The Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory (CMNI) in South Africa: a pilot study

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ABSTRACT

Although the Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory (CMNI) has been recognized as a tool for clinicians to examine masculinity issues with individual men, it has not yet been empirically supported in South Africa. The CMNI is a 94-item inventory with an 11-factor structure, which examines the conformity to masculine norms in individuals. This pilot study, which forms part of a larger research project on intimate heterosexual relationships, sought to test the CMNI in the South African context in a sample of 145 school boys, between grade 10 and 12, gathered from low-income rural and higher-income urban communities in the Western Cape. Descriptive statistics were conducted on demographic data and a mixed ANOVA design was conducted for each of the CMNI scores. No significant difference was found in CMNI scores between the groups; therefore, the validity of the CMNI can be supported in these groups. Results indicate that *Risk-taking, Violence* and *Primacy of Work* mean scores differ significantly between the rural and urban group, while *Self-reliance* scored the lowest and *Disdain towards homosexuals* scored the highest in both groups. It is recommended that future research focus more on correlation designs to understand relationships between the variables.

Keywords: adolescents; Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory (CMNI); intimate relationships; low-income rural; traditional masculine norms; urban

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

> *But, I wasn't that popular then and she was the most popular girl… if there's a really bomb* [attractive] *girl who likes you, then the boys are gonna wanna be your friend … it gets around the school fast … From then on, I just started being more and more popular … I think that's the way it is for a lot of boys.*
>
> (Philips, 2005, p. 225)

The words of an adolescent school boy are useful in describing one of the many ways in which young men assess their masculinity, particularly against other men. Although masculinity is considered to be a relatively new field of investigation, its meaning has already undergone change and contestation over the past few decades. The first wave of men's studies in the 1970s was structured according to the Sex Role Paradigm, which depicted the sexes as having biological and psychological differences (Connell, 2000; Edwards, 2006). The 1980s motioned a shift towards a more progressive stance of gender theory, which led to the conceptualization of a more social constructionist stance of multiple masculinities. The concept of *masculinities* emphasizes that all men do not possess innate masculine qualities; rather masculinities are diverse and differ with regards to race, culture, class and age (Connell, 2000). For example, establishing heterosexuality and popularity in the school setting might be of more importance to an adolescent school boy than to an adult male (Philips, 2005).

Adolescence is a period during which individuals experience intense struggle and distress around the establishment of their identities (Sigelman & Rider, 2006; Streipe & Tolman, 2003; Tatum, 2000). The *Gender Role Strain Paradigm* highlights this difficulty that young men might have in conforming to particular notions of masculinity (Levant & Richmond, 2007). This adolescence period of turmoil may be amplified for young people who live in impoverished and marginalized circumstances. For young men in particular, attaining the ideals of culturally dominant forms of masculinity may be particularly problematic in these circumstances. It is likely too that the attainment or lack of attainment of particular norms of gender identity may have a significant impact on how intimate heterosexual relationships are experienced. Particular gender norms inform the current issues in South Africa where rape, sexual coercion and violence are experienced by women in relationships with men (Hoosen & Collins, 2004; Lesch & Kruger,

2004; Luyt, 2003; Wood, Lambert & Jewkes, 2008). For the purposes of this study, the focus will be on traditional masculine norms.

Traditional masculine norms

Gender role norms or *ideologies* refer to expectations about what is acceptable or unacceptable behaviour for men and women in particular social situations. Gender role norms are learned through the observation of particular role models in one's environment and 'acceptable' expectations are internalized. Consequently, from a very young age, both males and females learn what is expected of them as men and women (Levant & Richmond, 2007; Sigelman & Rider, 2006). For example, male gender norms are characterized by a number of apparently gender-appropriate behaviours, such as not throwing or running like a girl or guarding against displays of emotion such as crying (Jansen, 2002; Mahalik et al., 2003).

Dominant masculine norms, such as the example above, are associated with *traditional masculinity ideology*, also known as Connell's (2000) *hegemonic masculinity*, which originated in Westernized countries (Levant & Richmond, 2007). Traditional masculinity has been characterized by the performance of violence, aggression, the avoidance of vulnerability and weakness, the need to compete, the incorporation of patriarchal ideology and the subordination of women (Bhana, 2008; Hoosen & Collins, 2004; Lesch & Kruger, 2004; Luyt, 2003; Mahalik & Rochlen, 2006; O'Sullivan, Harrison, Morrell, Monroe-Wise & Kubeka, 2006; Philips, 2005; Seal & Ehrhardt, 2003; Stoudt, 2006; Wood et al., 2008). More specifically, South African history has illustrated the white heterosexual middle-class male as the owner of hegemonic masculinity due to his established supremacy over women, homosexuals and other ethnic groups (Epstein, 1998). However, this type of masculinity does not reflect a certain type of man but men position themselves in relation to hegemonic masculinity through a variety of discursive practices (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005).

Once a man understands what cultural standards are associated with being masculine, conformity or non-conformity to masculine norms may occur. More specifically, cultural norms and practices also determine the degree to which certain traditional masculine norms might be embedded. *Cultural practices* are repeated actions that a social group may share – these activities often become habitual and routine (Dawes & Donald, 2000). More specifically, South Africa includes a variety of cultural communities that express themselves through religion, class, ethnic

and racial identities and many more. This range of different beliefs and perspectives impact the way caregivers raise their children. Children, in turn, model caregivers' behaviours and habits as this becomes a normalised way of life; most importantly, these cultural practices are not easily changed. For example, corporal punishment is a form of discipline that characterizes the power relationship between the adult and child. Although beatings were banned in South African schools, the cultural belief and goal of physical discipline to create good citizens and obedience to authority still remains dominant. On the other hand, when an adult physically disciplines their child, the child might understand violence to be the appropriate manner of solving problems (Dawes & Donald, 2000). In other words, socio-cultural influences aid in normalising violent behaviour (Petersen, Bhana & McKay, 2005).

Expectations to conform to masculine norms vary according to the socio-cultural experiences of the individual; for example, the advantages and disadvantages of conforming to these masculine norms in certain contexts could influence the ways in which norms are performed (e.g., in a school setting boys might be more influenced and praised for strictly conforming to masculine gender role norms) (Mahalik et al., 2003; Stoudt, 2006; Tatum, 2000). The desire to attain this 'ideal' traditional masculinity is particularly prominent in young men (Bhana, 2008; Philips, 2005; Stoudt, 2006).

Boys and masculinity

Apart from the physical, psychological and cognitive changes associated with the adolescence period, the adolescent's maturity towards young adulthood is overwhelmed by other challenges, insecurities and anxieties. Young men might experience anxiety in incorporating socially prescribed roles for masculinity. Conformity to traditional masculine norms has been investigated in schools with regards to the influence of teachers, peer-disciplining and sports (Bhana, 2008; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Philips, 2005; Stoudt, 2006). Research findings indicate that adolescent boys conform to masculine norms such as having a competitive drive, behaving in favour of the patriarchal ideology and chauvinism, and male violence (Bhana, 2008; Stoudt, 2006). In addition, the association of men with feminine qualities is linked to homosexuality, a marginalized form of masculinity, which is considered shameful and a weakness. Peer disciplining is then acted out through the language of domination (e.g., "faggot", "pussy", "you are the weakest link, goodbye"), which aids in defining boundaries whereby boys

are included or excluded based on their ability to perform hegemonic masculinity (Bhana, 2008, p. 8; Stoudt, 2006, p. 280).

Showing academic ability has also been associated with feminine qualities due to the apparent 'nerd' stigma. However, with the nature of men's work today where intellect is favoured, certain schools aim to instill the value of hard work within their students. Therefore, school performance and academic credentials have become increasingly strong values that young men aim to gain. Education is perceived as the route to employment, which allows men to fulfill their breadwinner element of their male role (Stoudt, 2006).

More specifically, because different masculinities develop in specific historical and political contexts, race and culture are crucial factors in the relationship between hegemonic masculinity and other marginalized masculinities (Connell, 2000; Epstein, 1998). It has been argued that communities characterized by high rates of poverty, crime and neighbourhood disorganization leave young community members at greater risk for substance abuse and risk-taking (Moody, Childs & Sepples, 2003; Wyrick, 2000). For example, South African 'coloured' working-class neighbourhoods are characterized by an influx of violence, increasing unemployment, the escalating use of drugs and alcohol and mounting gangsterism and crime (Adhikari, 2005). A lack of socio-economic resources means that these men must find alternative ways of being 'acceptably' masculine, such as exerting patriarchal violence and dominance upon apparent weaker women (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Philips, 2005).

Philips (2005) and others (O'Sullivan et al., 2006; Wood et al., 2008) found that violence towards self and others, a norm of traditional masculinity, is considered a performance amongst adolescent males in their attempt to be real men – for men to *avoid* appearing vulnerable and weak. For example, in South Africa, girls and young women in sexual relationships have been particularly easy targets for violence perpetrated by men. Violence is a way in which men can ensure various forms of control over women (Hoosen & Collins, 2004; Petersen et al., 2005; Wood et al., 2008). Such control may include the prohibition of condom use in sexual relationships with women, as in the study, which Hoosen and Collins (2004) found that 80% of female participants claimed that condoms were not used because male partners objected to it. Other forms of control include physical, sexual and other forms of violence against women and girls (Petersen et al., 2005).

The Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory

The extent of conformity to traditional masculinity roles has been measured with the Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory (CMNI; Mahalik et al., 2003). The CMNI was developed as a research tool for use by clinicians and researchers to investigate masculinity in individual men. However, the CMNI has primarily been used on university students and adult males in urban settings. Therefore, weaknesses of previous samples include the homogenous social classes and the age groups lacking variability (Burn & Ward, 2005; Liu & Iwamoto, 2007; Mahalik et al., 2007; Mahalik & Rochlen, 2006). More specifically, adolescence is a period in which an *identity crisis (*Erik Erikson, 1968, as cited in Sigelman & Rider, 2006) may occur where adolescents attempt to define who they are, who they want to be and where they fit in society. These questions define choices based on future romantic partners, future career field and belief (Sigelman & Rider, 2006; Streipe & Tolman, 2003; Tatum, 2000). Given this critical period of development, investigation into attitudes and beliefs of adolescent boys should result in new and significant findings.

More importantly, the CMNI instrument is new and it lacks empirical support (Burn & Ward, 2005). Because it has only been tested in developed nations and Westernized societies such as the United States and Australia, to obtain empirical support, it should be tested in a different context, such as South Africa. Research has confirmed that history and culture play important roles in shaping, constructing and reconstructing masculinities (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Philips, 2005). South African masculinities have been forged in a society of profound social inequalities. The legacy of apartheid (i.e. economic and social inequality) still exists where impoverished communities are predominantly black groups and white groups still possess most of the wealth (Epstein, 1998). Therefore, by testing the CMNI in South Africa, a more comprehensive view of its social and political history and the direct effect it has had on shaping culturally diverse masculinities and gender roles can be investigated.

This pilot study aims to test the CMNI amongst a group of adolescent school boys from a low-income rural and higher-income urban community in the Western Cape. It is part of a larger project whose primary aim is to understand how men and women in Western Cape low-income, rural communities construct and experience intimate heterosexual relationships. Therefore, not only will the CMNI be tested for the first time in South Africa, results will also highlight ways in which masculinity has been shaped culturally in rural and urban contexts. A quantitative

approach will be employed to measure the degree of conformity to norms in the rural and urban group.

These research aims will be investigated:

1. Whether the CMNI is empirically supported in the South African context. No differences in CMNI mean scores between the rural and urban group will indicate that the CMNI is supported in the South African context.
2. Whether there are differences in CMNI mean scores within the rural and urban groups or between CMNI subscales of both groups. These results might indicate that the rural and urban groups differ with regard to the particular gender role norms that their communities/schools/cultures practice.

METHOD

Research design

A quantitative, exploratory research design was employed. According to Babbie and Mouton (2001) exploratory research is normally employed when a researcher examines a new interest or when the subject of study itself is relatively new. In other words, exploratory studies are employed to make preliminary investigations into relatively unknown areas of research (Durrheim, 1999). The value of exploratory research is that it creates new insights into a topic for research (Babbie & Mouton, 2001).

The survey method was viewed as the most applicable for this research as the study aims to examine a selection of characteristics about traditional masculine norms of a moderately-sized sample of school boys in a low-income rural and middle-income urban setting in the Western Cape. The CMNI and a demographic questionnaire were used in the assessment. Questionnaires are most appropriate when observing a sample too large to be directly observed. Although exploratory designs often employ open and flexible approaches to research (i.e., analysis of case studies, in-depth interviews, and the use of informants) (Babbie & Mouton, 2001; Durrheim, 1999), examining a larger group of adolescent males (N = 145) within a limited period justified the use of a more structured design, such as the questionnaire.

Participants and sampling procedures

A non-probability convenience sample was used for the study. This sampling procedure is typically defined as taking cases on the basis of their availability (Kelly, 1999; Rosenthal & Rosnow, 2008). Given the challenges in accessing large enough samples of reliable participants within the suitable grade range from schools, a convenience sample was considered fitting. Of the three schools approached to participate in the study, the total sample of research participants that took part in the study consisted of 145 school boys between grade 10 and 12 who volunteered to be part of the study; more specifically, 100 participants from the two low-income rural schools and 45 participants from the higher-income urban school. The inclusion criteria employed were as follows: (a) participants had to be between grade 10 and 12, (b) participants below the age of 18 could only participate if their consent forms were signed by a parent/guardian and returned on the given date, and (c) participants had to be from one of the three schools. Since the demographic forms, the CMNI, consent forms for the parent/guardian and informed consent forms for participants were available in English and Afrikaans (see Appendix A, B, C and D for English versions), it was necessary that the respondents have a good command of either language. A total of 8 participants were excluded due to incomplete questionnaires or inability to present a signed consent form by a parent or guardian.

Research was focused specifically on grade 10 to 12 students because school students who are in grade 10-12 should be in the age range of 15 to 18 years of age. However, to control for students who may have failed any grade at school (i.e., +18 years) the participant selection was confined to only grade 10 to 12, due to this lack of clarity on the actual age range. Demographic forms provide clarity on the age and grade of the participant.

In addition, Sigelman and Rider (2006) explain that young adolescents often experience stress in their transition from primary to high school. Therefore, grade 10 to 12 should be a more settled period for the adolescent where particular gendered roles might be established and issues of romantic and peer relationships would be of primary importance. Additionally, from grade 10, students are given more independence as they make their academic choices, which allows them to evaluate their future career choices and study interests.

The decision to conduct a study at only co-ed schools (as opposed to single-sex schools) was to incorporate boys who have had first-hand experience with female classmates. This was necessary because subjective opinions regarding interactions with females of the same age would

aid in completion of certain statements of the CMNI (i.e., those pertaining to the *Playboy* and *Power over women* norms).

Procedure

Once ethical approval was confirmed by the UCT ethical committee and the Western Cape of Education Department (WCED) and verbal consent from principals or authority figures from each of the three schools (which will remain anonymous to ensure ethical considerations) was established, the data collection began. Principals/authority figures were told that sampling would stop at a maximum limit of 120 participants from the two rural schools and 80 participants from the urban school.

Pupils from the schools were informed about a) the aims and objectives of the study, b) the invitation to voluntarily participate in the study, and c) the confidentiality agreement. Furthermore, pupils were assured that they were allowed to withdraw from the study at any point and this would not result in any negative consequences. For the two schools in the rural community, an Afrikaans first-language assistant researcher guided this discussion. This process of informing participants about the study occurred prior to the day of data collection.

Students who were interested in the study took home a consent form. This consent form provided an overview of the aims of the research, an explanation of the permission required for the student to take part in the study, the rights of the participant to forfeit participation in the study and the confidentiality provided for each participant. Students were given between one to two days in which to return these signed consent forms; in exceptional cases, participants were allowed a further three days to return the signed consent form.

On the day of data collection, participants were recruited during school time to complete the booklet. Participants were given a booklet with the informed consent form and two other sections. These two sections included, Section A: Demographic questionnaire, and Section B: CMNI. Therefore, in total, the participants were required to complete three different documents. Clear instructions of how to complete the booklet was given. Assistant researchers and the researcher were available during the procedure at the rural community school for participants to ask questions. Since participants at the urban school community were first language English speakers the presence of only the researcher was necessary. Participants had to complete the

booklet within the designated time period allocated by the school – this ranged from 30 minutes to an hour. However, participants averaged on a 30 minute completion time.

Measures

Basic demographic questionnaire

It consists of a brief list of questions regarding age, grade, racial identification, first language, family, house type, and religion. Questions regarding sexual preference and basic questions on romantic relationships were also included.

The CMNI

The CMNI was developed by Mahalik et al. (2003) as a research tool for clinicians and researchers to inspect masculine identification with individuals by measuring conformity to a selection of masculine norms. It is comprised of 94 items and has an 11 factor structure (i.e., *Winning, Emotional control, Risk-taking, Violence, Dominance, Playboy, Self-reliance, Primacy of work, Power over women, Disdain for homosexuals*, and *Pursuit of status*). These norms have been associated with the performance of traditional or hegemonic masculinity (Burn & Ward, 2005; Mahalik, Levi-Minzi & Walker, 2007; Liu & Iwamoto, 2007; Mahalik et al., 2003; Mahalik & Rochlen, 2006). The CMNI is answered on a four-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 2 = *disagree*, 3 = *agree*, 4 = *strongly agree*).

Mahalik and colleagues (2003) conducted five studies which supported the reliability and validity of the CMNI and a factor analysis was also conducted. High test-retest reliability coefficient over a two to three week period of 0.95, along with high internal consistency for the CMNI subscales (0.94) was reported. The CMNI ultimately acts as a tool for the measurement of a large number of masculine norms, which allows for a more detailed understanding of the salient components of masculinity for an individual. There are three distinct contributions of the CMNI, as a measuring instrument that assists the researcher to obtain valid, reliable and unique results and these will be discussed next (CMNI; Mahalik et al., 2003).

Firstly, the advantages and disadvantages of conforming to masculine gender role norms are both measured by the CMNI, therefore providing a balanced perspective of the conformity to masculine norms, not just pathologizing the conformity. Secondly, the *affective* (i.e., feeling proud or guilty when conforming to masculine norms), *behavioural* (i.e., acting according to

traditional norms) and *cognitive* (i.e., belief system abiding by traditional gender role norms) components of traditional masculinity norms are measured. Thirdly, non-conformity items are also included in the inventory – even though individuals may not agree with certain conformity items (e.g., "Taking dangerous risks helps me to prove myself") does not follow that they do not conform to masculinity norms at all (CMNI; Mahalik et al., 2003).

However, the CMNI was constructed to measure the degree to which a single male conforms or does not conform to masculine norms of in the United States (i.e., white, middle - and upper class, heterosexual, young adult students). Since this pilot study investigates the CMNI for the first time in South Africa, issues of cultural sensitivity should be taken into account.

When self-report measures are used cross-culturally, a common awareness of the difference in meaning for every language becomes significant (Babbie & Mouton, 2001; Rosenthal & Rosnow, 2008). Because part of this study was conducted in a setting where the majority of the participants are Afrikaans first language speakers, the CMNI was translated into Afrikaans. The reliability of the translated Afrikaans version of the CMNI was checked by a group of first-language Afrikaans speakers. The original and back-translated documents were in agreement – documents were checked for clarity and ease of comprehension for participants.

Data analysis

The data were captured on a spreadsheet and all scores were changed into percentages – because all subscales were calculated with different totals it was necessary to unify the results as percentages. The data were analyzed by means of Statistica Version 8, and according the research aims of the study. The data obtained from the demographic questionnaire, which were essential for the meaningful and contextual interpretation of the results, were analyzed using descriptive statistics. This involved calculating the means and standard deviations of each of the measures.

In terms of the aim, a mixed Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) design was used to explore a series of comparisons between the CMNI subscales and total scores of the rural and urban group. If the CMNI is validated (i.e., no significant difference in CMNI scores between the experimental and control group), further differences within the groups can be explored. Where the comparisons between the rural and urban group were significant, post-hoc tests were

administered to explore specifically where the differences were. Findings from the descriptive analysis of the demographic questionnaire were used as support for the post-hoc findings.

Ethical considerations

The major ethical considerations involved informed consent and subject anonymity. Each potential participant under 18 years of age and his parent/guardian received a consent form concerning the details of the study. Participants were reassured at the beginning of the data collection that findings would not be reported at the individual level. During the actual data collection, participants were made aware of the voluntary nature of the research and could choose to withdraw from the study at any time. However, no participants withdrew from the study during the data collection.

During data analysis, the data were coded to prevent any possible identification of the participants. On completion of the research, a report was made available to the schools for any interested participant, parent or staff member to view.

RESULTS

Although the CMNI has been tested in developed nations, it still lacks empirical support. The study was prompted by the need to explore the use of the CMNI in a developing nation such as South Africa because of its somewhat unique contextual features.

The results of the investigation into the demographic questionnaire showed that the majority of the rural group was comprised of ‘coloured’ participants (93%), while 7% identified themselves as black. Furthermore, 96% of participants in the rural group were Afrikaans speakers, while the rest were Xhosa speaking (4%). This was expected because the two rural schools’ primary language of communication is Afrikaans. The mean age of the rural group is 17.54 years (SD = 1.27).

The urban group was mainly comprised of white participants (53%), 22% identified themselves as ‘coloured’, 7% as black, and 7% as Indian. Furthermore, 4% of urban participants reported being first language Afrikaans speakers, 58% are primarily English speaking, 9% are Xhosa speaking, 4% are isiZulu speaking, and 25% reported ‘other’ as their first language (e.g., German, Portuguese etc.). Nevertheless, because English was the main language of

communication at this urban school, all participants had a standard level of English language comprehension and proficiency. The mean age of the urban group is 18.11 years (SD = 1.35).

Results obtained from the demographic questionnaire regarding size of dwelling, religion, and intimate relationships are presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Demographic variables of adolescent males

No.	Variable	Rural	Urban
1	No. of people in dwelling:		
	0 – 2	5	22
	3 – 4	27	45
	5 – 6	50	27
	7 – 8	12	2
	9 – 10	4	4
	11 – 12	2	0
2	Religion:		
	Christian	78	36
	Catholic	0	5
	NG Kerk	5	0
	Muslim	4	18
	None	12	37
	Other	1	4
3	Sexual preference:		
	Heterosexual	62	93
	Bisexual	28	7
	Homosexual	8	0
	Not filled in	2	0
4	Relationships:		
	Current relationship status:		
	In a relationship	63	44
	Not in a relationship	34	56
	Not filled in	3	0
5	Duration of current relationship (months):		
	N/A (Not in a relationship)	34	56
	1 – 10	40	20
	11 – 20	11	11
	21 – 30	9	7

	31 – 40	1	4
	41 – 50	4	2
	51 – 60	1	0
6	Relationship history		
	Total relationship number:		
	Never been in a relationship	19	11
	1 – 10	75	89
	11 – 20	4	0
	21 – 30	1	0
	31 – 40	0	0
	41 – 50	1	0
7	Cheated:		
	Yes	47	20
	No	49	80
	Not filled in	4	0

Notes: N = 145; All values reflect percentages.

The frequency of the number of 'people in a dwelling' peak at the 5 - 6 interval for both the rural and urban group – more specifically, 50% of participants in the rural group live in this dwelling as opposed to the 27% participants in the urban group. Identifying with a religion is strongly reflected in the rural group with 88%, while the urban participants reflected a lower value of 63%. Approximately an equal number of participants in both groups claimed to have been in a relationship, while the highest percentage of relationship numbers appears to range from one month to 10 months. Finally, the number of participants that reported cheating in previous relationships is higher in the rural group than in the urban group (n = 47 vs. 20).

Analysis of CMNI results

The results of the research aims, which were to explore the use of the CMNI amongst a group of adolescent school boys from a low-income rural and higher-income urban community in the Western Cape, are presented in Table 2.

Table 2. Means and standard deviations of the CMNI subscales

	CMNI 1	**CMNI 2**	**CMNI 3**	**CMNI 4**	**CMNI 5**	**CMNI 6**	**CMNI 7**	**CMNI 8**	**CMNI 9**	**CMNI 10**	**CMNI 11**	**CMNI 12**	**Setting Marg. means**
****S1: Rural** [1]	53.8	48.06	49.70	38.42	43.44	53.33	44.78	36.61	50.29	68.00	57.83	49.65	49.58
[2]	12.50	13.60	13.14	13.05	15.14	18.21	11.31	17.28	13.59	18.48	17.96	5.65	
[3]	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
****S2: Urban** [1]	55.48	48.62	60.00	50.28	37.12	57.78	39.75	39.14	36.48	68.67	58.77	49.71	50.15
[2]	17.00	15.50	14.90	19.04	17.84	16.89	15.13	18.16	19.01	23.47	19.41	7.69	
[3]	45	45	45	45	45	45	45	45	45	45	45	45	
CMNI Marg. means	54.64	48.34	54.85	44.35	40.28	56.06	42.27	37.87	43.39	68.33	58.30	49.68	

Note: [1] Mean; [2] Standard deviation; [3] N; ** S1 = Setting1; S2 = Setting2; *CMNI 1 = Winning norm; CMNI 2 = Emotional control; CMNI 3 = Risk-taking; CMNI 4 = Violence; CMNI 5 = Power over women; CMNI 6 = Dominance; CMNI 7 = Playboy; CMNI 8 = Self-reliance; CMNI 9 = Primacy of work; CMNI 10 = Disdain towards homosexuals; CMNI 11 = Pursuit of status; CMNI 12 = CMNI total score.

On average, *Risk-taking*, *Violence*, and *Primacy of work* subscale scores are significantly different between the rural and urban group. More specifically, the urban group scored higher on *Risk-taking* and *Violence* than the rural group, while the rural group scored higher on *Primacy of Work* (M = 49.70 vs. 60.00; M = 38.42 vs. 50.28; M = 50.29 vs. 36.48). Standard deviations for *Violence* and *Primacy of work* differed to a large degree in the rural and urban group (SD = 13.05 vs. 19.04; SD = 13.59 vs. 19.01). This indicates a different degree of variability within each group – there appears to be more variability within the urban group than the rural group. This pattern is also apparent for *Winning* and *Disdain towards homosexuals* subscales.

Playboy and *Power over women* mean subscale scores are higher for the rural group than for the urban group (M = 43.44 vs. 37.12; M = 44.78 vs. 39.75). On the contrary, the rural and urban group reflected similar averages regarding *Emotional control, Winning, Self-reliance, Disdain towards homosexuals*, and the CMNI total score.

Marginal means for the CMNI reflect varying results for the subscales. *Disdain towards Homosexuals* amongst both groups has the highest average (M = 68.33), while the *Self-reliance* has the lowest average (M = 37.87). Marginal means for the Setting are similar (M = 49.58 vs. 50.15); therefore, the rural and urban group do not appear to differ regarding their CMNI mean scores.

Additionally, significant differences in CMNI subscale scores between the rural and urban group were analyzed with a mixed ANOVA design. The rural and urban group was normally distributed; therefore, social desirability codes (i.e., participants who score too high on non-conformity items or too low on conformity item are excluded from the data) for CMNI norms were not necessary.

Due to the unequal sample size of the rural and urban group, respectively $n = 100$ and $n = 45$, alpha was adjusted to 0.001. Adjusting alpha to a more stringent value controlled for the violation of the homogeneity of variance assumption. Results for significant interactions and effects of the rural and urban groups are presented in Table 3.

Table 3. ANOVA summary table

Source	SS	df	MS	F	p-level *
Setting	122	1	122	0.245	0.621192
Error	71072	143	497		
CMNI	107548	11	9777	45.095	0.000000
Setting*CMNI	16185	11	1417	6.786	0.000000
Error	341041	1573	217		

Note: * = $p < 0.001$

Results reflected in Table 3 indicate that the interaction ($F_{11, 1573} = 6.786$; $p = 0.000000$) and F_{CMNI} ($F_{11, 1573} = 45.095$; $p = 0.000000$) are significant. $F_{Setting}$ was not significant; therefore, differences between the urban and rural group (with regards to CMNI scores) were not found to

be significant. Tukey HSD testing was used to carry out post-hoc testing which revealed *Primacy of work* as significant in the rural and urban group ($p < 0.001$). *Violence* and *Risk-taking* were also found to be significant comparisons within each of the two groups ($p < 0.05$).

More specifically, *Violence* within the rural group appears to be significantly lower than other scores in the group ($p < 0.000931$). On the other hand, *Violence* in the urban group did not differ significantly with many of the scores in that group; a graph of cell mean profiles illustrated that the urban group's *Violence* subscale score was significantly higher than the *Violence* subscale score in the rural group. This pattern was also evident for *Risk-taking* where the cell mean profile graphs indicated that the urban group scored significantly higher than the rural group for this subscale. On the contrary, *Primacy of Work* reflected significantly higher scores for the rural group than for the urban group.

Within group differences showed that *Disdain towards homosexuals* scored significantly higher than all of the other subscales in the rural group ($p < 0.000308$). The urban group reflected similar results; however, within group differences did not produce as many significant results. Although, this subscale was higher than all other subscale scores in the urban group, results were only significant for seven of the scores (i.e., *Emotional control, Violence, Power over women, Playboy, Self-reliance, Primacy of work*, CMNI total score) ($p < 0.000018$).

The *Self-reliance* subscale, for both the rural and urban group, reflected particularly low scores. More specifically, in the rural group *Self-reliance* was significantly lower than most of the subscale scores ($p < 0.000027$); except for *Violence, Power over women*, and *Playboy* which showed similar lower scores. Similarly, in the urban group *Self-reliance* was lower than most of the subscale scores ($p < 0.000052$); except for *Emotional Control, Power over women, Violence, Playboy*, and *Primacy of work* which scored similar lower scores.

DISCUSSION

The attainment of traditional masculinity norms has been found to be prominent, especially amongst adolescent males. For example, conformity to these masculine norms has been reflected in school settings where chauvinist jokes and ridicule towards apparent 'feminine' boys are evident (Bhana, 2008; Jansen, 2002; Mahalik et al., 2003; Philips, 2005; Stoudt, 2006). In South Africa, high rates of violence and sexual abuse towards adolescent girls have been found to place adolescent boys at high risk for becoming perpetrators of such abuse (Hoosen & Collins, 2004;

Petersen et al., 2005; Wood et al., 2008). Given that adolescence is considered a critical developmental period for establishing normative sexual behaviour (Petersen et al., 2005; Sigelman & Rider, 2006), it is important to investigate these issues particularly in this age group. For this reason, the importance of validating an instrument that accurately measures men's conformity to masculine norms, such as the CMNI, is essential. If this instrument is validated, further differences within the groups can be explored. Discovering exactly where the differences between the low-income rural and higher-income urban group lie on the CMNI subscales becomes imperative for: 1) a clearer understanding of the influence of contextual and cultural norms on young men, and 2) the research process might aid participants in reflecting upon their own views, behaviours and attitudes that influence these norms.

The mixed ANOVA design indicated that differences between the urban and rural CMNI mean scores were not significant. Therefore, results for the first research aim indicate that the CMNI is empirically supported for the rural and urban group. Because this sample cannot be generalized to the South African population, this research finding only remains true for this specific rural and urban group sample. Additionally, significant differences in CMNI mean scores within the rural and urban groups and between CMNI subscales of both groups were evident. Numerous significant differences were highlighted; however, only a selection of the most prominent ones will be explored.

Firstly, analysis of the means and post-hoc tests indicated that *Risk-taking* and *Violence* subscale mean scores were higher for the urban than for the rural group. On the other hand, results showed that *Primacy of work* was higher for the rural group. In this case, it is important to investigate different community and individual factors that might have led to the results for these three subscales.

Research has found that risk-taking and violence are more likely to occur in high-risk environments/neighbourhoods (i.e., crime, poverty, permissive substance abuse, neighbourhood disorganization) (Moody et al., 2003; Wyrick, 2000); therefore, it would have been more likely that the low-income rural group reported higher on *Risk-taking* and *Violence* subscales. However, Stoudt (2006) found that subtle, normalized and sometimes blatant forms of violence were evident in the sample of boys who attended an elite suburban school. The form of teaching available at the elite school only served to structure a curriculum that helped to perpetuate patriarchal violence. This indicates that violence should not be misconceived as only a low-

income community phenomenon; rather, this stereotype should be reassessed and specific individual factors that could be related to violence and risk-taking should be considered.

For example, history of parental or sibling substance abuse, high levels of family dysfunction, absent fathers, poor academic performance, low attachment to school community, and association with peers who use and abuse substance are all factors that could lead to risk-taking and violent behaviour (Moody et al., 2003; Wyrick, 2000). Because poor academic performance is one of the factors that could lead to risk-taking and violence, it might explain how the rural group scored higher on *Primacy of work* and lower on *Risk-taking* and *Violence* subscales. On the other hand, a lower score on *Primacy of work* by the urban group might explain how subscales of *Risk-taking* and *Violence* were higher.

The *Primacy of work* subscale includes statements, such as "I am often absorbed in my work" and "My work is the most important part of my life" – these statements imply motivation towards education attainment. While the conformity or non-conformity to this subscale might be related to individual factors, such as conduct or attention deficit disorders (Wyrick, 2000), the impact of cultural and societal goals on conformity to the *Primacy of work* should also be investigated. Stoudt (2006) reported that high academic expectations for school boys in a privileged suburban school in the United States were cultivated. Although education attainment appears to be a goal for this urban privileged school, the findings of this study indicate that the low-income rural group had higher results for the *Primacy of work* subscale. While education attainment might also be related to the pursuit of status for the low-income rural group, descriptive results indicate that the rural and urban groups scored similarly on the *Pursuit of status* subscale.

Research also shows that with over 18 million children living in South Africa today, over seven million of these children live without their fathers and almost half of these are African families (Children Count, 2006a, 2006b). These single mothers often struggle financially to support their families. Given the stress that these single-headed families often endure, the sons often step into the adult male role of being a provider through, for example, gaining employment (Becker & Liddle, 2001; Lowe, 2000). Here, education attainment might be a particularly strong cultural goal and motivation to escape such financial hardships. However, given that this relationship between the *Primacy of work* and the low-income rural group appears to be difficult

to place, future studies should investigate the possible relationship between absent-father households and the impact on disadvantaged adolescent boys.

Secondly, it has also been found that protective factors, which guard against risk factors, include identifying with religion and regularly attending church services (Collins, Ready, Griffin, Walker & Mascaro, 2007; Parry et al., 2004; Wallace & Williams, 1997). Collins et al. (2007) and Higson-Smith and Killian (2000) argued that a significant coping resource for many disadvantaged, low-SES individuals in African societies is religion. The results of this investigation illustrated that identifying with a religion is strongly reflected in the low-income rural group with 88% prevalence; this rural group was comprised of 93% 'coloured' and 7% 'black' participants. The urban participants reflected a lower value of 63% for strongly identifying with a religion.

Furthermore, traditions and rituals have become vital cultural practices that facilitate coping and well-being amongst communities and families. However, traditions have been eroded through Westernization, which has resulted in speedy change in South African urban and peri-urban communities which generates a breach between parents and children (Higson-Smith & Killian, 2000). This can be seen clearly in the urban group where 22% reported either living alone, with a roommate or with one parent as opposed to the rural group with only 5% living according to this structure. Because the CMNI scores significantly and positively relate to psychological distress (Lui & Iwamoto, 2007; Mahalik et al., 2003), relationships between protective and risk factors should be investigated more thoroughly in high-risk settings in order to design appropriate preventative measures.

Thirdly, the results for both the rural and urban group, indicate that the majority of participants scored the lowest on the *Self-reliance* subscale (M = 37.87). *Self-reliance* statements, such as "Asking for help is a sign of failure" and "I never ask for help" were scored lower by participants (CMNI; Mahalik et al., 2003). Burn and Ward's (2005) study reported using introductory psychology students from a Chicago university (M = 20.2 years of age; SD = 1.15); the mean score of the CMNI Self-reliance subscale was scored higher than subscales, such as *Primacy of Work* and *Playboy*. This was also true for the Mahalik et al. (2007) study – full-time employed Australian adult men (M = 32.98 years of age; SD = 13.14) participated in the study where *Self-reliance* mean subscales were higher than the *Dominance* mean scores. This indicates that with an older group of males, *Self-reliance* might have scored higher due to their

increased independence of being employed or being students at a university. The sample for this study was younger and still in school environments where asking for help and being assisted are valued and practiced (Stoudt, 2006). This indicates that the sample characteristics influence different scores for CMNI subscales. It is recommended that future studies should examine the impact of the CMNI amongst different age groups and compare the subscale scores amongst these different age groups.

Fourth, *Disdain towards Homosexuals* amongst both groups has the highest average (M = 68.33), therefore, participants scored high on statements such as "It is important to me that people think I am heterosexual" (CMNI; Mahalik et al., 2003). This confirms research findings that especially in school settings feminine qualities are linked to homosexuality which is a weakness and therefore results in ridicule (Bhana, 2008; Stoudt, 2006). Because adolescence is a critical period for establishing an identity that is often also needed to be acceptable to others (i.e., to peers), attaining the ideal of traditional masculinity encompasses a need to abstain from apparent 'feminine' behaviours and to appear explicitly heterosexual. This research is reflected in the current results where the majority of participants (i.e., 62% of rural participants and 93% of urban participants) identified themselves as heterosexual.

However, demographic results also indicated that 28% of rural participants reported being bisexual (i.e., sexually attracted to both males and females), as opposed to 7% in the urban group. While this result could have been the cause of an ambiguously worded statement [i.e., "Are you attracted to: a) girls, b) boys, or c) both"], it appears as though elements of the *new man* might be surfacing (Daphne, 1998), more so in the rural group. Daphne (1998) describes the *new man* as non-violent, being proud to display 'feminine' forms of behaviour (e.g., showing emotions), being able to acknowledge gender equality, and practicing less competitiveness. These characteristics conflict with the traditional masculine norms and in today's society where both types of men are favoured (Daphne, 1998), developing a suitable masculine identity might provoke anxiety and become confusing. The lack of conformity to the heterosexual hegemonic norm should be investigated in future studies with regards to possible societal or cultural influences that might favour elements of the new man.

Fifth, the rural group scored higher on the *Playboy* and *Power over women* mean subscale scores than the urban group; therefore, on statements, such as "If I could, I would date a lot of different people" and "In general, I control the women in my life" (CMNI; Mahalik et al.,

2003). The demographic results replicate this pattern where 47% of rural participants reported having cheated in a relationship, while only 20% of the urban group reported having done so. Although mean scores for the *Playboy* and *Power over women* subscales were higher for the rural group, both subscales had significantly lower means to the rest of the subscales in both groups. This pattern was also evident in the Burn and Ward (2005) study. These norms were amongst the lower scoring subscales, which suggest that these young men do not necessarily find these norms to be the most salient to attain the masculinity ideal. On the contrary, perhaps these norms have more behavioural dimensions, rather than cognitive and affective dimensions. In other words, these norms might be more performed (i.e., dating many girls) but less acknowledged as a cognitive or emotional state (e.g. "I would feel good if I had many sexual partners").

This highlights the possibility of social desirability because behaviours and statements suggesting inequality of genders or control over women have become politically incorrect and frowned upon in today's society (Daphne, 1998). The importance of the cognitive, affective and behavioural dimensions of the CMNI are seen here where although these boys might have admitted to cheating during a relationship, the possible embarrassment of cognitively and affectively admitting to these actions might have allowed for lower scores for both groups on the *Playboy* and *Power over women* subscales.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

No significant difference was found in CMNI scores between the rural and urban group; therefore, the validity of the CMNI can be supported in the study sample. However, these findings may not be generalized due to the unrepresentative sample. Furthermore, significant differences were found in both groups between the CMNI subscale scores and within groups and their CMNI scores. Higher mean scores of *Violence* and *Risk-taking* was evident in the urban group than in the rural group; however, the rural group scored higher on *Primacy of work* than the urban group. *Self-reliance* was the lowest mean score for both groups, while *Disdain towards homosexuals* was the highest mean score. Finally, although the *Playboy* and *Power over women* subscale scores were two of the lower mean scores, rural participants scored higher than urban participants on these subscales.

Although this study highlighted many prominent issues in the conformity to masculine ideals, there were also obvious limitations to the research design and sampling procedure. Firstly, using the CMNI as the main form of data collection limited findings. Personal perspectives and opinions of participants regarding attitudes towards traditional masculine norms are ignored; therefore questionnaires can appear to be superficial in attempting to cover complex social topics. In other words, responses to the CMNI are not able to explore participants' detailed understandings of gender norms, for example, as a qualitative approach might have explored (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). Additionally, self-report measures, such as those on the CMNI, could result in social desirability bias. Traditional masculine norms are often frowned upon (e.g., playboy) or considered illegal (e.g., the violence norm); hence, a self-report measure of these norms would result in issues of impression management being salient (Mahalik et al., 2003). This could have been evident with *Playboy* and *Power over women* subscales where participants might not have been completely honest with regards to their behaviours and beliefs about possibly dating many girls at the same time or controlling women.

Secondly, future research should also employ other research designs; for example, correlation coefficients should be generated (e.g., using the Pearson Product-Moment Correlation Coefficient) to provide an objective measure of strength and direction between variables (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). Relationships between social dominance have been significantly associated with *Power over women* and the *Playboy norm*, while the *Violence* and *Dominance* norms were strongly associated with aggression (Mahalik et al., 2007; Mahalik et al., 2003). Also, Burn and Ward (2005) identified that the sexually promiscuous male who adopts the *Playboy* norm is significantly negatively correlated with relationship satisfaction for the female partner. Although correlations do not imply that either variable is necessarily the cause of the other, it still allows for a prediction based on related variables (Babbie & Mouton, 2001).

These associations should be investigated in the South African context where its social and political history might have had a direct effect on shaping culturally diverse masculinities and gender roles (Epstein, 1998).The creation of violent men and dangerous risk-raking might be prevalent in particular high-risk South African communities; therefore, relationships between protective and risk factors should be investigated more thoroughly in these high-risk settings in order to design appropriate preventative measures.

Thirdly, given that convenience samples are not representative of the population; these results may not be generalized to all rural and urban South African adolescent males. In other words, these findings may only remain true for the chosen sample of rural and urban participants in this study. Additionally, due to the complexities of ensuring an equal sample size in each condition, largely unequal sample sizes resulted in limitations. In order to reduce the chances of committing a type 1 error, alpha had to be adjusted to a more stringent value (0.001). Although there were other procedures that could have been employed to correct this (i.e., a log transformation, a less stringent alpha value, distribution-free tests, Bonferroni adjustment of alpha) (Howell, 2004); this option was by far the most suitable for controlling for the heterogeneity of variances.

Future studies should incorporate a randomized sample – this will allow that results could be generalized to the entire population. This sampling procedure would require a power analysis which was not employed in this study. Because convenience sampling operates on the availability of volunteers to participate in the study, the aim is to gather as many participants as possible. Therefore, it is unlikely that given the short period of time allocated to this study that a large enough sample of participants would have been possible.

This study showed that the CMNI is empirically supported in a sample of rural and urban participants in the South African context. Findings of this study provide awareness for schools and educators who wish to help students broaden their notions of what it means to be a man. The research process might also have aided participants in reflecting upon their own views, behaviours and attitudes that influence these norms. Additionally, findings of this study highlighted the importance of investigating the relationship between risk and protective factors in South Africa, where high-risk environments have been found to negatively influence risk-behaviours of adolescents.

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APPENDIX A

Only English versions are attached. Afrikaans versions are available on request

DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONNAIRE

SECTION A

The questions in this section focus on aspects of your everyday life. Please complete all the questions below as honestly as possible.

1. Date of Birth (DD/MM/YYYY): _____
2. Age: _____
3. What grade are you in this year? (Please tick correct option)

Grade 8	
Grade 9	
Grade 10	
Grade 11	
Grade 12	

4. How do you identify yourself in terms of race?

Black	
Coloured	
White	
Indian	

Other (Please specify):_____

5. What is your home language? (Please tick the correct option)

Afrikaans	
English	
Xhosa	

Other (Please specify):_____

6. Who do you live with in your house? (You can choose more than one option)

Mom	
Dad	
Grandmother	
Grandfather	
Aunt	
Uncle	
Brother(s)	
Sister(s)	

Other (Please specify): _____

7. How many people live in your house? _____
8. Do you identify with a religion?

YES_____

NO_____

9. If yes, which religion do you belong to? _____
10. Are you attracted to (Please tick the correct option):

Boys	
Girls	
Both	

11. Have you ever been in a steady intimate relationship with one person?

YES_____

NO_____

12. Are you in a steady intimate relationship at the moment?

YES_____

NO_____

13. If yes, how long have you been in this relationship for? _____
14. How many steady relationships have you been in during your lifetime? _____
15. Have you ever been in more than one steady relationship at the same time? YES ___ NO___

APPENDIX C

PARENT/GUARDIAN CONSENT FORM

University of Cape Town
Department of Psychology
Permission from parent/guardian that his/her child can participate on the following research project

Dear Parent/Guardian

My study is interested in the extent to which young men take on traditional and non-traditional masculinity norms and how this impacts on other social relationships (e.g. peer relationships, intimate relationships, and familial relationships). With this research, I would like to gain a better understanding of the manner in which young people, specifically young men, perform and live in a specific community. Your consent is mandatory for your son's participation in this study.

1. THE STUDY

The study aims to investigate the extent to which young men are influenced by traditional or non-traditional masculinity norms and how this affects their social relationships.

We are not always familiar with the ways in which young people operate in their daily lives, therefore your son will aid in improving our understanding. In addition, this research project will give your child the opportunity to reflect on who he is and how this impacts on his relationships with others.

2. PROCEDURE

Male students will be asked to voluntarily participate in this research project. Those students who are interested in participating in the study will be required to get permission from their parent/guardian.

Once permission from the parent/guardian is granted, the following will be expected from your son:

- He will be asked to complete a booklet during school-time. This will include a short demographic form (e.g. questions about age, religion, living arrangements etc) and a questionnaire about masculinity norms.

Once permission from the parent/guardian is granted, the following will be expected of you:

- As written proof that you have granted permission for your son to participate in the study, please provide your signature or name at the end of this form.
- In addition, the name of your child should also be included so that we know exactly which child has permission to participate.

3. PARTICIPATION

At any point, your son has the option to withdraw from the study. It is important that he does not feel coerced into participating in the study.

4. CONFIDENTIALITY

If your child chooses to participate in the study, the booklet containing the demographic form and questionnaire will remain confidential. In other words, those booklets will remain anonymous and only the researcher will have access to the completed booklet.

If the results of the study are published, the name of the school/college will remain anonymous to ensure confidentiality.

PERMISSION STATEMENT BY PARENT/GUARDIAN

The above information has been given to me, _____ in English and I understand this language.

I hereby give permission for my child to participate in the study.

Name of child: _____
Signature of parent/guardian: _____
Date: _____

APPENDIX D

INFORMED CONSENT FOR PARTICIPANTS

University of Cape Town

DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY

INFORMED CONSENT

RESEARCHER: T. VAN NIEKERK

I, THE UNDERSIGNED, AGREE TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS STUDY, WHICH AIMS TO INVESTIGATE THE EXTENT TO WHICH YOUNG MEN ARE INFLUENCED BY TRADITIONAL OR NON-TRADITIONAL MASCULINITY NORMS AND HOW THIS AFFECTS THEIR SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS. I REALIZE THAT THIS INFORMATION WILL BE USED FOR RESEARCH PURPOSES. I UNDERSTAND THAT I MAY WITHDRAW FROM THE STUDY AT ANY TIME AND THAT ALL INFORMATION WILL BE TREATED WITH CONFIDENTIALITY AND ANONYMITY. I UNDERSTAND THE INTENT OF THE STUDY.

SIGNATURES:

I HAVE READ, UNDERSTOOD AND AGREE TO THE ABOVE CONDITIONS.

SIGNED: _____

DATE: _____