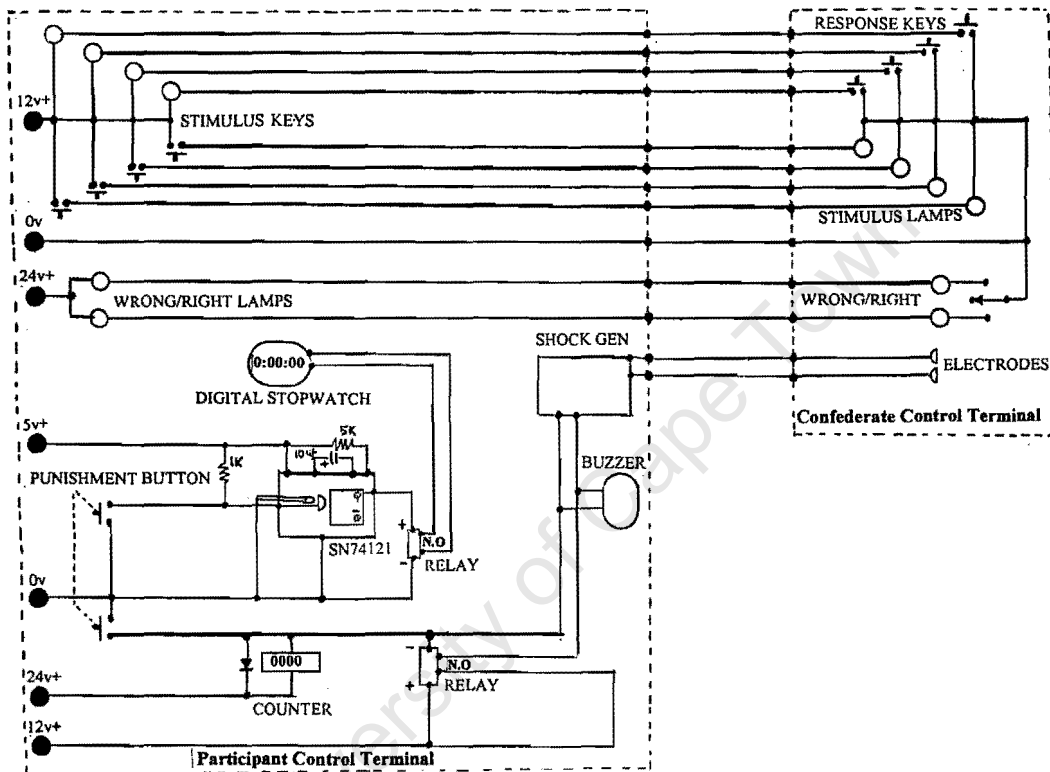
<i>Question 36</i>	122.91	401.04	20.03	0.16	0.91
<i>Question 37</i>	122.47	376.68	19.41	0.62	0.91
<i>Question 38</i>	120.85	400.94	20.02	0.209	0.91
<i>Question 39</i>	122.33	380.76	19.51	0.52	0.91
<i>Question 40</i>	120.96	396.13	19.90	0.37	0.91

University of Cape Town

## APPENDIX E

### E.1. Buss Aggression Machine Systems Circuit

Figure E.1. Buss Aggression Machine Systems Circuit Diagram



The apparatus comprises 4 differently coloured stimulus lamps with integrated response switches – of the normally off push-button variety – cross connected on each of the participant and confederate's control panel. It also includes wrong (red) and right (green) indicator lamps, powered via a centre off toggle switch, installed on the confederate's control terminal.

The participants control unit houses a regulated DC power supply, 7 punishment buttons and associated shock generator (with preset controls to deliver varying degrees of electric shock), a bank of digital timers (measuring cumulative elapsed time in milliseconds), a complement of electro-mechanical counters (recording cumulative frequency), and a piezzo electric buzzer (providing audio feedback). In addition the shock stimulator also incorporates a master on/off switch. The stopwatch trigger circuit, as depicted in diagram, shows only one channel.

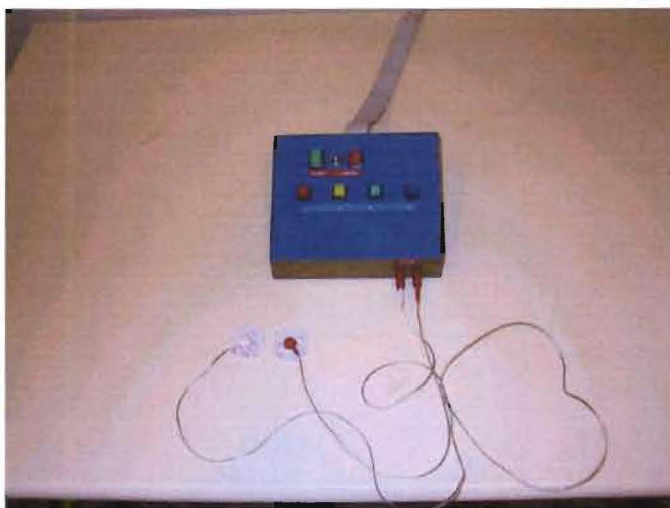
The punishment buttons are high-impact double-pole devices that reliably trigger the SN74121 monostable multivibrator, which in turn delivers a 20ms pulse (determined by the external timing components), to start the timer. Releasing the switch sends a similar pulse to stop said timer that is interfaced via a reed relay. The counter, buzzer, and shock stimulator are simultaneously triggered using the 2<sup>nd</sup> pole of the switch.

**Design:** Mr. Alex Reynolds; Senior Technician; Department of Psychology; University of Cape Town.

*Figure E.2. Buss Aggression Machine (Participant Terminal).*



*Figure E.3. Buss Aggression Machine (Confederate Terminal).*



## APPENDIX F

### F.1. Buss Aggression Procedure: Data Sheet

#### Demographic Information

1) Age: \_\_\_\_\_

2) Education:   None    Primary    Secondary    Tertiary    Other   

If "Other": How would they describe their education? \_\_\_\_\_

3) Marital Status:   Single    Married    Divorced   

4) Race:           'Asian'    'Black'    'Colored'    'White'    Other   

If "Other": How would they describe their 'race'? \_\_\_\_\_

5) Religion:       Christian    Hindu    Judaic        Muslim    Other   

If "Other": How would they describe their religion? \_\_\_\_\_

### Aggression Measures

Response							
	<i>Buzzer</i>	<i>Shock 1</i>	<i>Shock 2</i>	<i>Shock 3</i>	<i>Shock 4</i>	<i>Shock 5</i>	<i>Shock 6</i>
<i>Cumulative Frequency</i>							
<i>Cumulative Duration</i>							

### Post-Experiment Questions

- 1) Did the shocks have an effect on the number of correct responses? YES  NO

If "NO": Why do they feel this was the case? .....

.....

.....

- 2) Was it important for the other individual to receive shocks in this experiment? YES  NO

If "YES": Why do they feel this was the case? .....

.....

.....

- 3) Did shocking another person make you feel uncomfortable? YES  NO

If "NO": Why do they feel this was the case? .....

.....

.....

---

**AGGRESSION TRIAL  
SHEET**

---

1	2-4-3-2	CORRECT
2	1-2-3-4	CORRECT
3	4-2-3-1	INCORRECT
4	3-2-2-1	CORRECT
5	3-2-1-4	CORRECT
6	4-1-2-3	CORRECT
7	2-3-4-1	CORRECT
8	1-2-4-3	INCORRECT
9	3-2-4-1	INCORRECT
10	4-3-1-1	INCORRECT
11	3-1-2-4	CORRECT
12	1-2-3-2	CORRECT
13	4-2-2-2	CORRECT
14	3-1-3-1	CORRECT
15	3-1-3-2	CORRECT
16	1-4-3-2	INCORRECT
17	4-3-2-1	INCORRECT
18	4-3-1-2	CORRECT
19	3-1-4-2	INCORRECT
20	2-3-3-4	CORRECT

---

21	1-3-2-4	INCORRECT
22	3-4-1-2	CORRECT
23	3-2-1-1	CORRECT
24	4-2-4-1	CORRECT
25	3-4-2-1	INCORRECT
26	2-4-4-1	INCORRECT
27	4-3-4-2	INCORRECT
28	4-2-1-3	CORRECT
29	2-4-4-3	CORRECT
30	1-4-2-3	CORRECT
31	2-1-3-4	CORRECT
32	2-3-1-4	INCORRECT
33	2-3-3-1	CORRECT
34	3-3-3-1	CORRECT
35	2-1-4-1	INCORRECT
36	2-4-3-1	INCORRECT
37	1-3-4-2	CORRECT
38	3-2-2-4	INCORRECT
39	2-1-4-3	CORRECT
40	4-1-3-2	CORRECT

---

## APPENDIX G

### G.1. Inventaris Van Manlike Houdingsnorme-II

*Dankie dat u ingestem om aan hierdie studie deel te neem. Die stellings wat hieronder gemaak word, beskryf interessante situasies waarby mans betrokke is. Daar is geen regte of verkeerde antwoorde nie, slegs opinies. U word gevra om u gevoel oor elke stelling aan te dui deur te sê of u – (A) Sterk Verskil, (B) Verskil, (C) Geen Opinie (het nie), (D) Saamstem, of (E) Sterk Saamstem – deur 'n kruisie in die toepaslike blokkie aan te bring.*

BY VOORBEELD:

Mans behoort elke dag groente te eet.

Sterk Verskil  Verskil  Geen Opinie  Saamstem  Sterk Saamstem

- 1) 'n Man behoort sport soos rugby en sokker te verkies bo aktiwiteite soos kuns en drama.
- 2) As 'n man seerkry moet hy nie ander sy pyn laat sien nie.
- 3) Mans wat in die openbaar huil is swak.
- 4) Mans behoort oor hulle sorge met ander te praat.
- 5) Om 'n man te wees moet jy taai wees.
- 6) Om 'n moffie genoem te word is een van die ergste beledigings vir 'n man.
- 7) Mans behoort logies oor probleme te dink.
- 8) Mans behoort selfversekerd voor te kom al is hulle nie.
- 9) 'n Man behoort al die finale besluite binne die gesin te neem.
- 10) 'n Man speel om te wen.
- 11) Mans behoort naby mekaar in dieselfde bed te kan slaap.
- 12) Mans behoort 'n werk te kan hê wat respek verdien.
- 13) 'n Suksesvolle man behoort gemaklik te kan lewe.
- 14) 'n Man verdien sy gesin se respek.
- 15) Mans het 'n seksdrang wat bevredig moet word.

- 16) Mans behoort verleë te voel as hulle nie 'n ereksie kan kry gedurende seks nie.
- 17) Mans wat kinders leer, of kos maak in restaurante, behoort trots te wees op hulle werk..
- 18) Dis nie belangrik vir mans om 'n orgasme te kry gedurende seks nie.
- 19) Dit is aanvaarbaar vir mans om op ander staat te maak.
- 20) As 'n man bang is moet hy dit nie wys nie.
- 21) Dit is verkeerd vir 'n man om in 'n gay kroeg gesien te word.
- 22) Mans behoort gewillig te wees om hul weg fisies uit moelikheid uit te baklei.
- 23) Dit is loofwaardig vir 'n man om die leiding te neem wanneer iets gedoen moet word.
- 24) 'n Heterosekuele man hoef nie verleë te voel omdat hy gay vriende het nie.
- 25) 'n Man behoort hom nie oor die toekoms te kwel nie.
- 26) Gay mans behoort opgefoeter te word.
- 27) 'n Man se besluit behoort nie in twyfel getrek te word nie.
- 28) Mans moet vasberade wees om goed te vaar.
- 29) Dit is belangrik vir 'n man om suksesvol te wees in sy werk.
- 30) Gay mans is ongeskik vir baie soorte werk.
- 31) Mans moet kophou in moeilike situasies.
- 32) Mans behoort gerespekteer en bewonder te word deur almal wat hulle ken.
- 33) Mans behoort mekaar te kan soen sonder om skaam te voel.
- 34) Mans behoort verleë te voel om oor seks met hul vriende te praat.
- 35) Mans is bereid om risikos te loop.
- 36) Dit is nie altyd net die man se taak om iemand uit te nooi uit.
- 37) 'n Vader behoort verleë te voel as hy uitvind sy seun is gay.
- 38) 'n Man moet sorg dat hy weet van seks.
- 39) 'n Man is suksesvol as hy baie geld maak.
- 40) Mans behoort kalm te bly in moeilike situasies.

## G.2. Isithethe Soluvo Samadoda Uluhlu-II

*Enkosi ngokuvuma kwakho ukuba yinxalenye yolu phando. La mabinzana adweliswe apha ngezantsi achza iimeko ezinomdla ezimalunga namadoda. Akukho zimpendulo ezichanekileyo nezingacane kanga kukhonje uluvo. Ucelwa ukuba ukhuphe uluvo lwakho malunga nebinzana ngalinye ngokubonisa ukuba –(A) Awuvumi tu, (B) Awuvumi, (C) Awunaluvo, (D) Uyavuma okanye, (E) Ndivuma ngamandla – ngokufakela u X ebhokisini ehambelana nolo luvo lwakho.*

**UMZEKELO:**

Amadoda kumele atye imifuno yonke imihla.

Andivumi tu  Andivumi  Andinaluvo  Ndiyavuma  Ndivuma ngamandla

- 1) Indoda kumele ithande imidlalo efana nombhoxo nebholo ekhatywayo kunokuthanda izinto ezifana nemizobo neziketshi.
- 2) Xa indoda izonzakalise kumele izame ingabonakalisi kwabanye ukuba usezinhlungwini.
- 3) Amadoda akhala esidlangalaleni ngamafokofoko.
- 4) Indoda ephatheke kakubi kumele ithethe nabanye abantu.
- 5) Ukuze ube yindoda kufuneka womelele.
- 6) Ukubizwa 'isitabane' eynye yezithuko esibi endodeni.
- 7) Amadoda kumele acinge krelekrele xa kukho iingxaki.
- 8) Amadoda kumele abe ngathi azithembile naxa kungenjalo.
- 9) Indoda kumele ithabathe isigqibo sokugqibela emzini wayo.
- 10) Amadoda athabatha inxaxheba emidlalweni kuba efuna ukuphumelela.
- 11) Amadoda kumele akwazi ukulala kunye ethene nca ebedini enye.
- 12) Amadoda kumele abe nomsebenzi obazisela inhlonipho.
- 13) Indoda enentsebenzo kumele ikwazi ukuphila ubomi kakuhle.
- 14) Indoda kufunekile ihlonitshwe lusapho lwayo.
- 15) Indonda inezinqweno ezokulala ekufuneka zifesekiswe.
- 16) Amadoda kumele abenenhloni xa engengakwazi ukuvukelwa ngexesha lokulalana.
- 17) Amadoda afundisa abatwana okanye apheka eziresty kumele azidle ngento abayenzayo.
- 18) Akaubalulekanga ukuba indoda ichithe xa ilalenomntu.
- 19) Kulungile ukuba amadoda axhomekeke kwabanye abantu.
- 20) Ukuba indoda iyoyika kumele izame ungabonisi abanye abantu.
- 21) Ayilunganga ukuba indoda ibhaqwe kwindawo esela iimoffie.
- 22) Amadoda kumele azimisele ukuba alwe ukizikhupha endaweni engalunganga.
- 23) Yinto encomekayo ukuba indoda ikhokhele xa kukho into efuneke yenziwe.
- 24) Indoda kumele ingabi nenhloni ukuba inezihlobo eziimoffie.
- 25) Indonda kumele ingazikhathazi ngekamva.
- 26) Iimoffie kumele zibethwe.
- 27) Isigqibe sendoda kumele singaphikiswa.

- 28) Amadoda kumele azimisele ukuba aqhube kakuhle.
- 29) Kubalulekile ukuba indoda iphumelele emsebenzine wayo.
- 30) Iimoffie aziyilungelanga imisebenzi emininzi.
- 31) Amadoda kumele abenoqoliso kwiimeko ezinzima.
- 32) Amadoda kumele ahlonitshwe ngabo bonke abantu abaziyo.
- 33) Amadoda kumele akwazi ukuphuzana bengazivi belihlazo.
- 34) Amadoda kumele ave inhloni ukuthetha ngezokulalana nezihlobo.
- 35) Amadoda azimisele ukuthatha iithsansi.
- 36) Ayingomsebenzi wendoda ukusoloko ucela ukukhupha umntu.
- 37) Utata kumele abenehloni xa efumanisa ukuba unyana wakhe isisitabane.
- 38) Indoda kumele igqiniseke ukuba inolwazi ngezokulalana.
- 39) Indoda iphumelele ukuba yenza imala eninzi.
- 40) Amadoda kumele aphole ngamaxesha kaxakeka.

## APPENDIX H

### H.1. Establishing Sub-Scale Structure

*Table H.1. Theoretical dimensions encompassed by MANI-II*

Toughness Dimension	Control Dimension	Sexuality Dimension
<p><b>Item 1:</b> A man should prefer sports like rugby and soccer to activities like art and drama.</p>	<p><b>Item 7:</b> Men should think logically about problems.</p>	<p><b>Item 6:</b> Being called a ‘faggot’ is one of the worst insults to a man. [Insubstantive Factor Loading].</p>
<p><b>Item 2:</b> If a man hurts himself he should try not to let others see he is in pain.</p>	<p><b>Item 8:</b> Men should appear confident even if they are not [Insubstantive Factor Loading].</p>	<p><b>Item 11:</b> Men should be able to sleep close together in the same bed.</p>
<p><b>Item 3:</b> Men who cry in public are weak.</p>	<p><b>Item 9:</b> A man should make all the final decisions in the family [Originally Toughness Substantive].</p>	<p><b>Item 15:</b> Men have a sex drive that needs to be satisfied [Originally Control Substantive].</p>
<p><b>Item 4:</b> Men should share their worries with other people.</p>	<p><b>Item 10:</b> Men participate in games to win [Insubstantive Factor Loading].</p>	<p><b>Item 16:</b> Men should feel embarrassed if they are unable to get an erection during sex.</p>

**Item 5:** To be a man you need to be tough.

**Item 17:** Men who teach children, or cook in restaurants, should be proud of what they do.

**Item 20:** If a man is frightened he should try and not let others see it.

**Item 22:** Men should be prepared to physically fight their way out of a bad situation.

**Item 27:** A man's decision should not be questioned.

**Item 12:** Men should have a job that earns them respect.

**Item 13:** A successful man should be able to live a comfortable life.

**Item 14:** A man deserves the respect of his family.

**Item 19:** It is okay for men to rely on others [Insubstantive Factor Loading].

**Item 23:** It is admirable for a man to take the lead when something needs to be done.

**Item 25:** A man should not worry about the future [Insubstantive Factor Loading].

**Item 28:** Men should be determined to do well.

**Item 29:** It is important for a man to be successful in his job.

**Item 31:** Men should remain focused in

**Item 18:** It is not important for men to achieve orgasm during sex [Insubstantive Factor Loading].

**Item 21:** It is wrong for a man to be seen in a gay bar.

**Item 24:** A heterosexual man should not feel embarrassed that he has gay friends.

**Item 26:** Gay men should be beaten-up.

**Item 30:** Gay men are not suited to many jobs.

**Item 33:** Men should be able to kiss each other without feeling ashamed.

**Item 34:** Men should feel embarrassed to talk about sex with their friends [Insubstantive Factor Loading].

**Item 37:** A father should be embarrassed if he finds out that his son is gay.

difficult situations.

**Item 32:** Men should have the respect and admiration of everyone who knows them.

**Item 35:** Men are prepared to take risks.

**Item 36:** It is not always a man's task to ask someone on a date [Insubstantive Factor Loading].

**Item 38:** A man should make sure that he knows about sex.

**Item 39:** A man is successful if he makes a lot of money [Insubstantive Factor Loading].

**Item 40:** Men should be calm in difficult situations.



Substantive factor loading  
in Chapter 4 exploration.



Insubstantive factor loading  
in Chapter 4 exploration.



Originally loading substantively  
onto another dimension.

Figure H.1. Descriptive Statistics: Box & Whisker Plot of items included in the Toughness Dimension.

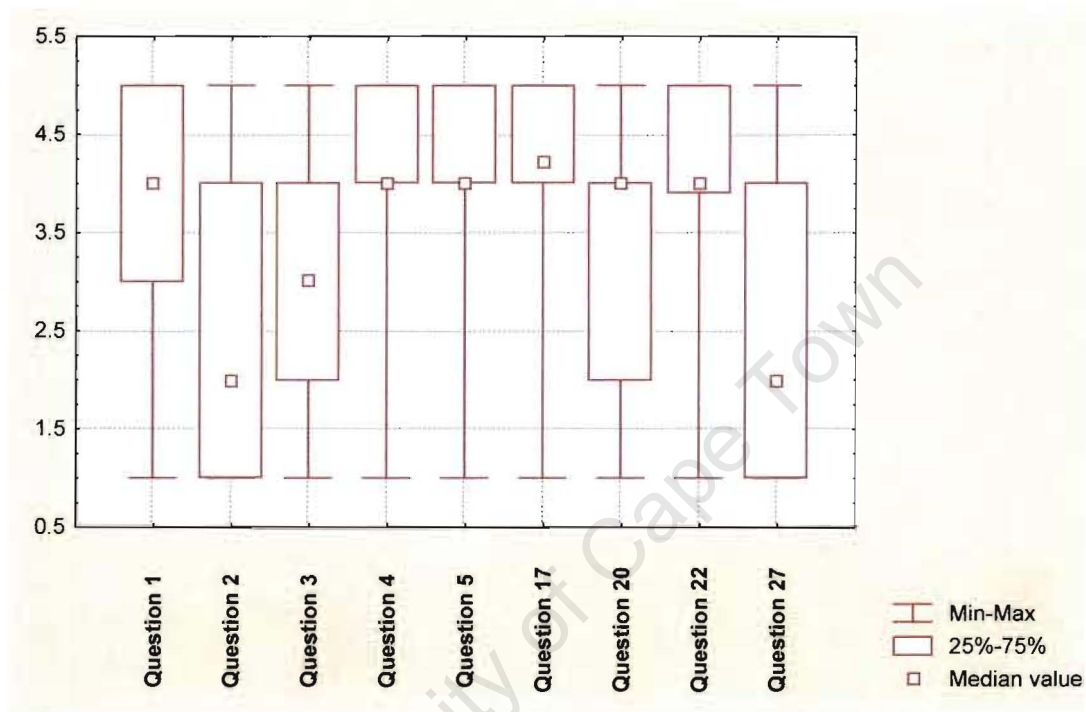


Table H.2. Descriptive Statistics: Items included in the Toughness Dimension.

	Mean if Deleted	Variance if Deleted	St. Dev. if Deleted	Item-Total Correlation	Alpha if Deleted
<i>Question 1</i>	28.20	28.23	5.31	0.56	0.60
<i>Question 2</i>	29.20	30.43	5.52	0.33	0.65
<i>Question 3</i>	28.91	29.99	5.48	0.36	0.65
<i>Question 4</i>	27.74	34.02	5.83	0.28	0.66
<i>Question 5</i>	27.92	29.42	5.42	0.55	0.61
<i>Question 17</i>	27.72	35.75	5.98	0.10	0.69
<i>Question 20</i>	28.58	31.71	5.63	0.28	0.66
<i>Question 22</i>	28.03	30.26	5.50	0.44	0.63
<i>Question 27</i>	29.19	31.29	5.59	0.26	0.67

Red values were abandoned due to their low item-total correlation; i.e.  $r \leq 2.00$

Figure H.2. Descriptive Statistics: Box &amp; Whisker Plot of items included in the Control Dimension

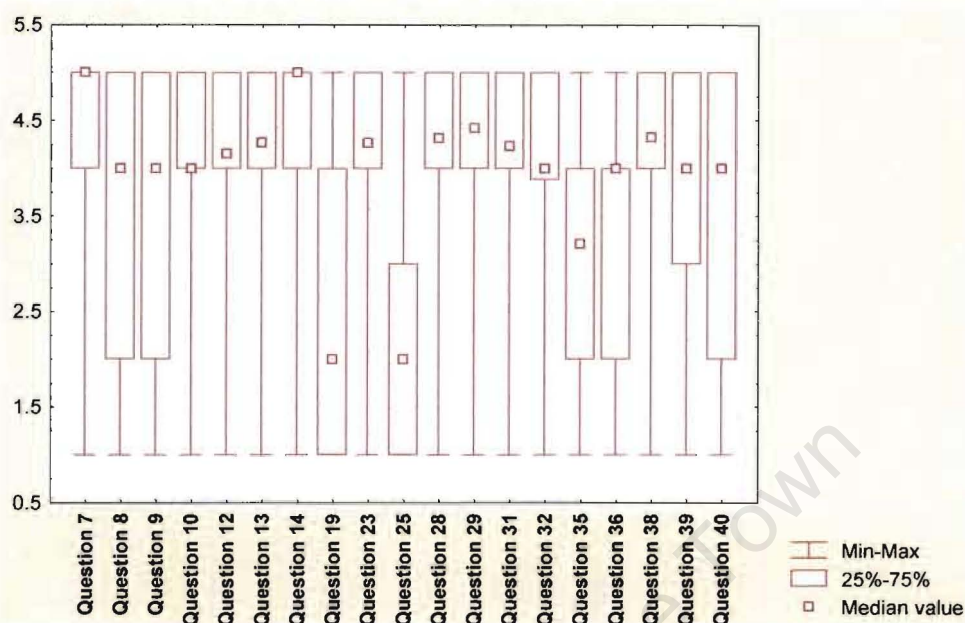


Table H.3. Descriptive Statistics: Items included in the Control Dimension.

	Mean if Deleted	Variance if Deleted	St. Dev. if Deleted	Item-Total Correlation	Alpha if Deleted
<i>Question 7</i>	68.07	80.54	8.97	0.47	0.74
<i>Question 8</i>	68.87	76.17	8.73	0.42	0.74
<i>Question 9</i>	68.97	73.31	8.56	0.49	0.73
<i>Question 10</i>	68.47	76.63	8.75	0.50	0.73
<i>Question 12</i>	68.34	77.58	8.81	0.51	0.73
<i>Question 13</i>	68.22	78.87	8.88	0.50	0.74
<i>Question 14</i>	68.13	79.29	8.90	0.48	0.74
<i>Question 19</i>	69.84	85.66	9.26	-0.01	0.78
<i>Question 23</i>	68.23	78.60	8.87	0.53	0.74
<i>Question 25</i>	70.28	83.34	9.13	0.09	0.77
<i>Question 28</i>	68.18	79.39	8.91	0.47	0.74
<i>Question 29</i>	68.07	80.10	8.95	0.55	0.74
<i>Question 31</i>	68.26	79.37	8.91	0.46	0.74
<i>Question 32</i>	68.61	76.82	8.76	0.48	0.74
<i>Question 35</i>	69.28	85.51	9.25	0.01	0.78
<i>Question 36</i>	69.14	86.99	9.33	-0.05	0.78
<i>Question 38</i>	68.17	81.65	9.04	0.33	0.75
<i>Question 39</i>	68.79	75.96	8.72	0.45	0.74
<i>Question 40</i>	68.93	78.40	8.85	0.28	0.75

Red values were abandoned due to their low item-total correlation; i.e.  $r \leq 2.00$

Figure H.3. Descriptive Statistics: Box & Whisker Plot of items included in the Sexuality Dimension.

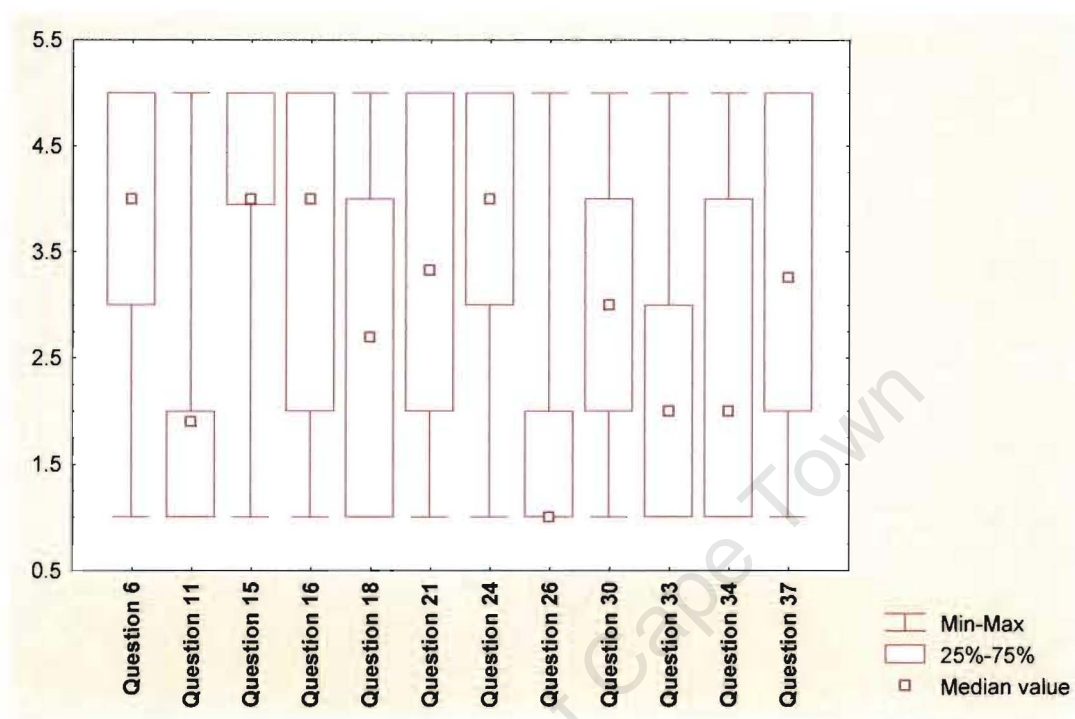


Table H.4. Descriptive Statistics: Items included in the Sexuality Dimension.

	Mean if Deleted	Variance if Deleted	St. Dev. if Deleted	Item-Total Correlation	Alpha if Deleted
<i>Question 6</i>	32.06	32.03	5.66	0.31	0.43
<i>Question 11</i>	33.78	40.55	6.37	-0.22	0.55
<i>Question 15</i>	31.74	33.00	5.74	0.34	0.43
<i>Question 16</i>	32.14	31.31	5.60	0.36	0.42
<i>Question 18</i>	32.98	34.47	5.87	0.13	0.49
<i>Question 21</i>	32.35	29.77	5.46	0.45	0.39
<i>Question 24</i>	32.09	37.04	6.09	-0.01	0.52
<i>Question 26</i>	33.74	34.95	5.91	0.13	0.48
<i>Question 30</i>	32.60	29.35	5.42	0.48	0.38
<i>Question 33</i>	33.53	39.79	6.31	-0.17	0.55
<i>Question 34</i>	33.05	34.87	5.91	0.10	0.50
<i>Question 37</i>	32.42	30.66	5.54	0.37	0.41

Red values were abandoned due to their low item-total correlation; i.e.  $r \leq 2.00$

## H.2. Sub-Scale Analysis: Descriptive Statistical Data

Table H.5. Descriptive data surrounding each of the three Sub-Scales.

	<b>COMBINED Scale</b>	<b>TOUGHNESS: Sub-Scale</b>	<b>CONTROL: Sub-Scale</b>	<b>SEXUALITY: Sub-Scale</b>
<i>Mean</i>	105.99	27.72	57.51	20.77
<i>Sum</i>	45 788.61	11 973.73	24 844.15	8 970.73
<i>Standard Dev.</i>	17.60	5.99	8.66	5.37
<i>Variance</i>	309.91	35.83	75.06	28.86
<i>Skewness</i>	- 0.18	- 0.20	- 0.35	0.90
<i>Kurtosis</i>	- 0.46	- 0.24	- 0.36	- 0.65
<i>Minimum</i>	54.00	8.00	32.00	6.00
<i>Maximum</i>	140.00	40.00	70.00	30.00
<i>Cronbach's <math>\alpha</math></i>	0.90	0.69	0.86	0.74
<i>Standardised <math>\alpha</math></i>	0.91	0.69	0.87	0.74
<i>Av. Inter-Item Correlation</i>	0.27	0.23	0.33	0.32
	<b>28 Items</b>	<b>8 Items</b>	<b>14 Items</b>	<b>6 Items</b>

Table H.6. Relative contribution made by items included in the Toughness Sub-Scale.

	Mean if Deleted	Variance if Deleted	St. Dev. if Deleted	Item-Total Correlation	Alpha if Deleted
<i>Question 1</i>	23.98	26.20	5.12	0.56	0.61
<i>Question 2</i>	24.97	28.11	5.30	0.35	0.67
<i>Question 3</i>	24.70	27.67	5.26	0.38	0.66
<i>Question 4</i>	23.52	32.22	5.68	0.25	0.68
<i>Question 5</i>	23.70	27.46	5.24	0.55	0.62
<i>Question 20</i>	24.36	29.48	5.43	0.30	0.68
<i>Question 22</i>	23.81	28.41	5.33	0.43	0.65
<i>Question 27</i>	24.98	29.17	5.40	0.27	0.69

Table H.7. Relative contribution made by items included in the Control Sub-Scale.

	Mean if Deleted	Variance if Deleted	St. Dev. if Deleted	Item-Total Correlation	Alpha if Deleted
<i>Question 7</i>	53.09	68.09	8.25	0.49	0.86
<i>Question 8</i>	53.89	64.60	8.04	0.40	0.86
<i>Question 9</i>	53.99	59.99	7.75	0.57	0.85
<i>Question 10</i>	53.49	63.65	7.98	0.56	0.85
<i>Question 12</i>	53.36	64.36	8.02	0.60	0.85
<i>Question 13</i>	53.24	65.71	8.11	0.58	0.85
<i>Question 14</i>	53.14	65.43	8.09	0.61	0.85
<i>Question 23</i>	53.24	65.93	8.12	0.57	0.85
<i>Question 28</i>	53.20	66.83	8.18	0.50	0.86
<i>Question 29</i>	53.09	67.12	8.19	0.62	0.85
<i>Question 31</i>	53.28	67.82	8.24	0.42	0.86
<i>Question 32</i>	53.63	63.36	7.96	0.57	0.85
<i>Question 38</i>	53.19	69.36	8.33	0.33	0.86
<i>Question 39</i>	53.80	61.20	7.82	0.61	0.85

Table H.8. Relative contribution made by items included in the Sexuality Sub-Scale.

	Mean if Deleted	Variance if Deleted	St. Dev. if Deleted	Item-Total Correlation	Alpha if Deleted
<i>Question 6</i>	17.15	21.58	4.65	0.42	0.72
<i>Question 15</i>	16.82	23.11	4.81	0.41	0.72
<i>Question 16</i>	17.23	21.07	4.59	0.47	0.70
<i>Question 21</i>	17.44	19.84	4.45	0.56	0.68
<i>Question 30</i>	17.68	19.89	4.46	0.55	0.68
<i>Question 37</i>	17.51	20.75	4.55	0.45	0.71

Table H.9. Relative contribution made by items included in the Combined Scale.

	<b>Mean if Deleted</b>	<b>Variance if Deleted</b>	<b>St. Dev. if Deleted</b>	<b>Item-Total Correlation</b>	<b>Alpha if Deleted</b>
<i>Question 1</i>	102.26	278.28	16.68	0.65	0.90
<i>Question 2</i>	103.25	295.24	17.18	0.23	0.91
<i>Question 3</i>	102.97	293.04	17.12	0.28	0.90
<i>Question 4</i>	101.79	296.68	17.22	0.36	0.90
<i>Question 5</i>	101.98	280.18	16.74	0.69	0.90
<i>Question 6</i>	102.37	288.29	16.98	0.41	0.90
<i>Question 7</i>	101.58	295.70	17.20	0.49	0.90
<i>Question 8</i>	102.37	287.54	16.96	0.44	0.90
<i>Question 9</i>	102.47	277.24	16.65	0.62	0.90
<i>Question 10</i>	101.97	287.23	16.95	0.55	0.90
<i>Question 12</i>	101.84	288.46	16.98	0.58	0.90
<i>Question 13</i>	101.72	291.27	17.07	0.56	0.90
<i>Question 14</i>	101.63	290.50	17.04	0.59	0.90
<i>Question 15</i>	102.05	290.05	17.03	0.47	0.90
<i>Question 16</i>	102.46	285.32	16.89	0.48	0.90
<i>Question 20</i>	102.64	294.11	17.15	0.28	0.90
<i>Question 21</i>	102.67	282.69	16.81	0.52	0.90
<i>Question 22</i>	102.09	284.07	16.85	0.55	0.90
<i>Question 23</i>	101.73	291.81	17.08	0.55	0.90
<i>Question 27</i>	103.25	287.63	16.96	0.38	0.90
<i>Question 28</i>	101.68	294.51	17.16	0.46	0.90
<i>Question 29</i>	101.57	295.00	17.18	0.56	0.90
<i>Question 30</i>	102.91	277.87	16.67	0.62	0.90
<i>Question 31</i>	101.76	296.80	17.23	0.37	0.90
<i>Question 32</i>	102.11	286.52	16.93	0.56	0.90
<i>Question 37</i>	102.73	285.09	16.88	0.45	0.90
<i>Question 38</i>	101.67	298.89	17.29	0.31	0.90
<i>Question 39</i>	102.29	279.03	16.70	0.67	0.90

Table H.10. Correlation matrix of variables deemed important in the prediction of aggression.

	Age	Education	Aggression Frequency	Aggression Duration	Toughness Sub-Scale	Control Sub-Scale	Sexuality Sub-Scale	Combined Scale
Age	-							
Education	-0.39	-						
Aggression Frequency	-0.01	-0.22	-					
Aggression Duration	-0.02	-0.17	0.31	-				
Toughness Sub-Scale	0.19	-0.56	0.12	0.05	-			
Control Sub-Scale	0.31	-0.47	0.11	0.08	0.63	-		
Sexuality Sub-Scale	0.34	-0.47	0.15	0.12	0.57	0.65	-	
Combined Scale	0.34	-0.59	0.14	0.11	0.84	0.88	0.84	-

Red correlations were significant at  $p < 0.05$

## APPENDIX I

### I.1. Research Expenditure

Budget		
<b>1. Administrative Costs</b>		
Administrative Assistant	Assistant @ R20.00 p.h.	390.00
Advertising		2 212.87
Binding		171.08
Cell Phone	Air time @ $\cong$ R2.50 per minute	2 080.00
Internet Connection		319.00
Parking	Parking @ $\cong$ R2.00 p.h.	106.00
Petrol	Petrol @ $\cong$ R3.63 per litre	705.83
Photocopying		351.24
Postage		
<i>Local</i>	17 Local letters @ $\cong$ R1.30 each	22.85
<i>Foreign</i>	1 Foreign letter @ R20.00	20.00
Posters & Flyers		479.00
Printing & Lamination		288.55
Stationery		
<i>Adhesive Labels</i>		10.02
<i>Black Print Cartridge</i>		270.00
<i>Colour Print Cartridge</i>		499.99
<i>Clip-board</i>		9.95
<i>Diskettes</i>		42.47
<i>Envelopes</i>		255.82
<i>Glue Stick</i>		8.95
<i>Magazines</i>	5 Magazines @ $\cong$ R17.75 each	88.75

<i>Micro-cassettes</i>	4 Micro-cassettes @ R16.00 each	64.00	
<i>Paper</i>	5 Reams @ 25.19 each	125.95	
<i>Pens</i>		46.75	
<i>VHS Video-cassettes</i>	4 Video-cassettes @ $\cong$ R25.72 each	102.89	
<i>VHS-C Video-cassettes</i>	4 Video-cassettes @ R46.45 each	185.80	
Telephone / Fax		13.50	<u>8 871.26</u>

## 2. Participant Costs

Experiment Participants	Participants @ $\cong$ R25.00 p.h.	8 560.00	
Experimental Organisers	Organisers @ R20.00 p.h.	4 220.00	
Focus Group Participants	Participants @ $\cong$ R25.00 p.h.	1 325.00	
Focus Group Organiser	Organiser @ R20.00 p.h.	180.00	
Participant Transport	Transport @ $\cong$ R300.00 per return	6 450.00	
Venue Rental		100.00	
Refreshments		633.76	<u>21 468.76</u>

## 3. Consultant Costs

Transcription / Translation	Employment @ $\cong$ R20.00 p.h.	11 555.60	
Focus Group Facilitation	Facilitation @ $\cong$ R20.00 p.h.	465.00	
Experimental Facilitation	Facilitation @ $\cong$ R20.00 p.h.	1 885.00	
Confederate Participation	Participation @ $\cong$ R40.00 per session	975.00	
Questionnaire Hand-Out	Employment @ R5.00 per pair	640.00	<u>15 520.60</u>

## 4. Reports

Printing & binding rough draft		50.00	
Printing & binding final copies		376.00	<u>426.00</u>

## 5. Sundries

Literature

---

<i>A Feminist Theory of the State</i>	Soft cover @ R99.50	99.50	
<i>Why Men Kill</i>	Hard cover @ R159.50	159.50	
<i>A New Psychology of Men</i>	Hard cover @ R300.00	300.00	
<i>Dislocating Masculinity</i>	Soft cover @ R239.88	239.88	
Buss Aggression Machine		3 056.87	
Emotional Empathy Scale		382.87	<u>4 238.62</u>
		=====	
<b>TOTAL</b>		50 525.24	50 525.24
		=====	

University of Cape Town