AN EXPLORATION OF THEORETICAL SPACE WITHIN
MASCULINITY AND SEXUAL COERCION : A
PARADOXICAL RELATIONSHIP

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# Masculinity and Sexual Coercion: A paradoxical relationship.

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**Thesis submitted to the University of St. Andrews for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, October, 2002**

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## Acknowledgements.

# Contents.

# Abstract.

Previous work on masculinity and sexual coercion has proposed either that sexual coercion is an expression of a traditional ideology of masculinity, or that sexual coercion is a resource in the construction of masculinity. That is, they have proposed that masculinity is either cognitive or strategic. It is proposed, in this thesis, that these viewpoints should be integrated and that masculinity should be thought of as both cognitive and strategic. Using the SIDE (Social Identity Definition and Enactment) model as a framework, there would, in relation to masculinity and sexual coercion, seem to be a paradox. That is, on the one hand, traditional masculinity is associated with the inclination to be sexually coercive, that there is a traditional ideology of masculinity which people internalise and which influences their behaviour. However, on the other hand, the actual expression of sexual coercion undermines masculinity. That is, men who engage in sexual coercion are perceived, by other men, as abusing their power and as less masculine, as not real men. Five studies are presented which support this notion of a paradox. However, this paradox is slightly different to that originally proposed. Rather than it being the case that men who most endorse traditional masculinity being those who most endorse coercion against women, it is those who we describe as being 'insecure' in their traditional masculinity who are most inclined to be coercive. A further two studies are presented which working from a basic assumption of this thesis, that the relationship between men and women is a relationship of unequal power consider, firstly, when the paradox might arise and shows that a challenge by a woman is perceived as a threat to masculinity. Secondly, in addressing how men might resolve the paradox, the final study considers the contexts in which coercion might be enacted and shows that when a challenge engenders feelings of threat to masculinity, this may translated into the enactment of sexual coercion, but only in a private context. The implications of this research and possible future directions are discussed.

# Chapter 1: Introduction.

*Jim: "I gave him a slap on the way out of visits, the nonce."*

Jim was a prisoner in a maximum security prison who had been convicted of a serious violent offence. The above comment was made to me during a conversation while I was working as a fieldwork researcher in the prison (Leibling, Muir, Rose and Bottoms, 1997). Most of my time on the research was spent on prison wings observing and talking with prisoners and prison staff. In prison, sex offenders are held in separate wings and have separate work and educational facilities and are moved around prison at separate times from other prisoners. The only area where prisoners mix is during visiting times and that is when Jim saw his chance to assault someone he knew was from the sex offender wing. He was following an unwritten rule among prisoners that if you get the opportunity to assault a sex offender, you should take it. What struck me about his remark and similar remarks by other prisoners about sex-offenders was the strength of feeling they had about men who were sexually coercive. This strength of feeling was not restricted to paedophiles but to all sex offenders, they were all seen as 'scum'. Here were men (mainstream prisoners) who could be seen as prototypical examples of aggressive masculinity, for many of whom violence is a routine feature of their lives, both inside and outside prison. When they talked about women they often expressed what could only be described as misogynistic attitudes. Yet, for them, the behaviour of sex offenders is seen as a sign of weakness, an abuse of power and their behaviour is not the behaviour of 'real' men.

Based on this prison experience and on research I had carried out before on attitudes to sexual violence (Muir, Lonsway & Payne, 1996), it seemed to me that there was somehow a paradox in relation to men and sexually coercive behaviour. On the one hand, men did support attitudes, e.g. rape myths "that serve to deny and justify male sexual aggression against women" (Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994: 134). But, on the other hand, men who are coercive are perceived as not 'real' men.

In relation to sex offenders themselves, they know how they are perceived while in prison. They are very aware of the paradox in that they have acted on a traditional masculine ideology that the coercion of women is justified, is 'no big deal' and women are somehow 'asking for it'. Yet, having acted on that ideology, they are aware that their ingroup (other men) perceive them as less masculine, as not 'real' men. As Godenzi (1994) has noted, sex offenders in prison tend to emphasise the violent aspect of their crimes and play down any sexual motive. Thus, by justifying their behaviour in terms of violence, it seems that they are attempting to maintain their identity as belonging to the category men.

This notion of a paradox has led me to the research presented here. But why investigate masculinity and sexual coercion[1]? There is a vast literature on violence and sexual violence against women and a burgeoning literature,

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[1] The term sexual violence tends to invoke notions of severe injury or violation. In this thesis, I will use the term sexual coercion which is defined to include instances of coercion which do not necessarily involve physical violence. Therefore, following Kelly (1988), sexual coercion can be considered on a continuum, ranging from sexual harassment in the workplace, through domestic violence to rape.

especially within sociology and criminology, on the nature of masculinity and the 'problem' of men and sexual violence. Yet this continues to be an important and controversial social and theoretical issue.

It is an important social issue in that rape is the crime most feared by women (Warr, 1985; Hough & Mayhew, 1985). The 1984 British Crime Survey reported that 30 per cent of women interviewed were 'very worried about' being raped. This rose to 41 per cent for women aged between 16 and 30 years of age. While rape only accounts for about one half per cent of all recorded serious crime in England and Wales, its effect on victims and on women's fear of victimization is dramatic. Victims of rape experience emotional and physical distress for months or even years after the event. Resick (1987: 474) reports, in an American study of rape victims, that "many continue to experience problems with fear, anxiety and interpersonal functioning for years after the event". Other authors have noted that rape victims recover more slowly than victims of other types of crime and may suffer from eating or sleeping disorders and feelings of low self-esteem and self-blame (Koss & Harvey, 1987; Smith, 1989). The fear of victimization also has an impact on women's behaviour and lifestyle. They are, for example, less likely to go out unaccompanied at night, especially to city centres, and to take taxis rather than use public transport (Anderson, Grove-Smith, Kinsey & Wood, 1990). It is a fear they live with every day as Morris (1987: 162) writes "... women *know* they are quite likely to be victimised at some point in their lives".

Crimes such as rape and attempted rape, despite campaigns such as Zero Tolerance, are on the increase. While this may be due to more women coming forward and changes in police recording practices, the number of recorded rapes and attempted rapes in England and Wales rose from 1,040 in 1975 to 7,809 in

1999 (Criminal Statistics, 1976; 2000), equivalent to approximately 16 per 100,000 of the population. There was a dramatic increase in recorded offences in the mid-1980s - 1984-85 (29%) and 1985-86 (24%) - which partly reflected "a greater tendency in certain police forces to record alleged offences" (Home Office Statistical Bulletin, 1989: 1) and, in part, to increased media attention (Keating, Higgs, & Willott, 1990). The increase in recorded rapes has, however, not been confined to England and Wales. For example, in the United States recorded rapes increased from 56,090 in 1975 to 106,593 in 1991 (FBI, 1976; 1992), equivalent to 42.3 per 100,000 of the population.

Despite the increase in the number of cases recorded, there is general agreement that these figures grossly underestimate the incidence of rape. There has been, in recent years, an increased awareness of the high levels of non-reporting of rape offences and concern about the rate of attrition within the legal process. It has also been noted that the high levels of non-reporting and of attrition may not be mutually exclusive (Smith, 1989a).

Several studies have highlighted the under-estimation of rape. The most recent British Crime Survey (2001) estimated that 61,000 women, aged between 16 and 59, had been raped during the year 2000, around nine times more than the number of cases recorded by the police. The BCS also estimated that one in ten women have experienced some form of sexual victimisation, including rape, since the age of 16. It also reports that most rapes occur in the victim's own home by a known man (an acquaintance or intimate) and only eight per cent of rapes were by a stranger. Other studies have also estimated very high levels of non-reporting. In England and Wales, the rate of non-reporting has been found to range from 75% (London Rape Crisis, 1985) up to 95% when the assailant was known to the victim

(Hall, 1985 - a study of women in 32 London boroughs). In support of these figures, Lees and Gregory (1993) report, in their study of sexual assault in Holloway, Islington and Kings Cross, that 63% of the cases reported to the police involved strangers, while in only 35% of those reported was the alleged assailant known to the victim. In Scotland, Chambers and Millar (1983), in their Scottish Office social research study into sexual assault prosecutions, estimated that only 7% of sexual assaults were reported to the police.

High levels of non-reporting have also been reported in the United States. The United States Department of Justice National Crime Victimization Survey Report - similar to the British Crime Survey - estimated that the number of rapes in 1991 was approximately 173,300 with an almost equal distribution between stranger and acquaintance rapes. They also estimated that their data represented a 60% reporting rate. However, the methods of data collection by the NCVSR have been criticized for their insensitivity (Koss, 1992; Russell, 1984). The survey authors have themselves reported (Bureau of Justice, 1985: 2) that "It has been suggested that a victim may be less likely to report a rape - either to the police or to a survey interviewer - when she knows her assailant than when he is a stranger. ...there is some support in the statistics for this line of reasoning". Other studies, however, have reported very high levels of estimated non-reporting, especially when the assailant is known to the victim. The United States Senate Judiciary Committee (1993) concluded that, according to conservative estimates, up to 84% of rapes are never reported. In a survey of 3,187 female college students, Mary Koss and her colleagues reported in 'I Never Called It Rape' (Warshaw, 1988) that, 1 in 4 women surveyed were victims of rape or attempted rape. They also reported that only 5% of the rape victims reported their assaults to the police and that 84%

of those raped knew their attacker. Similar estimates for rape prevalence and non-reporting have been documented in other studies with different populations (National Victim Centre, 1992; O'Shaugnessy & Palmer, 1990; see Koss, 1992 for a summary).

For domestic violence, the most recent report from the Scottish Executive reported that there were 36,000 cases of domestic abuse reported by the police in Scotland for the year 2000 (Scottish Executive, 2001). This translates to a rate of 712 per 100,000 of the population. The report goes on to acknowledge that these figures are probably a gross underestimation of the actual incidence of domestic abuse.

In relation to attitudes to sexual coercion, a report by Burton and Kitzinger (1998: 2) on young people's attitudes to violence reported that "one in eight young men thought that they might force a long-term girlfriend to have sex with them". They also found that "one in ten young men might force a woman to have sex if they were 'so turned on' that they could not stop" (ibid), and that 81% of men believed that women may bring violence on themselves by flirting. These young men are clearly buying into an ideology, including rape myths, which supports and justifies sexual coercion. What is most disturbing about this report is the age of the respondents, which ranged from 12 years of age to 21 years.

On a theoretical level sexual coercion is an important and controversial issue with, for example, the recent publication of Thornhill and Palmer's (2000) book, 'A Natural History of Rape', in which they proposed that rape is an evolutionary adaptive strategy for maximising the reproduction of one's genes. For them male dominance is natural and universal. However, it will be argued in this thesis, that the debate about the relationship between masculinity and sexual

coercion can be placed into two broad theoretical perspectives: a) sexual coercion is an *expression* of masculinity and b) sexual coercion is a resource in the *construction* of masculinity. While both perspectives acknowledge that sexual coercion has something to do with men and masculinity, their explanations seem to be opposed to each other.

Explanations of sexual coercion against women as an expression of masculinity range from sociobiology (e.g. Thornhill & Thornhill, 1992) through psychology (e.g. Bandura, 1973) to traditional feminist cultural perspectives (e.g. Brownmiller, 1975). For example, psychological research into sexual violence has often tended to draw on a pathology model that men who rape are somehow abnormal, have a personality disorder, that they suffer from some pathological form of masculinity (Groth, 1979) and are, therefore, not 'typical' of the group 'men'. However, while the majority of research has failed to support the notion of a specific personality disorder (Scully & Marolla, 1985), there is a strongly held view, e.g. within a social learning perspective, that 'deviance' is somehow due to faulty socialisation. Traditional feminist theorising, while also drawing on social learning theory, has posited the view that sexual coercion is the result of a patriarchal ideology that supports the domination of women and the maintenance of men's power and privilege. So, broadly, what these differing viewpoints are arguing is that masculinity is an ideology or a biology magnified by culture that drives behaviour, masculinity is something cognitive and as such sexual coercion is an expression of masculinity.

More recent theorising within sociology and criminology has criticised this view in two important ways (Connell, 1987, 1995; Messerschmidt, 1993). Firstly, it is argued that masculinity should not be thought of as unitary and gender as,

therefore, dichotomous. While accepting the feminist argument that sexual coercion is a crime of power and domination, writers such as Connell argue that, rather than thinking of masculinity as unitary, we should think of multiple masculinities, e.g. middle class masculinity, working class masculinity or black masculinity. Connell goes on to propose that we should then consider the practices that flow from these different masculinities. Secondly, sexual coercion, rather than being an expression of masculinity, should be considered as a resource in the construction of masculinity. Following Connell, Messerschmidt argues that, rather than thinking that gender is already settled before the behaviour and thus causes the behaviour, we should think of the behaviour as a way of 'doing gender'. That is, sexual coercion may be one resource for 'doing masculinity', when other resources are not available. However, within this view, the research has been almost exclusively discursive, informed by life histories, and often set within a psychoanalytic framework and excludes how identity might shape behaviour. It proposes that behaviour is only strategic in that sexual coercion is a resource for constructing masculinity.

It will be argued in this thesis that these two opposing theoretical perspectives should be integrated, that masculinity should be thought of as both cognitive and strategic and that sexual coercion is both an expression of masculinity and a resource in the construction of masculinity, a way of doing identity. The particular perspective which will attempt to integrate the cognitive and strategic aspects of masculinity is rooted in Social Identity Theory (Tajfel, 1978; 1982) and Self Categorisation Theory (Turner, 1982) which propose that we can have different social identities. These social identities are defined by the groups with which an individual identifies, through a cognitive process of self-

stereotyping. The individual then takes on the values, norms and behaviours of the group depending on which identity is salient, which in turn is dependent on context. However, Reicher, Spears and Postmes (1995)[2] have proposed that the cognitive identification with the group does not automatically translate into behaviour. They argue that there is also a strategic element to identity that is about acting in ways which allow the individual to be a member of the group, acting in ways which are validated by other members of the group.

The SIDE model has attempted to combine the cognitive aspects of Social Identity and Self Categorisation theories with self-presentational (strategic) accounts of social behaviour. It is argued, from Social Identity theory that there are cognitive factors, such as salience, which lead to values and norms that guide behavioural inclination but that the actual expression of behavioural inclination will be affected by strategic factors. Among these strategic factors are, firstly, whether the outgroup allows us to behave in certain ways, that we may be influenced or constrained by the likelihood of being punished. Secondly, and more importantly for this research, it is about acting in ways which allow the individual to be a member of the ingroup and being able to lay claim to ingroup identity. One of the key points about the SIDE model is that visibility or accountability to others, can affect both cognitive and strategic factors such as the possibility of being punished, and may interact in paradoxical ways.

Working within this SIDE model, in terms of the relationship between masculinity and sexual coercion, not only does the model draw together the two seemingly opposed perspectives of masculinity but provides a theoretical model

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[2] This cognitive and strategic approach has more commonly been referred to as SIDE – the social identity model of deindividuation or what Reicher (1999) has defined as a social identity model of definition and enactment.

which will allow us to explore our notion of a paradox. That is, on the one hand, traditional masculinity is associated with the inclination to be sexually coercive, that there is a traditional ideology of masculinity which people internalise and which influences their behaviour. However, on the other hand, the actual expression of sexual coercion undermines masculinity. That is, men who engage in sexual coercion are perceived, by other men, as abusing their power and as less masculine, as not real men.

To address the notion of a paradox, we first posed the question, 'does a paradox exist?' So to test this we asked, firstly, 'is there a relationship between a traditional masculinity and attitudes, which justify sexual violence and also a behavioural inclination to be sexually coercive?' Secondly, we addressed the question, 'does the enactment of sexual coercion undermine masculinity, i.e. are men who are coercive perceived as less masculine?'

We then considered, if a paradox does exist, under what conditions does it arise and how is it resolved? The thesis is based on the assumption that the relationship between men and women is a relationship of unequal power (Godenzi, 1994; Messerschmidt, 1993; Painter & Farrington, 1997). Therefore, based on this assumption, does the paradox arise when a woman challenges a man, and is the paradox resolved when a man is not accountable to other members of the ingroup?

Certainly, the literature covering male on male violence has suggested that threats or challenges to identity lead to violence (Polk, 1994; Messerschmidt, 2000). We then addressed this by posing the question, 'is a challenge by a woman perceived as a threat to a man's masculinity?'

Finally, in considering how the paradox might be resolved, we addressed the social contexts in which the enactment of coercion may occur and posed the questions, 'when a challenge by a woman is perceived as a threat, are those feelings of threat translated into the inclination to be coercive?' And, 'is the inclination to be coercive more likely to be enacted in private than in public?' As noted above, there is evidence in relation to male-on-male violence that suggests that threats to identity are related to violence. Epidemiological studies of rape and attempted rape (e.g. Muir & MacLeod, in press a) and of domestic violence (e.g. Dobash & Dobash, 1992) have shown that most of the sexual coercion of women is carried out in private by a man who is known to the woman, i.e. an acquaintance or an intimate. The SIDE model (A social identity model of definition and enactment) argues that accountability or visibility to others is an important context in the inclination to behave in certain ways. What is important in this thesis is that in a private context where a man is not visible and hence not accountable to other men (the ingroup) he may be more likely to be coercive. Therefore, in the final experimental chapter, we shall consider experimentally whether, following a public challenge by a woman and the subsequent feeling of threat to one's masculinity, coercion is more likely in a private context than in a public context.

**Summary of the following chapters.**

Starting in the late 1960's and early 1970s, the women's movement highlighted men's power in relation to women which led to an 'explosion' in research relating to rape (Griffin, 1971; Russell, 1975), domestic violence (Dobash & Dobash, 1979) and sexual harassment (MacKinnon, 1979). They also drew attention to issues of 'gender'. Within criminology, the issue of 'gender' and the

concept of 'femininity' focussed on why so few women commit crime (Morris, 1987; Smart, 1989) which in turn led to the examination of 'masculinity' and its relation to criminal behaviour (Messerschmidt, 1993; Newburn & Stanko, 1994). It is certainly not that men and 'deviance' had been ignored within psychology and criminology but this had been confined to notions of, for example, a 'macho' personality and ignored notions of 'gender' and 'gender relations'. In the following chapter (Chapter 2) we shall consider the differing perspectives on men and masculinity outlined earlier. We shall then consider how these differing perspectives of masculinity relate to theories of violence and sexual coercion. In Chapter 3, we shall propose that the two seemingly opposed perspectives, that sexual coercion is an expression of masculinity and that sexual coercion is a resource in the construction of masculinity, can be integrated. We shall argue that this can be achieved by working within the theoretical framework of the SIDE model. At the conclusion of this chapter, we shall present a brief description and rationale of the methods employed in the thesis, including why it was considered necessary to construct a new attitude scale measuring attitudes to coercive behaviour (ACBS). Seven experimental studies will be presented in Chapters 4 to 9. The first five studies were designed to consider our paradox and whether a paradox existed or not. One of the findings from these studies was what we have termed an 'insecure' masculinity. We found that this 'insecure' masculinity group was more supportive of attitudes which justify coercion and the inclination to be coercive. We argue and present evidence that this 'insecure' group would like to be more masculine than they believe they are.

In the final two experimental chapters we shall present two studies which address, firstly, the condition under which the paradox might arise, and, secondly,

the social contexts in which the paradox might be resolved. More specifically, in Chapter 8, based on the assumption that the relationship between men and women is a relationship of unequal power, we shall consider whether a challenge by a woman engenders feelings of threat to a man's masculinity. In Chapter 9, in considering how the paradox might be resolved, we shall present a study which considers the proposition that when masculinity is threatened, feelings of threat will be translated from feeling like being coercive to actually being coercive. And that actually being coercive is more likely in a private context than in a public context. Finally, in Chapter 10, we shall draw together the evidence presented and consider the implications of our findings, both applied and theoretical, and discuss questions raised by the research.

# Chapter 2: Masculinity, masculinities and sexual coercion.

## Introduction.

In the previous chapter, we proposed that the relationship between masculinity and sexual coercion could be placed into two broad theoretical perspectives. Firstly that sexual coercion is an *expression* of masculinity, and, secondly, that sexual coercion is a resource in the *construction* of masculinity. We shall address these two broad theoretical perspectives by considering the different viewpoints within those perspectives on men, masculinity and violence. That is, we shall consider generally the differing explanations of what masculinity is, and then more specifically how they view the relationship between masculinity and sexual coercion.

In relation to sexual coercion as an expression of masculinity, we shall outline three major viewpoints. Firstly, we shall consider a sociobiology and evolutionary psychology viewpoint which posits the view that masculinity is based on the biological difference of male and female from which all else leads, including men's domination of women. Sexual coercion from this standpoint is one strategy for maximising inclusive fitness, that is, maximising success in reproducing copies of their genes into succeeding generations (Barash, 1982).

Secondly, we shall consider a psychoanalytic viewpoint which proposes that masculinity is determined by the pattern of relationships that a boy experiences early in life, in particular at the Oedipal stage of development. His personality is 'fixed', and male dominance is explained through men's superior social conscience (superego). In relation to aggression, Freud posited the view that violence is destructive energy displaced to the external world from a conflict between the two

basic instincts of life (Eros) and death (Thanatos). An act of violence is seen as a safety valve reduces the energy levels within the system to acceptable levels. We shall also consider theories of aggression which have drawn on a psychoanalytic viewpoint.

Thirdly, we shall consider role theory, including social learning theory, which argues masculinity is something that men learn and act out through a process of socialisation and that sexual coercion results from faulty socialisation. We shall argue that these three viewpoints are flawed in that they do not acknowledge the conflicting and complex nature of gendered social relations, and the practices which follow from them, and they take no account of the role of power in gender relations.

Finally, in considering that sexual coercion is an expression of masculinity, we shall point to the important contribution made by feminist theorising on men and gender relations, in particular their contribution in relation to highlighting the unequal power relationships between men and women. We shall also review the contribution made by feminist theorising in relation to the evidence they have presented of a traditional masculine ideology which serves to justify and excuse the coercion of women.

In considering that sexual coercion is a resource in the construction of masculinity we shall look at more recent work within sociology and criminology on the notion of different masculinities proposed by the likes of Connell (1987, 1995), Messerschmidt (1993, 2000) and others.

Connell has proposed that masculinities are "configurations of practice in particular situations in a changing structure of relationships" (Connell, 1995: 81) and has proposed a key distinction between hegemonic masculinity, which is

socially dominant, and subordinated masculinities. Following Connell, Messerschmidt (1993) argues that sexual coercion is a resource in the construction of masculinity. He proposes that it is a way of doing gender, and we should not think that gender is logically prior to the behaviour, i.e. he argues that sexual coercion is not an expression of masculinity, but is a resource in the construction of masculinity. We shall also consider sub-cultural theories of violence, which Messerschmidt draws on, which argue that, for some groups of men, violence should not be seen as deviant but as normal practices which flow from their membership of the group.

Having considered these differing theoretical frameworks of masculinity and sexual coercion, we shall propose that masculinity is both an ideology that influences sexual coercion and that sexual coercion is a way of constructing masculinity, a way of doing gender. That is, we shall argue that masculinity is both cognitive and strategic and in the following chapter shall propose how the two seemingly opposed perspectives can be integrated. But first let us consider the view that sexual coercion is an expression of masculinity.

## Approaches to sexual coercion as an expression of masculinity.

### Sociobiology and Evolutionary Psychology.

*Masculinity*

Sociobiological and evolutionary psychology accounts of masculinity are based on male and female biological difference. In society in general, we have no problem in accepting that men and women are different. Not only do we accept that men and women are physically different, e.g. men generally are bigger and

stronger, but a common-sense view also acknowledges that there are psychological differences. For example, men are more aggressive while women are more nurturing and emotional. From these common-sense accepted differences gender is perceived as a simple dichotomy of male and female.

From a biological perspective, masculinity is based on this concept of difference from which all else leads. Male hormonal, chromosomal and genetic make-up is different from female. From this, it is proposed that men are naturally more dominant and aggressive than women. The argument for a natural masculinity where men are 'hard-wired' for dominance (Goldberg, 1973) has been most forcefully advocated within the areas of sociobiology and evolutionary psychology. E.O. Wilson (1975), in his famous and controversial book 'Sociobiology', first laid out the principle that all social behaviour has a biological basis. For him and others, the masculine social role is simply a set of strategies for maximising inclusive fitness, that is, maximising their success in reproducing copies of their genes into succeeding generations (Barash, 1982). They make the assumption that reproduction is the driving force behind all social behaviour, that sexual selection has favoured different traits in females than males, especially when the traits are directly related to mating. While accepting that there are physical differences between men and women, the claim of temperamental or trait differences is disputable. Maccoby and Jacklin's (1974) comprehensive review of psychological sex difference research has shown that there may be differences in verbal and spatial abilities and aggressiveness. However, evidence from cross-cultural studies (e.g. Sanday, 1981; Coltrane, 1994) have shown that there are cultures where rape is absent, and in which men are not normally aggressive, and

that any differences are more consistent with the effect of cultural factors than with biological factors.

*Sexual coercion.*

In their controversial book, 'A Natural History of Rape', Thornhill and Palmer (2000) have proposed that rape is one of many reproductive strategies. That is, they propose that rape is sexual. However, there is considerable evidence that, in fact, rape is an act of power and domination and not a sexual act (Scully & Marolla, 1985; Scully 1990; Ward, 1995; Muir, 1995). In interviews with convicted rape offenders, Scully (1990) reported that the main theme running through offenders' accounts was a sense of dominance and conquest and one offender summed up his feeling of conquest as like "Riding the Bull at Gilley's" (Scully & Marolla, 1985). In a study of rape and attempted rape in a large metropolitan area, Muir (1995) found that there were a number of cases in which the man was either unable to get an erection or where a foreign object, e.g. a broom handle, was used.

While those working within the framework of sociobiology and evolutionary psychology acknowledge that environment does have some part to play in behaviour, it is not the focus. They propose that "the physical and temperamental difference between men and women have been amplified by culture into universal dominance" (Wilson, 1978 cited in Connell, 1995: 46). That is, that culture is a reflection of nature.

The evidence presented by sociobiologists and evolutionary psychologists comes, in large part from animal studies, including non-human primates. It is interesting to note that Daly and Wilson (1994: 253), writing on an evolutionary

approach to psychology, start with the sentence, "Animals like ourselves are hugely complex systems". As an example, Thornhill and Palmer (2000), present evidence of adaptation in scorpion flies, which they argue have developed a clamp designed specifically for rape. While acknowledging that men do not have such a physical adaptation for rape, they then propose that, "We must therefore look to the male psyche for candidates for rape adaptations. If found, such adaptations would be analogous to those in the male insects" (Thornhill & Palmer, 2000: 64-65). The problem here it seems is one of reverse anthropomorphism. We often make unwarranted assumptions of our pets in terms of human behaviours, but here we have scientists making the assumption that the scorpion fly is engaging in rape (how do they know?) and then transferring selected animal characteristics and adaptations to human behaviour.

Nevertheless, biology as a determinant of aggressive behaviour has a long history - from Lombroso (1911) and his 'atavistic' man, identifiable by his features, through Sheldon (1942) and his three basic body types. More recently trait theorists such as Eysenck have proposed that personality traits such as Extraversion and Neuroticism have a biological basis, and that men high on N and E are more likely to be criminal (Eysenck & Eysenck, 1971). Some evidence has been put forward that personality traits such as sociability, impulsiveness and sensation-seeking are heritable and may be related to aggression and criminality (e.g. Rutter & Giller, 1983; Eysenck & McGurk, 1980; Furnham & Thompson, 1991). Daly and Wilson (1994) go on to argue that violence is not a pathology but is somehow adaptive, yet later in the same chapter they support the view in which "Psychiatrists have identified a personality disorder which is particularly likely to engage in violent aggressivity: the antisocial personality." (Daly & Wilson, 1994:

273). It is this sort of contradiction together with the selective use of animal behaviour in much of evolutionary and sociobiological writings that have been so contentious, not only within the social sciences but also with those working within the evolutionary community (Byrne, personal communication). For example, a great deal has been made of sexual coercion in non-human primates. However, Smuts and Smuts (1993), in a review of non-human primate aggression and sexual coercion, have shown that sexual coercion is very limited in some groups of non-human primates, especially those in which monogamous relationships are the norm.

Other work on the effects of testosterone on animals and humans and aggression, have been inconclusive (Rubin, 1987). In a review of genetic and hormonal influences on aggression, Turner (1994: 247) concluded that, "There are clearly no simple genetic or hormonal factors that can explain the variation in aggressive and antisocial behaviour between individuals or the difference in such behaviour between males and females." Work by Schaal, Tremblay and Soussignan (1996) has shown that, in early adolescence, levels of testosterone are inversely related to physical aggression. In animal studies, while it seems that testosterone is *correlated* with aggression, it is not clear that testosterone *causes* aggressive behaviour. According to Sapolsky (1997: 45, cited in Maruna, 2001: 29), "Study after study has shown that if you examine testosterone levels when males are first placed together in a social group, testosterone levels predict nothing about who is going to be aggressive. The subsequent behavioural differences drive the hormonal changes, rather than the other way round." In addition, Felson and Tedeschi (1995) have proposed that twin studies have provided little evidence in support of a genetic effect on aggression, but that there is evidence from adoption

studies which suggest an effect of socialisation on aggression. Nor is there a great deal of support for the notion that greater male aggressiveness is universal (Tieger, 1980; Sanday, 1981).

Sociobiology paints a simple picture of masculinity in which male aggression results in dominance over women and in which male competition to spread their genes creates hierarchies in both human and non-human primates. However, dominance hierarchies in non-human primates are quite different from status hierarchies in human groups. While non-human primate dominance hierarchies are based on such biological factors as size, strength and speed, in human status hierarchies, position is based on social factors, e.g. economics. As Felson and Tedeschi (1995: 12) note "Although biology may play a role in determining ability to learn, attractiveness, and social skills, the contribution of biological factors is clearly very indirect and greatly modified by culture."

## Summary of sociobiology and evolutionary psychology.

The sociobiological and evolutionary perspective is essentialist, in that it proposes that the nature of men and masculinity is intrinsically different from the nature of women and femininity and that social roles are expressions of these intrinsic natures (Clatterbaugh, 1997). As Edley and Wetherall (1995: 206-7) note "Masculinity does not so much 'get into' men as 'emerge out' of them". Sex and reproduction in relation to the 'survival of the fittest' are at the core of an evolutionary perspective and the complexity, the continually shifting and conflicting nature of gendered social relations, and the practices which follow from them, are not acknowledged. In short, they take no account of the role of power in gender relations. For sociobiologists, power is a natural given as is the

basic biological dichotomy of male and female, and, for some, the inevitability of sexual coercion.

In her response to the evolutionary argument, Lynne Segal (2001: 423) summed it up well, in her critique, when she said, "what millions of years of genetic change have actually produced is the potential for human cultural invention. It is ironic if, in the name of science, psychologists merely find new ways of recycling old forms of reductionism." However, there is no doubt that the debate will continue.

**A Psychoanalytic view.**

Psychoanalysis was initially devised by Freud as a form of therapy from which developed general principles which, it is claimed, apply to all human minds. Freud sign-posted the paths for others to follow by providing a method of research - psychoanalysis; a guiding concept - the dynamic unconscious; and a guide to the development of masculinity - the Oedipus Complex. Many and varied psychoanalytic 'schools of thought' have followed but have generally adhered to these basic concepts.

*Masculinity.*

For Freud, childhood is full of conflict and repression as the child learns to control his/her innate pleasure-seeking drives. The early oral and anal stages of development are no different for male or female children but it is the third phallic stage which impacts on gender identity and is the central stage in the development of masculinity. In this 'Oedipal' stage, boys love their mothers as the primary care-givers, and this love of the mother leads the boy to want her for himself. This desire

to have the mother for himself brings the boy into a competitive struggle with his father, which leads the boy to fear castration by his rival. This 'castration anxiety' leads the young boy to 'identify' with his father and to internalise the values set by the father, and to reject the mother. This process during the Oedipal stage sees the development of the 'superego' (social conscience) which, Freud argued, is much stronger in men than women and which consequently accounts for male dominance in society. For Freud, men are the superior sex and are more active, aggressive and idealistic than women whom Freud viewed as a "failed form of masculinity" (Edley & Wetherall, 1995: 43). For Freud, gender identity is 'fixed' or determined during the early years of development and his theory is limited by adhering to the notion of the 'nuclear family' unit.

These ideas, not surprisingly, met with opposition, even within psychoanalysis. Feminist object-relations theorists, such as Chodorow (1978, 1989) argue that while the child, in its first two years, identifies with the mother, it is the mother who initiates the disidentification, not the boy. As the boy grows up, the mother becomes someone who is at the same time an object of love but also something to be left behind - 'a flight from femininity'. Jefferson (1994) argues that men's strivings to escape from femininity creates anxiety, that the 'high ideals' of masculinity are impossible to achieve and men experience a sense of insecurity and masculine failure. However, as Segal (1990: 82) points out "it is surely rather odd that 'masculinity', understood here as fragile, insecure and primarily a defensive reaction to 'femininity'.....is nevertheless the exciting identity, linked with success, power, and dominance in every social sphere. It is more plausible, surely, to argue that masculinity 'becomes an issue' precisely because it is so valued and desirable."

That is that rather than explaining men's dominance, the process may be a consequence of men's dominance.

*Sexual coercion.*

Early psychoanalytic theory did not consider the relationship between masculinity and sexual coercion directly, it was implied in its views on male dominance and aggression. In relation to male dominance, Freudian psychoanalytic theory has proposed that, not only do men have a stronger social conscience but also are more aggressive. Freud posited the view that violence is a destructive energy displaced to the external world from a conflict between the two basic instincts of life (Eros) and death (Thanatos). An act of violence is seen as a safety valve that reduces the energy levels within the system to acceptable levels.

Drawing from both an evolutionary perspective but also from psychoanalytic theory, Lorenz (1966) proposed that aggression stems directly from an innate 'fighting instinct' which has evolved over generations owing to its benefits for the survival of the species. As with Freud's explanation, aggressive energy has to be vented in the form of aggressive acts. However, both Hollin (1989) and Blackburn (1993) make the point that there is little empirical evidence to support instinct theories of aggression or violence.

Amalgamating psychoanalytic theory and early behavioural psychology, Dollard, Doob, Miller, Mowrer & Sears (1939) proposed a 'frustration-aggression' theory. This proposed that if a goal was blocked and expected rewards not forthcoming, a state of frustration results and the frustration instigates aggression leading to violent behaviour. This 'drive' theory led to a great deal of research which led to several reformulations of the original theory. One such was by Berkowitz

(1965; 1974) who proposed that frustration produces a state of emotional arousal, which creates a potential for violence elicited by an environmental cue (something which the individual associates with aggression). The theory produced a great deal of research which, however, showed that it lacked full explanatory power e.g. frustration instigates responses other than aggression, and aggression is equally provoked by insult or attacks (Blackburn, 1993).

## Summary of psychoanalytic view.

Criticisms of psychoanalytic theory abound about method in that it is not testable (Hollin, 1993) and that it is reductionist (Jefferson, 1994). It also assumes the 'nuclear' family model ignoring class and ethnicity and group differences among men (Edley & Wetherell, 1995).

For psychoanalysis, masculinity is determined by the pattern of relationships that a boy experiences early in life, his personality is 'fixed', and male dominance is explained through men's superior social conscience (superego), and differences between individual men are accounted for by some failure in the socialisation/identification process.

The lack of explanatory power of instinct and drive theories led to a search for new explanations as Bornstein, Hamilton and McFall (1981: 316 cited in Hollin, 1989: 66) noted, "As a result of the deteriorating empirical status of instinct and drive theories of aggression, the social learning perspective....has grown rapidly in popularity and support in the past decade."

**Role Theory.**

In role theory, including social learning theory, social behaviour is akin to a theatrical performance with particular expectations about behaviour in each of a multitude of social situations, including sexual situations[3]. People follow a script, which has to be learned through socialisation and, as such, masculinity is something which men learn and act out. For Lee and Newby (1984: 265) socialisation is "the business of learning the normative standards of society." These normative standards of society (the hegemonic ideal) include going to school, obeying the law, holding down a job, getting married and having children (Dahrendorf, 1973).

*Masculinity.*

The notion of sex roles first came to prominence in the 1940s with the work of Talcott Parsons (1942) in which he described male sex roles as 'instrumental' and female sex roles as 'expressive'. The male 'instrumental' role included being ambitious and rational, while the female 'expressive' role was related to notions of caring for others and gentleness. Within this socially functional account he saw the two roles as complementary and necessary, but with no acknowledgement of power differences between the roles. However, his account of how people are socialised into these roles drew heavily on Freudian psychoanalytic theory, particularly on the Oedipal Complex and the development of masculinity, in which the male role was internalised through identification with the father. However, Parson's adherence to

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[3] See Byers (1996) for an outline and a critique of the traditional sexual script (TSS) where she concludes "Our research calls into question the assertion that the TSS is *the* normative script for dating interactions. Rather it may be one of a number of common and traditional scripts." (Byers, 1996: 23)

psychoanalytic theory probably led to the demise of interest in his theory of gender socialisation.

By the late 1950s and early 1960s, psychoanalytic theory had fallen into disrepute within psychology. It was seen as untestable and intra-psychic concepts such as the id, ego, superego, it was argued, could not be measured. For many psychologists, especially those working within a 'behaviourist' framework, psychology was a 'science' which required them to test, manipulate and measure overt behaviours. For them, social learning theory provided the framework to do this in relation to sex roles.

Social learning theory has been one of the most influential theories in explaining gender socialisation. Social learning theory proposes that people acquire sex-typed behaviour through observation and imitation, which, drawing on the principles of classical and operant conditioning, is reinforced by a process of punishment and rewards (Bandura, 1973; 1977). According to social learning theory, boys learn 'sex-appropriate' behaviours though the observation and imitation of the behaviours of, e.g. their fathers. A great deal of research has looked at the role of different socialising 'agents' which function to encourage these sex appropriate behaviours - from parents encouraging assertive behaviour in boys and discouraging it in girls, to nursery schools allowing play only with different sex-appropriate toys (Brownmiller, 1975; Fagot, 1974; Fagot, 1977). Thus, if men follow their sex-role expectations, it follows that women will be dominated. While social learning theorists portray the process of socialisation as unproblematic and 'deviance' is due to faulty socialisation or learning, they do not provide a satisfactory explanation why, in the same social situation, some children may choose, e.g. to play the 'baddies' (robbers) and some the 'goodies' (cops). Are they imitating particular behaviours or

particular people? In relation to social learning theory, Emler and Reicher (1995: 28) have made the point that "If biological determinists make human beings the helpless victims of forces within, learning theory makes people the helpless victims of forces without. It is a theory of environmental determinism whereby internal connections automatically flow from external coincidences."

In a development of sex role theory, Bem (1974) originally challenged the notion of opposing types, arguing that masculinity and femininity were independent states and that it was possible for a person to be both highly masculine and highly feminine, to be what she termed androgynous. However, Bem (1981) came to acknowledge that her scale (the Bem Sex Role Inventory) was not measuring a masculinity and femininity within us and adopted a more cognitive approach - Gender Schema Theory. Schemas, she proposed, are mental frameworks that an individual develops from past experiences and which help us 'make sense' of our world. Children, then, grow up in a gendered world and soon learn to adopt the appropriate gender schemas imposed from the 'outside' e.g. school, peers, parents, etc. However, what gender schema theory proposes is that the categories male and female are natural givens. It assumes that there is a consistent universality of male and female roles and schemas (Wetherell, 1986). By using categories, which simplify our social world, we are in danger of exaggerating differences based on biology and ignoring the power differences in relationships between men and women. It is simply a theory in which as Brittan (1989: 21) has noted, "Roles are added to biology to give us gender."

*Sexual coercion.*

As with psychoanalytic theory, social learning theory did not initially address masculinity and its relationship with sexual coercion. However, as we shall see below, this was taken up by feminist writers working within a social learning perspective.

Social learning theory is an extension of operant conditioning principles. The main principle of operant theory is that "behaviour is determined by the environmental consequences it produces for the individual concerned" (Hollin, 1993: 40). It has proposed that behaviour is acquired through reinforcement or punishment from the environment. Bandura (1973a; 1973b; 1976), in his extension of operant theory, has proposed that criminal and violent behaviour can also be learned through observing and modelling the actions of other people, e.g. family members, peer groups and through television and cinema. So, for Bandura, violent behaviour is acquired through learning either from direct experience or by observation and some evidence has been presented to support this view (Bandura, Ross & Ross, 1963; Hayes, Rincover & Volosin, 1980). One of the problems with social learning theories are that they 'view life patterns as largely the product of childhood socialisation' (Bandura, 1986: 28) and assume, as does psychoanalytic theory, the notion of the 'nuclear' family. That is, behaviour is somehow fixed in childhood and is maintained through the life-span. However, Rivera and Wisdom (1990) in a study of violent offenders reported that more than a third of their sample of violent offenders had no arrests for violence before the age of 18 and up to 63 per cent became violent as adults. Another problem is that social learning theory does not explain fully why, within the same families and environments, some men become violent and some do not and why most women do not become violent offenders. In addition, the

definition of 'deviance' seems to be an accepted given, i.e. it is outwith the norms of society which are defined in terms of a middle class, heterosexual (hegemonic) ideal.

*Summary of Role Theory.*

Role theory, then, has provided a large body of knowledge which shows the influence of society and culture on the individual, and the implication from role theory is that, in relation to masculinity and violence, men can be taught to be less violent and dominating. For role theory, then, masculinity is a set of social scripts or schemas defining how men should act. Why these scripts or schemas take the form they do is not addressed apart from, perhaps, that they are determined and defined by the needs of society, and it presupposes that gender roles are the same for everyone. In this perspective, males learn to be manly and any differences between men are explained away in how the socialisation process may have gone wrong.

Connell (1995) argues that sex-role theory fails to appreciate that the construction of gender identities is based upon a struggle for social power. He argues that, while sex-role theory appears to be a social theory, it is a theory in which "...action (the role enactment) is linked to a structure defined by biological difference, the dichotomy of male and female - not to a structure defined by social relations...it obscures the structures of race, class and sexuality." (Connell, 1995: 26).

As an example of the struggle for social power in the construction of gender identities, Dorn (1983) shows how young unemployed women let their boyfriends buy them drinks, generally half pints, and spend their evening just sitting with them. On the other hand, young women in employment demonstrate different behaviours - they go out with their female friends, buy rounds, drink

different drinks and engage in more boisterous/outrageous behaviours - shades of 'girl power'. Dorn's study demonstrates the shifting relations between men and women depending on context and the women's attempts to resist the dominant ideology of 'knowing their place' *vis-a-vis* men. By investigating this dominant masculine ideology and the practices that flow from it, we can get a better understanding of the dynamic, complex and contestable nature of gender relations.

**Feminist viewpoints.**

Starting in the late 1960's and early 1970s, the women' movement highlighted men's power in relation to women which led to an 'explosion' in research relating to rape (see Ward, 1995 for a review), domestic violence (Dobash & Dobash, 1979) and sexual harassment (MacKinnon, 1979). Feminist writers have made an important contribution to the study of gender relations and violence against women. They have given a voice to women's experience of violence, and have exposed the inequalities experienced by women in the workplace and the home. They also drew attention to issues of 'gender'. Within criminology, the issue of 'gender' and the concept of 'femininity' focussed on why so few women commit crime (Morris, 1987; Smart, 1989) which in turn led to the examination of 'masculinity' and its relation to criminal behaviour (Messerschmidt, 1993; Newburn & Stanko, 1994). It is certainly not that men and 'deviance' had been ignored within psychology and criminology but this had been confined to notions of, for example, a 'macho' personality or psychopathology and ignoring notions of 'gender' and 'gender relations'. As Gelsthorpe and Morris (1988: 94) have noted "The essence then of feminist perspectives is that they reflect the view that women experience subordination on the basis of their sex, although

they may differ on its origins and how it is institutionalised." The differences within the feminist movement, noted here by Gelsthorpe and Morris, fall into three main viewpoints i) Liberal feminism ii) Socialist feminism and iii) Radical/Cultural feminism. We shall briefly consider the first two but look in more depth at the contribution made by Radical/Cultural feminism in highlighting the sexual coercion of women.

*Liberal feminism.*

Liberal feminism has concentrated its analysis of gender inequality on a sex-role perspective and has concentrated its efforts on the extension of equal rights for women. They have pursued their aims through the law, e.g. the Sex Discrimination Act, and by challenging sexist stereotypes promoted through the family, school, media and the state. As Ehrenreich and English (1978: 19) have stated, if "the problem is that women are in some sense 'out', then it can be solved by letting them 'in'".

*Socialist feminism.*

For early Socialist feminist writers (e.g. Mitchell, 1966; Benston, 1969) capitalism was the problem, not patriarchy. However, later writers (Eisenstein, 1979; Hartmann, 1981) drew connections between capitalism and patriarchy and proposed that that they form a mutually interdependent system of 'capitalist patriarchy'. As Kelly (1979: 220, cited in Messerschmidt, 1993: 55) points out "From such a perspective, our personal, social and historical experience is shaped both by class and gender relations, relations that are systematically bound to each other - and have always been so bound". Socialist feminists, then, emphasised the

importance of class and gender in that when women enter the paid workforce they do so on men's terms and to men's advantage.

*Radical/Cultural feminism.*

Radical/Cultural feminism has focused more on explaining masculine dominance and has concentrated on violence against women, and the nature of power in gender relations. According to this perspective, patriarchy, described as masculine power and privilege, is at the heart of all forms of inequality and especially women's inequality in relation to men. Radical feminists took up the slogan 'the personal is political', in that the politics of domination are not only enacted in the public sphere, but that relations between individual men and women are based on domination and subordination. This domination of women by men was not necessarily maintained through violence but through sex-role socialisation and the personal nature of gendered power in the home (Millett, 1970). Although, in early radical feminist thought violence was not central, it was seen as being inseparable from patriarchy in that men are physically and psychologically equipped to use violence against women to maintain control. What they were arguing was that there was a patriarchal ideology which acted to support the sexual coercion of women. They drew attention to the fact that rape and sexual coercion were committed by 'normal' men and not by a pathological minority. They argued that the stereotypical rape by a stranger in a public place was the exception and that the vast majority of cases of sexual coercion involved men who were known to the women, either acquaintances or intimates.

The major focus on men and violence against women came about after the publication of Susan Brownmiller's book 'Against Our Will: Men, Women and Rape'. She took the issue further when she proposed that rape "is nothing more or

less than a conscious process of intimidation by which *all men* keep *all women* in a state of fear" (Brownmiller, 1975: 15). For Brownmiller, although all men are potential rapists, because they are biologically and ideologically prepared, all men need not engage in rape for patriarchy to be sustained. She proposed, then, that rape was the foundation of patriarchy. This view has been extended by others, for example, MacKinnon (1989) has argued that there is little difference between rape and 'normal sex' by the very fact that male dominance is intrinsically coercive. Following this notion, Kelly (1988) has proposed a continuum of violence against women ranging from wolf-whistling in the street through sexual harassment in the workplace, and domestic violence to rape and murder, which are all designed to maintain male domination and control of women. However, for Kelly and others, it is not sexual violence that is the foundation of patriarchy but male heterosexuality. As Hanmer, Radford and Stanko (1989: 4) state, it is a 'heteropatriarchy' which signifies "a system of social relations based on male dominance, or supremacy, in which men's structured relationships to women underpin all other systems of patriarchy".

A great deal of the research carried out by feminist writers went beyond the 'official' statistics and highlighted the weaknesses of criminologists' study of violence and its definition which was generally restricted to that which is defined by criminal statutes. Research was more often than not based on official crime statistics or e.g. the British Crime Survey which, through interviews with members of the general public, seeks to uncover the 'hidden' crime figures. Even this last method has been shown to be unreliable especially in respect to the sexual assault of women (Mayhew & Maung, 1992). These feminist writers highlighted that there is a great deal of coercive behaviour which goes unreported both in public space with the sexual harassment of women in the street and in the workplace. And, more

especially, they highlighted the 'hidden' figures of the sexual coercion of women and children in the home by acquaintances and intimates (Warr, 1985; Hall, 1989; Smith, 1989a,b; Lees & Gregory, 1993).

A great deal of the work within Radical/Cultural feminism, as with Liberal feminism, has been informed by social learning theory and the process of socialisation. However, as opposed to Liberal feminism, it has concentrated a great deal of its work on sexual coercion. As Rose (1979: 78) has argued, "....rape is the direct result of our culture's differential sex role socialisation and stratification....the association of dominance with male sex role and submission with the female sex role is viewed as a significant factor in the persistence of rape as a serious social problem." Weis and Borges (1973) emphasise the point when they argue that traditional sex roles socialise both men and women – men to be offenders and women to be victims. This differential socialisation is also transmitted in the media, e.g. in romance novels where sexual aggression is portrayed as a romantic event (Brownmiller, 1974) or through jokes which depict sexual aggression as humorous, natural and harmless (Beneke, 1982). Effects of this socialisation process have been found as early as 12 years of age in studies with young adolescents who reported that forced sex was acceptable in certain dating situations (Kikuchi, 1988; Goodchilds, Zellman, Johnson & Giarusso, 1988; Burton & Kitzinger, 1998).

What these writers and others are proposing is that there is an ideology, a set of attitudes and beliefs, what Burt (1980) has called an interrelated web, which endorse interpersonal violence and justify the sexual coercion of women. The most researched attitudes relating to sexual coercion are 'rape myths' which mainly serve to justify and excuse rape by questioning the veracity of the woman and her behaviour. Myths about men and rape tend to revolve around male deviance, that is,

rapists are mentally disturbed with uncontrollable sexual impulses (Groth, 1979;

Marshall & Barbaree, 1984). In relation to women, these 'myths' are associated with

blaming the woman and her behaviours, e.g. women are asking for it by the way they

dress or women really want to be raped. Lonsway and Fitzgerald (1994) in a

comprehensive review of the rape myth literature have shown that men score higher

on rape myth acceptance than women; that higher rape myth acceptance is related to

a greater belief that the victim's behaviour precipitated an assault. Similarly, in a

review of the attribution and rape literature, Pollard (1992) has shown that rape myth

acceptance lowers the attribution of blame for the man and raises attributions of

blame for the woman (Check & Malamuth, 1985; Krahe, 1988), especially in

acquaintance rape situations (Bridges & McGrail, 1989). These beliefs have also

been shown to permeate the legal decision making process (LaFree, 1989; Chambers

& Millar, 1989; Kennedy, 1993; Edward & MacLeod, 1999) and police attitudes to

victims of rape (Field, 1978; Bachman, 1993).

But why are these attitudes and beliefs maintained in society? As we noted

above, according to Brownmiller (1975: 15) rape is a "conscious process of

intimidation by which all men keep all women in a state of fear". There is

evidence that rape is the crime most feared by women (Warr, 1985: United States

Senate Judiciary Committee, 1993) and that, in a study of convicted rapists, power

is the dominant motive (Groth, Burgess & Holmstrom, 1977). Rape, therefore, is

seen as a method of social control in which a dominant group (men) use their

power to impose their ideas and patterns of behaviour on a subordinate group

(women). While most men don't rape, that is not to say that they don't buy into

the ideology and may have different resources for coercing women. Most studies

have shown that most cases of rape and domestic violence are perpetrated by men

from lower socio-economic groups (Smith, 1989a, b; Painter, 1991; Mooney, 1993; Muir & MacLeod, in press a). However, it may be that middle-class women are less likely to report an assault by someone they know because they have more to lose (Bachman, 1993) or they (the women)) may have greater resources to deal with abusive partners whose coercive behaviours may differ (Smith 1989b).

Within feminist theorising and psychological research, there have been very few studies that have attempted to understand the meaning of violence to men. Toch (1969) interviewed prisoners who had been convicted of serious violent offences and Scully (1990) conducted interviews with convicted rape offenders. There are of course problems with limiting one's sample to those convicted of particular offences, e.g. is the sample representative of those who commit these offences? For example, stranger rape offenders are more likely to be convicted than are acquaintance offenders. However, both writers provide insights into the justifications the prisoners present for their acts of violence. Toch describes different uses of violence such as alleviating tension in awkward social situations or for defending personal reputations. He describes the process of escalation in situations that lead to violence - threat, response to threat, further response from initial instigator, violent act. Scully shows how rape is not seen by offenders as a sexual act but as an act of power and domination driven by misogyny. While Toch demonstrates the effect of context and the different uses of violence, he does not present it in terms of the construction of masculinity that, in prison, men sometimes construct a violent image, not only as a defence mechanism, but to be accepted by others. For Scully sexual violence is a result of a general misogyny, an ideology which supports and justifies men's violence against women, but she considers masculinity as unitary (the typical patriarchal male).

**Summary of feminist viewpoint.**

Radical feminism has highlighted the nature of power in gender relations; has raised awareness of men's sexual coercion of women; has provided evidence of a traditional masculine ideology that serves to justify and excuse the coercion of women. However, radical feminist theorising, as with most psychological theorising, has tended to follow the determinism of sex-role theory and has considered men and masculinity as unitary and gender as therefore dichotomous. Patriarchy also is considered as an unproblematic given of men's power and privilege. As Messerschmidt (1993: 58) notes "the concept of patriarchy explains away real variations in the construction of masculinity within a particular society and, consequently, encourages the theorisation of one type of masculinity - the typical (patriarchal) male."

However, recent theorising within sociology and criminology has proposed, rather than masculinity being considered as unitary, the concept of masculinities and proposed that rather than masculinity coming before behaviour, behaviour should be seen as a resource in the construction of masculinity.

# Approaches to sexual coercion as a resource in the construction of masculinity.

## Masculinities and social practice.

Connell (1987, 1995) and others (Brittan, 1989; Brod & Kaufman, 1994; Hearn, 1996; Clatterbaugh, 1997) have proposed the concept of multiple masculinities. The key distinction they have introduced is that between 'hegemonic'[4] and 'subordinated' or 'marginalised' masculinities, e.g. black or gay masculinities. Hegemonic masculinity is that which is socially dominant, though not necessarily the most widespread. It is "a question of how particular groups of men inhabit positions of power and wealth, and how they legitimate and reproduce the social relationships that generate their dominance." (Carrigan, Connell & Lee, 1985: 592). This dominance is not just over women but relates to the domination and subordination between groups of men. It is a hegemonic masculinity which produces the socially dominant ideals against which subordinated masculinities compete (see Edley & Wetherell, 1997 on how a subordinated group construct a 'new man' identity as a strategy of resistance against the hegemonic grouping). However, Connell (1995) makes the point that while there are these competing masculinities, the majority of men gain from the dominance of the hegemonic project and are complicit in its maintenance. He also warns of the dangers of thinking of the different masculinities in terms of typologies, i.e. that there is a black masculinity or a working-class masculinity. He argues, that within each area of social practice (e.g. family, school,

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[4] Connell's use of hegemony is borrowed from Gramsci (1971) for whom it meant the achievement of a class-based ascendancy predominantly through consensually based authority rather than coercion. Connell (1987: 184) does make the point that "though 'hegemony' does not refer to hegemony based on force, it is not incompatible with ascendancy based on force."

work, the street) there will be a hegemonic grouping, and that the hegemonic position within any particular pattern of gender relations is always contestable. Masculinities, then, are "configurations of practice in particular situations in a changing structure of relationships." (Connell, 1995: 81)

Connell posits a structural 'theory of practice' within an overall theory of gender relations. He proposes three distinct but interrelated structures – labour, power and cathexis (emotional attachment) – which collectively make up the field of gender relations. He argues that the division of labour is not only class based but is also gender based where women in the workplace are restricted in the work available (including mainly part-time rather than full-time work) and often suffer from differential rates of pay. The structure of power is self-evident and multi-faceted. While force is one important element, power is more than just force. The control of institutions, including the state, is equally if not more powerful. It is "The ability to impose a definition of the situation, to formulate ideals and define morality, in short to exert hegemony, is also an essential part of social power" (Connell, 1995: 107). However, this power is not evenly spread nor is it absolute but may be contested. There is a hierarchical structure which denies or limits power to certain groups of men. So while it could be argued that men are in power, it does not necessarily follow that this leads to a feeling of being powerful at the individual level, or for particular groups (Brod & Kaufman, 1994). Connell generalises the Freudian term cathexis to mean emotional attachment which can be either affectionate or hostile. The structure of cathexis is based on the premise that sexuality is social and that the hegemonic ideal is the heterosexual couple. While there is a constraining within patterns of social attachments of themselves there are also laws prohibiting sexual relationships between certain people e.g. age of consent and

homosexuality. However, Connell (1995) argues that, in relation to these structures, masculinities are experiencing 'crisis tendencies' as a consequence of economic, social and cultural changes. For many young men, there is the possibility of no employment or at least long-term unemployment with little chance of them attaining the ideal of being the 'breadwinner'. They may have to be economically dependent on their wives or partners, and this economic dependence then leads to feelings of a lack of power and the consequent changes in relationships and attachments. These 'crisis tendencies' then exacerbate what several authors have suggested is a fragile masculinity with deep-set insecurities about making it as a man (e.g. Kaufman, 1994). Masculinity is something that must be continually accomplished and worked at, motivated by fear and insecurity in attaining the 'ideal' (Connell, 1987, 1995; Jefferson, 1993; Messerschmidt, 1993). This notion of a fragile masculinity draws on the psychoanalytic ideas of Chodorow (1978, 1989). As noted earlier, for Chodorow, the development of masculine identity was 'a flight from femininity' and that this escape from femininity creates anxiety and a sense of insecurity (Jefferson, 1993, 1994) and masculinity is in constant need of reaffirmation (Kimmel, 1994). There has been limited support for the notion of a fragile or insecure masculinity in life-history studies by Connell (1995) and Messerschmidt (2000) and the work of Painter (1991) on marital rape and of Dobash and Dobash (1994) on domestic violence. However, as Clare (1998: 29) has noted the existence of a fragile masculinity and "its applicability to theorising criminal behaviour may be held open for greater scrutiny."

In addition, for Connell, while accepting the feminist view that the relationship between men and women is a relationship of unequal power, patriarchy is not the simple concept proposed in feminist theorising but is a field of interests

competing for the hegemonic position. For example, the church, for centuries, could be said to have held the position of power in terms of social relationships and defining morality, yet that role (or hegemonic position) has been challenged and taken over by the state. Nevertheless, although there are these competing interests, they all act to sustain the power of men and the subordination of women.

Connell, then, focuses not on men and women as pre-given categories but on the operation of what he calls the 'gender order', as a set of social processes which are constantly changing through history. He demonstrates how certain practices and activities become dominant and habitual in certain areas of society as a result of prevailing material pressures. He incorporates, not only gender, but class, age, ethnicity and sexual orientation in his analysis and by positing multiple masculinities, he opens up new possibilities for the study of gender relations. From Connell's conception of gender relations, based on a structural 'theory of practice', it is possible to distinguish between a macro set of relationships (gender order) in which women are subordinated to men in society as a whole, and a micro level of relationships (gender regime) in particular homes, workplaces or settings with the macro and micro impacting on each other. Not only does Connell make a powerful argument regarding men's dominance over women, but he also provides a sound case for thinking of multiple masculinities rather than thinking of masculinity as unitary.

Connell's 'theory of practice' provides a useful framework with which to take forward a theory of masculinity. It is a theory of practice, which also acknowledges the place of ideology in these practices. It highlights the tensions between hegemonic masculinity and subordinated masculinities and between men and women. It proposes that these tensions may at times be resolved by the use of violence or the

threat of violence as resources in the construction of masculinity or as a response to threats to masculine identity.

*Sexual coercion.*

Messerschmidt (1993) in *'Masculinities and Crime'*, following Connell and drawing on Goffman (1979), argues that crime is a resource for the situational accomplishment of gender. It is a form of 'structured action', a way of 'doing gender' which simultaneously 'does' class and race and is not simply an extension of the male sex role. This is converse to conventional thinking which "conceives criminal behaviour as an *expression* of masculinity: thinking that the person's gender is logically *prior* to the behaviour, already settled, and can be understood as the behaviour's cause" (Connell in foreword to Messerschmidt, 1993: x). Messerschmidt shows, with an analysis of specific cases, how as various hierarchies of class, race and gender vary, the resources for accomplishing masculinity are reflected in different types of crime. For example, he looks at 'street crime' which is mainly carried out by young men. He emphasises the collective processes involved in the making of masculinity within youth groups - processes of competition for prestige, and support of activities such as robbery. It is the group that is important in the construction of this form of masculinity. He also argues that the state's regulation of violence among working-class youth, in the form of the police or school, provides an object against which a violent, resistant masculinity can be defined (see also Emler & Reicher, 1995 on 'oppositional' identities in adolescents). Paradoxically, state

intervention seems to 'incite' masculine violence just as much as it controls violence[5].

Hegemonic or traditional notions of masculinity, especially within industrialised societies, is strongly associated with aggressiveness and interpersonal violence, in that a violent response to threat is admired and legitimated (Kaufman, 1998). Nevertheless, West and Fenstermaker (1995) make the important point that individuals also realise that they may be held accountable by others for their behaviour. Consequently, "they configure and orchestrate their actions in relation to how these might be interpreted by others in the particular social context in which they occur." (Messerschmidt, 2000: 299)

Messerschmidt (1993) presents examples of sexual coercion as a resource for 'doing gender' from sexual harassment, through domestic violence to rape. He presents the case of corporate executives who feel able to sexually harass women subordinates as a means of reinforcing men's power. This form of sexual harassment involves economic threats of not being promoted or even being sacked, i.e. it is more likely to be manipulative than violent while Schneider (1991) has shown that shop-floor workers are more likely to use physical force because they lack the economic means to gain compliance. Messerschmidt (1993: 141) argues that sexual harassment in this context, "celebrates hegemonic masculinity... and the 'normality' of pursuing women aggressively." While he acknowledges, following Connell, that the concept of patriarchy is not the unproblematic given proposed in feminist theorising, he does

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[5] This may be easier to explain in terms of public interpersonal violence between men. It is violence usually conducted with or in the presence of peers, it is violence that is talked about, that men take pride in. However, violence in the home is private, it is conducted out of the sight of others, is not talked about with other men. It remains private because of the woman's reluctance to report the man's violent behaviour to the police, neighbours or even family. (Dobash & Dobash, 1992)

argue that it is a useful concept in describing a certain type of masculinity, the patriarch. The patriarch sets the agenda within the family and control is often maintained by the use of physical violence as 'a right' when his authority is challenged. For Messerschmidt, wife-rape is an extension of other forms of physical violence used by 'patriarchal' men. He provides evidence that wife battering and wife-rape, while extending across all classes and races, occur most frequently in lower socio-economic households (see below for further discussion). While at work the man is powerless and any challenge to his patriarchal power at home is more likely to be resolved by the use of violence to accomplish gender and re-establish control. Moreover, if a man is unemployed and unable to be the patriarchal 'breadwinner', the use of physical violence is also more likely as a re-affirmation of his traditional masculinity role (Segal, 1990; Ferraro, 1988). It is proposed that these men have limited resources in dealing with challenges to their masculinity. They do not have the economic power, especially if unemployed, of the corporate executive, and they may not have the education to exert control through the power of argument rather than the power of fists.

Drawing on sub-cultural theories of crime, Messerschmidt acknowledges the influence of groups on the accomplishment of gender (see above in relation to 'street crime'). How he does this in relation to sexual coercion we shall return to shortly but shall firstly outline sub-cultural views of crime and violence which emphasise that violent behaviour should be considered as the 'norm' and not some form of deviance.

The criminological literature (Wolfgang & Ferracutti, 1969; Davidoff & Greenham, 1991; Levi, 1994a) suggests that the greatest proportion of interpersonal violence is committed by young (16-24 year old) working class men, and that "offenders and victims of street violence are not only the same 'sort of people'... but

actually are *the same people*" (Levi, 1994a: 335). Rape research (Amir, 1971; Grace, Lloyd & Smith, 1992; Muir, 1995) has shown that offenders are, in the main, under 30 years of age; unemployed; left school at 16; located in lower socio-economic groups; were known to their victims; and the offence was committed in the home of either the victim or the offender. The evidence for both these public and private offences were taken from official crime statistics. Despite the possibility that police attitudes and practices may be biased against certain sections of the community, there is probably a 'real' difference in offending by young working class men compared to other groups (see Levi, 1994a for a review). This may not be surprising when one considers the marginalised position of these men in terms of employment and conditions of social deprivation, confining them to the lowest socio-economic levels[6]. As Staples (1985: 363) has argued, "When other expressions of manhood such as gainful employment and economic success are blocked, those men will express their frustration and masculinity against women." That is, men will use sexual coercion to establish their power and masculinity when they lack other means. This is supported by the work of Plummer (1984) in his interview studies of prison rape and the rape of women in which he also argues that men, especially those 'at the bottom of the heap' feel vulnerable about their masculinity. Wolfgang and Ferracutti (1967), in their seminal work 'The Subculture of Violence', showed that violence is committed disproportionately by young adult men from low socio-economic situations, which, in an American context, were mainly black. Violence within these groups is expected. Affronts and insults, that might be regarded as trivial by the general population (read white, middle class), are defined as situations calling for

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[6] Lea and Young (1984) also make this point in relation to the over-representation of young black men in the criminal justice system.

violence. It is a predictable, routine feature of everyday life. It is normative and as such exerts social pressures on members of the subculture to act violently. The theory is in some sense similar to social learning theory, in that, young men are socialised to be violent, but is contrary to social learning theory in that their 'deviance' is not some 'fault' in socialisation. However, Wolfgang and Ferracutti's work, based on official crime records, could be seen as tautological. As Messner (1988: 513) points out "To infer the existence of a subculture of violence on the basis of unusually high levels of involvement in violent incidents and then to explain the observed behaviour with reference to this subculture, constitutes circular reasoning." Nevertheless, the theory has intuitive appeal and 'fits' with many of the facts of violence. It also points to the proposition that the violent behaviour of men, or at least certain groups of men, should be viewed as normal rather than unusual or abnormal. However, it also demonstrates that it is necessary to get away from just considering official crime statistics, and that it is necessary to understand what violence means to men. As we have noted above, in the work Scully with rape offenders, sexual coercion is based on a general misogyny supported by a patriarchal ideology but that this misses the point that sexual coercion may also be a resource in the construction of masculinity.

Returning to Messerschmidt and constructing masculinity through sexual coercion, he gives as an example the case of a particularly brutal rape of a young woman jogging in Central Park, New York in April, 1989. The woman was the victim of a serious sexual assault by four teenage Afro-American males. Messerschmidt argues that tough street cultures provide marginalised young black men with a collective resource for 'doing masculinity'. For these young men, participating in a gang rape was their expression of a hegemonic masculinity in which men are supposed to have an "uncontrollable and insatiable sexual appetite for

women" (Messerschmidt, 1993: 115). In further work, Messerschmidt (2000) interviewed adolescent sex offenders using the life-history method. He showed that the common thread running through the lives of these adolescent boys was not that they themselves had been abused, though this was the case for some, but that they felt they could not live up to the hegemonic ideal of their peers. As Messerschmidt (ibid: 302) notes, they were "disallowed participation in hegemonic masculinity and sexuality." Rather than rejecting the dominant masculine practices in the school, chasing women for sex, they found an outlet through sexual coercion at home. These boys who were 'subordinate' or 'marginalised' at school responded by reconstructing the dominant masculine ideal through the resources that were available to them at home.

Youth groups are an important social setting for the accomplishment of gender. In her important ethnographic study 'The Girls in the Gang', Anne Campbell (1984) shows how the structures of labour and power shape interaction in youth groups. She shows that the youth group is an arena of masculine dominance in which young men exercise power and control over the young women in their group by exploiting women's sexuality (see also Lees, 1986).

## Summary of masculinities and social practice.

While there may be as many masculinities as there are men, Connell (1987) and others have shown that there are particular masculine forms which are historically specific and are constructed through the structures of power, labour and emotional attachment. Some masculinities (hegemonic) are more esteemed and legitimated than others (subordinated), i.e. white, middle-class, heterosexual masculinity approximates the ideal (Gadd, 1995). Messerschmidt (1993) has shown

that the meaning of masculinity changes over the life-course and how men in subordinated positions may have less legitimate resources for 'doing gender' and may resort to those illegitimate resources, including sexual coercion, when their masculinity is called into question. However, for Messerschmidt the relationship between hegemonic masculinity and sexual coercion is seemingly unproblematic, in that, it is based on misogyny and that the only resource is coercion. He does not provide an explanation of why, in the same socio-cultural situation, some men do not rape. Messerschmidt has demonstrated that sexually coercive behaviours can be seen in terms of the importance of the group in the construction of masculinity, and that availability of resources may play a part. However, he does not consider that the expression of masculinity, e.g. in coercive behaviour, can be the result of a self-definition of what it is to be a man or of a threat to that self-definition. That is, for both Connell and Messerschmidt, a traditional masculine ideology based on misogyny is a given.

While Connell flirts with psychoanalytic theory, he considers that "…personality has to be seen as social practice and not as a distinct entity from society. Personality is what people do, just as social relations are what people do and the doings are the same" (Connell, 1987: 220). However, Jefferson (1997: 286), combining psychoanalytic theory and post-structuralist thinking has suggested "that the world is traversed by relations of power (class, gender, race etc.), but that these can only signify, and hence be understood by individual subjects, through available discourses." Jefferson proposes that, not only should we consider the resources available to different groups in constructing masculinity, but we must also consider how men define masculinity in relation to the social structure and social groups to which they belong. However, Jefferson proposes that one must look to the intra-

psychic concepts of psychoanalytic theory to understand these definitions of masculinity. Following from this, we find that much of the work carried out by theorists such as Jefferson, Connell, Messerschmidt, and others is based on life histories and discursive analysis, often informed by psychoanalytic theory with the problems, discussed above, attached to that. Overall, Connell, and other writers on masculinities, have provided a powerful explanation for different masculinities in terms of age, class, sexual orientation etc., and the practices which flow from these different masculinities. Not only do they highlight the tensions between different masculinities, but also acknowledge that the relationship between men and women is a relationship of unequal power.

**Chapter Summary.**

In the present chapter, we have considered different perspectives on masculinity and its relationship with sexual coercion. Firstly, we considered those viewpoints that proposed that sexual coercion is an expression of masculinity.

We considered a sociobiological and evolutionary psychology view, which proposes that sexual coercion is a reproductive strategy and that male dominance is a cultural reflection of nature. We argued that the evidence presented for this essentialist view has been, in some instances, selective and, at times contradictory, based as it is on the basic biological dichotomy of male and female and not acknowledging the complexity and continually shifting nature of social relations.

We have shown that the reductionism of Freudian psychoanalytic theory in which masculinity is 'fixed' by the age of five, limits its explanation of deviance to some failure in the identification process, and male dominance is explained by men's superior social conscience (the superego). Such intra-psychic concepts as

the id, the ego and the superego have been shown to be not testable and are tautological. In addition, theories of violence, which drew on psychoanalytic theory, have been shown not to have explanatory power.

In relation to role theory, including social learning theory, we argued that sex role theorists have simply assumed the existence of two sex roles on the basis of two biologically distinct sexes and this emphasis undermines sex role theory's claim to be a social theory. This has led sex-role theorists to see the non-adherence, e.g. sexual coercion, to the roles and norms expected as somehow deviant and a result of faulty socialisation. Based on an underlying biological dichotomy, sex-role theory excludes any notion of power either between men or between men and women. It assumes that gender roles are the same for everyone.

However, when we considered Radical feminist theorising, although it tends to draw on social learning theory, we showed that power was central to their argument relating to sexual coercion. They have shown that the coercion of women is not due to a few pathological men but that all men have the potential to be coercive. Within this Radical feminist view, there is a patriarchal ideology which excuses and justifies the sexual coercion of women. In this thesis, we shall hold to the view that the relationship between men and women is one of unequal power and shall consider whether there is a traditional masculine ideology, what Burt (1980) has called 'an interrelated web' of attitudes, which supports sexual coercion.

From these psychological perspectives, sexual coercion is viewed as a way of expressing a masculine ideology and this masculine ideology is either something hard-wired or learned. That is, masculinity is something cognitive which influences behaviour.

We then considered the perspective that sexual coercion is a way of 'doing gender' and constructing a masculine identity, i.e. it is strategic way of behaving. We have seen how writers such as Connell (1987, 1995), Messerschmidt (1993, 2000) and Newburn and Stanko (1994) have proposed the concept of multiple masculinities. They have argued how certain practices become dominant and habitual. Connell's structural 'theory of practice' acknowledges the place of ideology, as a given, in these practices. He highlights, not only, the tensions and unequal power relationship between men and women, but also, the tensions between a hegemonic (the ideal) masculinity and subordinated masculinities, which are characterised by contradictions and change. Following Connell, Messerschmidt has shown, through several examples, how sexual coercion is a resource in the construction of masculinity, a way of 'doing gender. He shows how the meaning of masculinity changes over the life-course, it is not 'fixed', and how men in subordinated positions may resort to sexual coercion as a resource when they lack other resources. He does not, however, address the question of why rape is predominantly a private, unseen and unspoken phenomenon. In addition, these theorists do not recognise how sexual coercion can also be an expression of a traditional masculine ideology, but concentrate on how masculinity is constructed. Jefferson (1994) has proposed that it is necessary to consider the intra-psychic in conjunction with how masculinity is constructed through practice, and draws on psychoanalytic theory to do this. However, while accepting that Connell's notion of different masculinities and 'theory of practice' provides a useful framework with which to consider masculinity and its relationship with sexual coercion, we shall consider how the cognitive and the strategic can by brought together other than through psychoanalytic theory.

We shall consider both the cognitive, that sexual coercion is an expression of masculinity, together with the strategic use of sexual coercion in the construction of masculinity. Our approach to this will be based on the social identity tradition of Social Identity and Self Categorisation Theories, possibly the most prominent approach to group psychology in the last 30 years. Following from this, we shall also draw on recent developments of the SIDE model (A model of Social Identity Definition and Enactment) as proposed by Reicher, Spears and Postmes (1995) and others. The SIDE model combines the cognitive aspects of social identity (the self which is being presented) with the strategic concept of self-presentation.

## Chapter 3: Social Identity, Self-Categorisation and SIDE.

*"When violence is understood as fundamental to gender, and power is recognised as adhering to all social relationships, then a different kind of social theory is required: one that simultaneously deals with differences, conflict and forms of violent contact." (Hearn, 1996: 35)*

## Introduction.

In the previous chapter, we outlined what appear to be two opposing perspectives on masculinity and their relationship with sexual coercion. From these differing perspectives, it is clear that there is no one complete theory of masculinity and its relationship with sexual coercion. We outlined psychological perspectives which, we argued were either biologically or environmentally deterministic. Theories which did not address notions of power and failed to acknowledge the continually shifting and conflicting nature of social relations. We noted, however, that Radical feminist theorising, mainly drawing on social learning theory (Scully, 1990; Byers, 1996) but also psychoanalysis (e.g. Hollway, 1996) and biology (e.g. Brownmillar, 1975), drew attention to these issues. Work within this tradition has highlighted a traditional masculine ideology that excuses and justifies the sexual coercion of women, and has drawn attention to the unequal power in the relationship between men and women. That is, there is a traditional masculine ideology (a set of attitudes and values) which guides behaviour and that, in this sense, masculinity is something cognitive. We then considered, from sociology and criminology, the ideas proposed by the likes of Connell (1987, 1995) and Messerschmidt (1993, 2000). These writers emphasised that we should, rather than thinking of masculinity as unitary and determined by the biological

dichotomy of male and female, consider that there are different masculinities, with different practices. Following Connell, Messerschmidt showed how, as various hierarchies of class, race and gender vary, the resources for accomplishing masculinity are reflected in different types of crime, and that for some men, sexual coercion is one of those resources. What the likes of Connell and Messerschmidt are arguing is that we should not think that gender is prior to behaviour and is the cause of the behaviour, but we should think of the behaviour as a way of 'doing gender'. That is, we act strategically to construct our identity.

What we want to argue is that these cognitive and strategic approaches can be integrated to provide a more complete way of thinking about identity (masculinity) and behaviour (sexual coercion). We want to present a theory which acknowledges power differences between groups, that acknowledges that identity is cognitive and attitudes influence behaviour, but also acknowledges that people act strategically in terms of visibility or accountability to others in order to have their identity validated by those others. We will propose that the SIDE (Social Identity Definition and Enactment) model is a useful framework from which we can generate hypotheses in relation to masculinity and sexual coercion.

However, before we trace the development of SIDE from Social Identity Theory and Self-Categorisation Theory, it is important to make the point that we are not arguing that the SIDE model addresses all the issues raised in the previous chapter. In particular, we do not address, in this thesis, the nature of differing masculinities (Connell, 1987, 1995) nor all the different ways in which they are constructed (Messerschmidt, 1993). However, there are aspects of construction that we can draw on. For example, Messerschmidt (1993) and West and Fenstermaker (1995) argue that social action is a performance which attempts to

'accomplish gender', but that the accomplishing of gender is constrained by accountability to others. That is we act or refrain from acting in order to lay claim to a valued identity. We shall, therefore, show in the following sections how SIDE brings both the cognitive and strategic aspects of identity and behaviour together and how they are influenced by accountability to others.

So, let us now consider the development of the SIDE model from Social Identity Theory and Self-Categorisation Theory.

**Social Identity Theory.**

Social Identity Theory arose out of a debate concerning the conditions leading to discrimination between groups, i.e. was social competition necessary for inter-group discrimination? It started with the early work by Sherif (1948, 1966) and Sherif, Harvey, White, Hood, and Sherif (1961), who argued against the view articulated by Allport (1924) that the group was only a collection of individuals, that "There is no psychology of groups which is not essentially and entirely a psychology of individuals" (Allport, 1924: 5). In Sherif's 'Boy's Camp' studies, when the boys were put into two separate groups, they quickly identified with their groups and each group developed their own norms and routines. That is, there was pride in their own ingroup. When the groups were brought into competition, they not only quickly developed negative stereotypes about the other outgroup but there was also overt hostility between the groups, which included boys who, only a few days earlier, had been friends. For Sherif, the key to the development of these negative stereotypes and discrimination between groups was social competition.

In extending the work of Sherif, Tajfel and his colleagues conducted a set of experiments to consider what minimal conditions would produce identification with

a group and inter-group discrimination (Tajfel, 1970; Tajfel, Flament, Billig & Bundy, 1971). In this paradigm, participants were allocated to one of two groups according to unimportant criteria (e.g. Group 'X' or 'Y') or even randomly divided into groups (Billig & Tajfel, 1973). In these 'minimal group experiments', participants were asked to distribute points between a member of the ingroup or a member of the outgroup. Participants did not know who was in each group, i.e. they did not know the identity of the individuals in each group, and there was no interaction between the participants. In distributing the points they neither gained nor lost personally from their distribution. These were truly minimal conditions. Matrices were designed to show the different distribution strategies employed by participants. What came out of these experiments was that participants consistently tended to allocate more points to members of their ingroup than to members of the outgroup but this was not absolute. Participants were even willing to sacrifice reward to their group to maximise difference between their ingroup and the outgroup. It seemed that the mere social categorisation of people into distinct groups was sufficient to produce intergroup behaviour in which participants favoured their ingroup over an outgroup.

In explaining the results of the 'minimal group' studies, Tajfel & Turner (1979) proposed, firstly, that people defined themselves in terms of the group to which they were allocated (social identification) and, secondly, the group only has meaning when it is compared to other groups (social comparison). Thirdly, based on the premise that people seek to achieve a positive social identity, they are then motivated to ensure that their relevant ingroup compares favourably with a relevant outgroup. So this social differentiation can be achieved by, e.g. allocating more points to the ingroup members than the outgroup members, in the 'minimal group' studies. What is important is that while the results of these studies have been

described as intergroup discrimination, it is not discrimination in the sense of prejudice but discrimination in the sense of maximising difference between groups.

From these studies, Tajfel (1981) and Tajfel and Turner (1979) argued, in opposition to Sherif's view, that social competition is not necessary to produce negative stereotypes and inter-group discrimination. For them, the importance of placing people in groups and the ensuing identification with the group is that people are distinguished from the relevant group.

For Tajfel, these studies then raised questions about social change and the application of the notion of social identity to real-life intergroup relations. He proposed that we lived in a socially stratified system and that it was necessary to explore the beliefs of group members in relation to their position in the social structure, especially those defined negatively in that structure (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). If, as proposed, people seek to achieve a positive social identity, how then do they deal with a social identity which is defined negatively? He proposed that the answer depended on structural and ideological issues. He highlighted how group members shared an ideology, a 'social change' belief system that suggested that people can only change their social situation by acting through their group membership rather than acting as an individual. Social change, along with the possibility or the lack of possibility of moving between groups (permeability), together with their shared beliefs about the social structure (e.g. whether intergroup differences were secure or insecure), were, for him, the crucial elements in the shift of behaviour from the personal to the group (Turner, 1999).

For this thesis, however, the key aspect of Social Identity theory is the concept of social identification, that social identity is "that aspect of a person's self-concept based on their group memberships" (Turner, 1999: 8). However, it is also

important to consider that Social Identity theory proposes that the self is not a unitary construct but is a complex system comprising a personal identity, the unique individual, and social identity defined by the groups with which an individual identifies or belongs Tajfel (1974). We can have several social identities such as psychologist, supporter of Greenock Morton Football Club, a 'new' man and so on depending on which is salient at any one time, which also depends on the particular context. In identifying with or belonging to a group, the individual does not lose their sense of self but shifts from the personal to the social level of identification.

Tajfel (1974, 1978) proposed that social behaviour varied along a continuum from interpersonal to intergroup. At the interpersonal end of the continuum behaviour is related to the personal relationships between individuals and their individual characteristics. At the intergroup end of the continuum, behaviour is related to the social identification with different social groups. Tajfel argued that as behaviour moved along the continuum and became more intergroup, identification with one's own group (the ingroup) enhances the perceived similarities within that group and differences between the ingroup and other group(s) (the outgroup) (Tajfel, 1978; 1982).

For Tajfel the shift from personal identity to social identity was the critical starting point underlying the shift of behaviour from interpersonal to intergroup. However, it can be argued that the concept of social identity can be used, not just to explain intergroup behaviour, but group behaviour and group processes more generally and this leads us to consider the elaboration of Social Identity by Self-Categorisation Theory.

**Self -Categorisation Theory.**

Expanding on Social Identity Theory, Self-Categorisation Theory (Turner, 1982; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher & Wetherell, 1987), which is a more general theory of group processes, makes more explicit that the basis of the group is the process of social identification. That is, that social identity is the cognitive process which shifts personal behaviour to group behaviour, that social identification is the psychological condition for people to act as group members. While SCT originally adhered to the personal and social identity continuum, it was later elaborated through the notion that social identities represented different levels of self-categorisation (Turner, 1985; Turner et al, 1987). More specifically, self-categorisations can be conceived as existing at different levels of abstraction which relate to the nature of the self, the super-ordinate, the intermediate and the subordinate. At the super-ordinate level, self-categorisation is based on the self as a human being compared to other life forms. The intermediate level is at the level of ingroup-outgroup categorisations. Individuals define themselves in terms of certain social groups in relation to other social groups, e.g. Scottish, psychology student. The subordinate level of self-categorisation is based on differentiating oneself, as a unique individual, at the personal level from other ingroup members (Turner, 1987, Ch. 3). As an example, a self-categorisation of 'social scientist' is at a more abstract level than the self-category 'psychologist'. SCT proposes that, over time, the individual identifies with different groups, at different levels of abstraction, and that our identity, whether personal or social, is always relational and whichever identity is salient at any one time depends on the context. That is, rather than separating out the personal and social identities, we should think of them as operating at different levels of abstraction: I vs. you, or we vs. they.

In SCT, the individual defines her/himself as a member of a distinct social category and then adopts the stereotypic norms, values and beliefs of the category (group). Any particular social identification is defined as our knowledge of our membership of a social group and the emotional importance of the group for us. This cognitive self-definition at a group level involves a process of self-stereotyping. Through this self-stereotyping, the individual identifies with the group, its values, norms, beliefs and behaviours, and also differentiates her/himself from outgroups. The shift from a personal level of identity to a group level of identity has been described as a process of depersonalisation (Turner et al, 1987; Turner, 1991). However, this process of depersonalisation does not mean the loss of the self but results in greater salience of the social self (Reicher, Spears & Postmes, 1995). SCT has shown that this shift from personal identity to social identity results in a change of behaviour from the personal level to the group level. So, rather than thinking of the individual in the group we should think of the group as being in the individual.

SCT has provided a framework within which to generate new approaches to, *inter alia*, stereotyping, group formation, crowd behaviour, and 'deindividuation'. However, the greatest amount of research, in relation to group processes, has been in the area of social influence. SCT has criticised traditional theories of social influence as being individualistic, in that traditional theories propose that individuals are influenced only when they feel uncertain about the accuracy or correctness of their judgements (Festinger, 1954; Deutsch & Gerard, 1955). For Deutsch and Gerard, social influence is an individualistic process rather than a social process (Turner et al., 1987). They proposed a dual process model of influence, incorporating Normative (concern for being accepted by others) and

Informational influence (concern for being correct) (McGarty, Taylor & Douglas, 1999). Rejection of the dual process model of social influence by self-categorisation theorists has been well documented (Turner, 1985, 1991; Abrams & Hogg, 1990). For SCT, a subjective sense of validity on the accuracy of one's judgements is based on a comparison of one's judgement with others with whom one identifies, one's ingroup, not with the views of outgroup members (Abrams & Hogg, 1990; Haslam, Turner, Oakes, McGarty & Reynolds, 1999). That is, it is through what SCT calls a process of Referent Informational Influence (Turner, 1982) that pro-group behaviour occurs. That is, firstly, individuals self-categorise themselves as members of a social group. Secondly, they learn the norms, values and beliefs of the group and, finally, in assimilating these norms they regulate their behaviour with reference to the group.

Self-Categorisation Theory has developed a model of the self which recognises its complexity, rather than seeing the self as unitary. SCT, through many studies on, *inter alia,* social influence, crowd behaviour and stereotyping, has demonstrated the effect of context on the salience of identity. At the heart of SCT, is the cognitive process of social identification. It has shown that through a process of self-stereotyping, the individual identifies with the group, its values, norms, beliefs and behaviours, and that the shift from personal identity to social identity results in a change of behaviour from the personal level to the group level. The important point being that social behaviour is a function of a salient social identity.

As an example of the shift from personal identity to social identity and how social identity influences behaviour has been presented by Reicher (1984a) in his study of the 'St. Pauls' riot' in Bristol in April, 1980. The study showed how

participants in the 'riot' viewed themselves as part of the St. Pauls' community, and not as individuals. This shared community identity was in opposition to the police and others who had businesses in the area but were not regarded as members of the community. These 'outgroups' were the targets for the crowd's actions and the destruction of property was not random, i.e. it was aimed at businesses whose owners were based outside the St. Pauls area and the police. This explanation of crowd action in terms of a shared social identity has been confirmed in other studies in relation to football crowds (Stott & Reicher, 1998) and poll tax demonstrations (Drury & Reicher, 1999). Following the St. Pauls' study, Reicher (1984b) argued that when crowd members are made anonymous, their anonymity increases the salience of social identity and increases the regulation of behaviour. In an experimental 'deindividuation' study, he showed some support for this view. He reported that the effects of anonymity depend on context, in that when participants were made anonymous in a group setting, group salience was increased as was the expression of normative behaviour.

However, Ng (1980) has pointed out that while the cognitive salience of a social identity might be necessary for the expression of behaviour, it is also necessary for group members to have the power to express their behavioural inclinations in the face of the opposition of others. Ng (1982a; 1982b, cited in Reicher, Spears & Postmes, 1995)) showed that in relation to groups of equal or lesser power, ingroup favouritism was expressed, but was not expressed to groups with greater power.

This idea, that behavioural inclination is influenced by power relations, was apparent in the St. Pauls' study. Participants viewed the police as oppressive but because of their anonymity in the crowd they felt able to resist because there

was little possibility of sanction by the police. That is, acting in terms of a shared social identity was influenced by the lack of visibility to a powerful outgroup. While the crowd's action was only against the businesses owned by those living outside the St. Pauls' area, and was an expression of a shared social identity, it raised the notion that not only was the crowd acting in terms of this cognitively defined social identity, but that it was also acting strategically.

Therefore, for this thesis, it is important to acknowledge that SCT recognises that the self is ideologically defined and socially shared, and addresses how the self arises in particular social contexts (Turner et al, 1987; Oakes, Haslam &Turner, 1994). Nevertheless, it could be accused of being "overly cognitive" (Reicher, Spears & Postmes, 1995: 191) and does not consider how individuals might present their social identities to others, particularly when there are group relationships of unequal power. That is, it does not recognise how people may act strategically, as the individual in the group, an issue taken up by SIDE a model of social identity definition and enactment.

**SIDE (Social Identity Definition and Enactment)**

The basic logic of SIDE is that social identity related behaviour involves both cognitive processes (social identification) and self-presentational (strategic) processes. As noted by Reicher & Levine (1994b: 521) "self-presentation theory adds the concept of presentation to social identity, while social identity theory provides a model of the self which is being presented". That is, SIDE proposes that we should consider both the group in the individual (the cognitive aspect) and the individual in the group (the strategic aspect) and that these two aspects may interact with each other.

The work by Reicher, noted above, on crowd behaviour and his critique of traditional deindividuation theory laid the foundations for the notion that social identity is both cognitive and strategic. In fact, SIDE is also an acronym of Social Identity model of Deindividuation Effects. The cognitive dimension of SIDE is grounded in Social Identity Theory and Self-Categorisation Theory, while the strategic dimension of SIDE is influenced by self-presentation theory (e.g. Baumeister, 1982). According to Baumeister, audiences influence people's behaviour, in that people adapt their behaviour to please the audience or to construct their public self (Baumeister & Tice, 1986). In self-presentation, the audience is assumed to have the power to reward or punish, and by behaving in line with the norms of the audience because they are under surveillance, the individual seeks to be rewarded or to avoid punishment.

The initial work on SIDE was experimental work on deindividuation which sought to address the insights about power and anonymity in the St. Pauls' study and builds upon Reicher's deindividuation study (Reicher, 1984b). More specifically, it is argued that visibility doesn't only affect the salience of identity, but also that visibility to the outgroup affects the expression of norms which are not allowed. This has been confirmed in more recent studies (Spears, Lea & Lee, 1990 on computer mediated communication; Reicher, Spears & Postmes, 1995; see also Postmes, Spears and Lea, 1998, 1999 for reviews). These studies considered, not only the effects of anonymity to powerful outgroups, but also to the effects of anonymity and accountability to ingroups. They showed that the form that behaviour takes, under conditions of anonymity, depends on the norms, beliefs and values attached to the identity which is salient in a particular context. While these studies have confirmed the cognitive aspect of SIDE and the effects

on salience of identity, they have also raised the possibility that people act strategically when they are anonymous to either outgroups or ingroups. Therefore, in the following sections we shall firstly consider the strategic effects of anonymity to the outgroup and secondly, and more relevant to this thesis, we shall consider the strategic effects of anonymity to the ingroup. In relation to anonymity to the ingroup, we shall also consider the effect of anonymity to the ingroup in terms of social support but more importantly for this thesis we shall consider the effects of anonymity in terms of accountability to the ingroup.

**The strategic aspect of SIDE.**

*Visibility to the outgroup.*

As we noted earlier, the inclination to act in particular ways is influenced by power relations between groups, when the outgroup may be able to invoke sanctions against the ingroup or an individual member of the ingroup.

The St. Pauls' study highlighted the issue of power and its effect on behaviour. In that study, the police were perceived as a powerful and oppressive outgroup, but the 'crowd', under conditions of anonymity, felt able to resist because they did not fear any punishment or sanction from the police. Conversely, in a series of studies, Reicher and Levine (1994a; 1994b) have shown that when participants were identifiable and accountable to powerful outgroups, the expression of punishable behaviour was suppressed. However, this is just one aspect of being strategic, visibility to the outgroup. We also need to consider the effects of visibility to the ingroup in terms of social support or accountability to the ingroup.

*Visibility to the ingroup.*

Reicher et al (1995) make the point that it is not sufficient just to think of how group norms act on the individual, but we must recognise that there is also a strategic element to the self. It is necessary for our sense of self, whether at the level of personal identity or social identity, for it to be socially validated by others (Emler & Reicher, 1995). It is about acting in ways that allow us to be a member of the group, it is about the individual in the group. That is, people play an active role, whether at the personal or social level of identity, in presenting their position and also in adapting their ingroup identity to particular audiences (Reicher & Hopkins, 1996).

*Visibility to the ingroup and social support.*

Reicher, Levine & Gordijn (1998) have shown that, in the presence of other ingroup members, i.e. when visible to ingroup members, participants felt able to express those aspects of ingroup identity which would attract sanction from the outgroup. This they suggested may have been due to expectations of social support from other ingroup members and an increase in the relative power of the ingroup to the outgroup which then affected the possibilities of enactment. While this notion of social support is important, what is more relevant to this thesis is to consider the strategic effect on responses when an individual is held accountable to other ingroup members (Douglas, 1999, Barreto, 1999). What is being argued is that it is not sufficient to just hold to what we think of ourselves in relation to the group but it is about being accepted by others as a group member and acting in ways that allow us to be a group member.

*Visibility to the ingroup and accountability.*

Barretto and Ellemers (1998) showed that the effects of accountability to the ingroup were not consistent. They found, in a study of status enhancement, that 'high identifiers' followed the group norm in both anonymous (lack of accountability) and accountable conditions in working for status improvement. However, low identifiers only acted in line with the group norm when they were accountable to the ingroup, but in the anonymous condition, low identifiers resisted working for status improvement (see also Ellemers, Barretto & Spears, 1999; Barreto, 2000). Douglas and McGarty (2000) have shown in a series of studies of 'flaming' (the expression of extreme threatening communications in computer mediated communications) that when participants were identifiable to an ingroup they stereotyped outgroups more than anonymous participants and they also felt more accountable. However, they also felt less committed to the issue they were discussing. Because they felt accountable, they acted in ways that were consonant with ingroup norms. Douglas and McGarty (2000) concluded that identifiable behaviour (to the ingroup) was constrained by group norms. However, in a further study they found that identifiability acts as a facilitator for identity enactment and that participants reported that this was not due to compliance. That is, they rejected compliance as a reason for their behaviour. What then comes out of these studies is that, in terms of anonymity (lack of accountability) to the ingroup, the cognitive and the strategic may act in contradictory or paradoxical ways depending on the strength of identification or context. That is, in terms of the cognitive, anonymity may increase salience of social identification and the expression of behaviour. On the other hand, in terms of the strategic, anonymity (lack of accountability) may lead participants to resist the norms of the group, and

the enactment of behaviour may be less normative. That is, the same factors (anonymity/accountability) may work in contradictory ways in relation to the cognitive and the strategic.

However, Reicher (2000: 180) has made the point that SIDE, at the present time, does not present a complete account of "which particular visibility conditions effect the enactment (and the definition) of a particular identity". Nevertheless, while SIDE is 'work in progress', there are findings that have been relatively consistent and relevant to the present thesis, and it is a model whose aim is "to open up enquiry" (ibid: 180).

So, having outlined the SIDE model, three key points emerge. Firstly, when social identities are salient people behave in terms of the norms, values and beliefs associated with them. That is, there is a cognitive aspect to social identity processes. Secondly, the actual enactment of these norms, values and beliefs depends on ones relations with both outgroup members and ingroup members. That is, whether the outgroup allows us to behave in certain ways and we may be influenced or constrained by the likelihood of being punished. However, more importantly for this thesis, it is about acting in ways which allow the individual to be a member of the ingroup and being able to lay claim to ingroup identity. The argument is that there is a strategic aspect to social identity processes. Thirdly, both the cognitive and the strategic aspects are going on simultaneously but the same variables, e.g. visibility or accountability to others may impact on both in different ways and we might get paradoxical effects. So, now let us apply these three key points to masculinity and its relationship with sexual coercion.

**SIDE: Masculinity and sexual coercion.**

Drawing on these three key points, it is proposed that SIDE provides a useful framework within which we can generate hypotheses addressing the questions raised in this thesis. It provides a more complete way of thinking about masculinity, as a social identity, and its relationship with sexual coercion. SIDE acknowledges the role of power between and within groups, that identity is ideologically defined but also acknowledges that people act strategically in the presentation of their identity. It highlights how both the cognitive definition of identity and the presentation of identity is influenced by factors such as visibility and accountability to others.

However, before we continue, it is important to reiterate what we said in the introduction of this chapter. That is, that this thesis is not addressing the concept of differing masculinities but is addressing the notion of a traditional masculinity and adherence to that traditional masculinity and its relationship with sexual coercion. So, let us now consider each of the three key points (cognitive, strategic, effects of visibility or accountability on both) in turn, in relation to traditional masculinity and sexual coercion.

*Masculinity and sexual coercion: the cognitive aspect.*

In terms of the cognitive, there is evidence from feminist theorising that there is a traditional masculine ideology that is associated with the inclination to be sexually coercive, a traditional ideology of masculinity which people internalise and which influences their behaviour. Following this, sexual coercion could be seen as an expression of traditional masculinity and a way of asserting traditional masculinity, e.g. in response to threat. However, previous research has

not systematically addressed the relationship between traditional masculinity and sexual coercion and has been confined to qualitative studies, mainly informed by psychoanalytic theory.

*Masculinity and sexual coercion: the strategic aspect.*

In terms of the strategic, the actual enactment of sexual coercion may be problematic, especially in terms of other ingroup members. Based on anecdotal evidence, it would seem that the actual expression of sexual coercion undermines masculinity. The enactment of sexual coercion is repudiated in terms of public masculinity, that is, men who engage in sexual coercion are perceived by other men as abusing their power and as less masculine, as not real men. That is, particularly for those who hold to a traditional masculinity, the problem is that real men don't need to or shouldn't exert their power. For them, woman should do as they are told. Those men who do exert their power through sexual coercion display their weakness and undermine their claim to the identity as real men.

However, this idea that men who are coercive will be perceived as not masculine has not been tested experimentally but, as noted, is based on anecdotal evidence from prison research.

*Masculinity and sexual coercion: the cognitive and strategic.*

When we consider the cognitive and strategic aspects of traditional masculinity and its relationship with sexual coercion together, it seems that the basic issue is that the desire to assert one's identity is in contradiction with the acts through which one does it. We have anecdotal evidence, from prison research, that men who are coercive are perceived as less masculine, as not 'real' men by other

men. Therefore, a consequence of enacting sexual coercion is that one's own identity may fail to be validated by others.

To the extent that we can show that sexual coercion is an expression of traditional masculinity and that sexual coercion undermines traditional masculinity, then there seems to be a paradox. The paradox being that the values, norms and beliefs associated with a traditional masculinity might lead to the inclination to be coercive, but the actual enactment of sexual coercion is problematic for the ingroup. Following from this, the first part of the thesis will address the question, 'does a paradox exist?' So, having proposed that there may be a paradox, let us now consider the experimental studies designed to address this question.

*Does a paradox exist?*

Firstly, in relation to the cognitive, we want to explore whether there is a relationship between a traditional masculinity and sexual coercion and, more importantly, whether the relationship is greater when traditional masculinity is made salient. The first three studies presented in the thesis will investigate whether, firstly, there is a relationship between a traditional masculinity and attitudes, which justify sexual coercion and, secondly whether there is a relationship between a traditional masculinity and the behavioural inclination to be sexually coercive. Drawing on the cognitive aspect of SIDE, we could hypothesise that when traditional masculinity is made salient there will be a greater relationship between traditional masculinity and both attitudes which justify sexual coercion and the inclination to be coercive than when traditional masculinity is not made salient. In addition, we could hypothesise that those who

hold more to a traditional notion of masculinity will score higher on both attitudes and behavioural inclination than those who are less committed to a traditional notion of masculinity.

Secondly, in relation to the strategic, we want to consider whether sexual coercion undermines masculinity and, more specifically whether men who are coercive are perceived as not masculine and two studies will be presented to address this. It could be hypothesised that a man who is sexually coercive will be perceived as not masculine, and his behaviour as not that of real man compared to a man who is not coercive. There is only a paradox, if the ingroup sees a man who is coercive as less masculine, and more critically, if it is by those men who themselves subscribe to a traditional masculinity. It could, then, also be hypothesised that perceptions of masculinity when a man is coercive will not differ between those who are committed to a traditional notion of masculinity and those who are not.

These first five studies, then, will address the question 'does a paradox exist?' This then leads us to a second question, if a paradox does exist, 'how is it resolved?'

*A dilemma: resolving the paradox.*

What we want to do in the second part of the thesis is to consider more explicitly the conditions under which the paradox might arise and how it is resolved. That is, does the paradox arise when a woman challenges a man, and is the paradox resolved under conditions when a man is not accountable to other members of the ingroup?

We proposed in the Introduction (Chapter 1) that the thesis was based on the assumption that the relationship between men and women is a relationship of unequal power (e.g. Painter & Farrington, 1997). Based on that assumption, then it would seem reasonable to propose that the paradox will arise if men feel threatened when challenged by a woman and, consequently feel like being coercive to assert or reassert their masculinity. So, we must first consider whether this is the case. That is, do men feel threatened when challenged by a woman and do they feel like being coercive? Following this, if a paradox exists, the actual performance of coercion may then further undermine their masculinity, in that the perception is that real men don't need to or shouldn't exert their power. Those who do exert their power, display their weakness. So, men are then faced with a dilemma, how do they resolve the paradox? Do they do nothing when challenged by women? Are they coercive and thereby risk the loss of an identity to which they wish to lay claim? One way of addressing this issue is to conceive of the paradox as a balance: the greater the weight on either side the more likely it is to determine the response. Thus, men may be more likely to be coercive when a woman's behaviour is seen as more of a challenge to their masculinity or when their accountability to other men is less, i.e. when it is not observed by other men. So, let us consider two studies which were designed to address this issue.

To address this issue of when the paradox may arise, it was, firstly, decided to test whether a challenge by a woman engenders feelings of threat to masculinity, and a study designed to address this question will be presented. It could be hypothesised that the greater the challenge by a woman, the greater the feelings of threat to a man's masculinity and the greater likelihood of the inclination to be coercive.

Secondly, to explicitly address the social contexts in which the paradox might be resolved, we then designed a study to consider when the actual enactment of sexual coercion might occur. In this final study, we considered if a challenge by a woman is perceived as a threat, are those feelings of threat translated into the inclination to be coercive. The literature covering male on male violence has suggested that threat to identity leads to violence (Polk, 1994; Messerschmidt, 2000) but this has not been tested in relation to coercion between men and women. Following this, this final study will then consider whether the inclination to be coercive is more likely to be translated into the actual enactment of coercion in a private context (not accountable to an ingroup) than in a public (accountable) context. Based on SIDE, we could predict that when men are not visible and hence not accountable to the ingroup, they are more likely to report that they would actually be coercive in a private context than in a public context.

While epidemiological studies of rape and attempted rape (e.g. Muir & MacLeod, in press a ) and of domestic violence (e.g. Dobash & Dobash, 1992) have shown that most of the sexual coercion of women is carried out in private, this has not been tested experimentally.

In summary, the studies in the following chapters will address the following questions. Firstly, is there a relationship between a traditional masculinity and both attitudes, which justify sexual coercion, and the behavioural inclination to be coercive, and is this relationship greater when traditional masculinity is made salient? Secondly, does the enactment of sexual coercion undermine masculinity, in that, men who are coercive will be perceived as not masculine? These first two questions address the overall issue, 'does a paradox exist?' In relation to the conditions under which the paradox may arise and how it

may be resolved, we shall consider, firstly, the question, 'is a challenge by a woman perceived as a threat to a man's masculinity? Finally, in considering the social contexts in which the enactment of sexual coercion may occur, we shall address the questions, 'when a challenge by a woman is perceived as a threat, are those feelings of threat translated into the inclination to be coercive. And is the inclination to be coercive more likely to be enacted in private than in public?'

However, before presenting the experimental studies, it is first necessary to consider some methodological issues relating to the thesis, in particular about the lack of suitable measures.

## A Methodological Note.

The thesis, in addressing the relationship between masculinity and sexual coercion, originally set out to incorporate both experimental studies and a qualitative semi-structured interview study with prisoners in a Category C training prison in England. However, for reasons of length, it was decided to concentrate on the experimental findings and not the interviews. Nevertheless, quotations from the prisoners will be presented at the beginning of each of the experimental chapters, reflecting the theme of the chapter. It should be noted that the names attributed to the quotations are not the real names of the participants.

However, the experimental studies themselves faced a particular problem, the lack of measures addressing the issue of masculinity and sexual coercion. This surprising absence of suitable measures, and the need for the development of new measures, perhaps bears testimony to the neglect, within psychology, of the particular issue of the relationship between masculinity and sexual coercion.

Therefore, the thesis also includes measures, an attitude scale together with scenarios and dependent measures, which were developed for this thesis. In particular, a search of the sexual coercion and domestic violence literatures, revealed a lack of a comprehensive scale, as a dependent measure, which directly addressed the broad issue of men's coercion of women. Researchers working in the areas of sexual coercion, sexual harassment and domestic violence were approached and they suggested several scales that might be applicable to this research. However, the scales proposed were rejected because either they had relatively poor psychometric properties, or they had few items which tended to be very limited, or they did not cover the domains of interest.

The development of a new attitude scale (Attitudes to Coercive Behaviours Scale) is explained in some detail in the following chapter. Other materials used in the study were either materials and measures developed by other authors and are acknowledged, or materials and measures developed for the studies presented. For example, different scenarios and dependent measures (e.g. perceptions of masculinity) were specifically developed for this thesis. All these materials were developed and piloted with the help of 'focus' groups made up of postgraduate and final year honours students in the School of Psychology, University of St. Andrews. Finally, at the conclusion of each study, all the participants were given a debriefing sheet explaining the study. At the end of each study, three or four participants were asked to remain behind and take part in a 'focus' group to discuss their views on the study and the materials used.

# Chapter 4: Masculinity and sexual coercion: Attitudes and behavioural inclination.

## Introduction

This chapter will, firstly, briefly describe the various stages in the development of a scale measuring attitudes to men's coercive behaviours and will present the results of the pilot work completed to date. Secondly, two studies will be presented which investigate the first part of our premised paradox, the relationship between traditional masculinity and sexual coercion.

When designing Study 1 to investigate the relationship between attitudes to sexual coercion and masculinity a search of the sexual coercion and domestic violence literatures, revealed a lack of a comprehensive scale, as a dependent measure, which directly addressed the broad issue of men's coercion of women.

Researchers working in the areas of sexual coercion, sexual harassment and domestic violence were approached and they suggested several scales which might be applicable to this research[7]. Scales which were considered and rejected included the Sex-Role Stereotyping Scale (Burt, 1980); the Sexism Scale (Rombough & Ventimighlia, 1981); the Adversarial Sexual Beliefs Scale (Burt, 1980); the Adversarial Heterosexual Beliefs Scale (Lonsway, 1992); the Hostility Toward Women Scale (Check, Malamuth, Elias & Barton, 1985); the Acceptance of Interpersonal Violence Scale (Burt, 1980); the Attitudes Toward Violence Scale (Velicer, Huckel & Hansen, 1989); and the Domestic Violence Mythology Acceptance Scale (Puente, 1997). It was decided not to use these scales because,

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[7] Thanks are due to Kim Lonsway and Sylvia Puente for their advice and comments.

either they had relatively poor psychometric properties (Sex-Role Stereotyping Scale, Acceptance of Interpersonal Violence), or they contained few items which tended to be very specific (Adversarial Sexual Beliefs Scale, Hostility Towards Women Scale). Finally, others did not cover the domains of interest (Sexism Scale, Adversarial Heterosexual Beliefs Scale, Attitudes Toward Violence Scale). The Domestic Mythology Acceptance Scale was very specific to domestic violence but some items were adapted from this scale.[8] This surprising absence of a suitable scale, and the need for the development of a suitable scale, perhaps bears testimony to the neglect, within psychology, of the issue of the relationship between masculinity and sexual coercion. The other dependent measure selected was the Illinois Rape Myth Scale (Payne, Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1999) because it addresses specific issues surrounding attitudes to sexual coercion. In addition, it had been shown to be reliable and valid, not only with an American student population but also with a Scottish university student population (Muir, 1994).

## Scale development.

The first step in the development of the scale was to review the sexual coercion literature, and to consult researchers and workers involved in the areas of sexual coercion, sexual harassment and domestic violence. It became clear that, since the thesis was working from the premise that sexual coercion is on a continuum, which ranges from sexual harassment through domestic violence to rape and murder, then the scope of the scale should be extended to include questions relating to sexual harassment and domestic violence. This process

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[8] Thanks are due to Sylvia Puente, University of Illinois, Champaign-Urbana for permission to adapt items from this scale.

resulted in the identification of nine possible categories: men's right to control if challenged, women exaggerate, women's fault, asking for trouble, no big deal, acceptable controlling behaviour, entitled to chastise, private matter, and boys will be boys. (See Appendix I for the 9 categories and original scale items)

The second step was then to devise questions for each category. A focus group was formed, comprising men and women postgraduates. They were briefed on the background to the scale development and provided with the nine identified categories and asked to generate questions for each category. They came up with a large bank of items (over 80), some of which were dropped because they were too similar, and the wording of others was changed to avoid ambiguity. The number of items was then reduced to 56, which included four items worded to discourage participants from using only one side of the 7-point Likert-type scale, i.e. to avoid 'response set'. This method of setting most of the items to obtain a 'disagree' response follows the procedures in the development of other scales in this general domain. This also addresses any possible ethical issues regarding distress caused by items which may be perceived as encouraging sexual coercion. The 56 items were piloted with 82 male and female undergraduate psychology students[9] and were then analysed.

**Scale analysis.**

Before analysis of the data it was decided to discard items with a mean of less than 2, which would indicate floor effects, and a standard deviation of less than 1, i.e. with little variance. Having done this, a Principal Components

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[9] Thanks are due to Clifford Stott and students at Abertay University, Dundee.

Analysis, which set a factor criterion of an Eigen value of 1, and employing a Varimax rotation, was carried out. From this analysis, items with a factor loading of less than 0.40 were rejected. Based on the criteria set out, the analysis identified, from the original nine categories, five factors with 24 items in total to which were added three filler items. The resulting 27-item scale was presented to the 41 psychology students in Study 1 and the data were then combined with the original pilot data and re-analysed as above. Again, based on the criteria set out, a further 3 items were discarded. However, there was no change in the factor structure and the final scale was composed of 24 items, including 3 filler items.

The five factors identified were *Women's behaviour used to justify* (WB) with 5 items; *Men's right to control* (MRC) with 4 items; *No big deal* (NBD) with 4 items; *Private matter* (PM) with 5 items; and *Women lie/exaggerate* (WL) with 3 items (see Appendix I for item wording). The WB sub-scale measures attitudes which are used to justify male coercion in terms of women bringing it on themselves by their behaviour, e.g. *'A woman who dresses provocatively to gain attention from men, is asking for trouble'*. The MRC sub-scale considers the view that it is alright for a man to be violent and abusive to keep 'his woman' in her place, e.g. *'It is acceptable for a man to verbally abuse his wife if she shows him up in public'*. The NBD sub-scale measures attitudes that consider men's sexualised behaviour is natural and not something women should get upset about, e.g. *'It is just human nature that men will make sexual comments to women'*. The PM sub-scale measures attitudes that interpersonal conflict is no one else's business, e.g. *'If you see a man and his girlfriend fighting you shouldn't get involved'*. The WL sub-scale measures the view that women tend to make too much of coercive behaviour, e.g. *'Women tend to exaggerate how much sexual*

*harassment affects them'*. These five sub-scales then cover several domains related to men's coercive behaviours.

Appendix I lists the item-to-total correlations computed both within the sub-scales and within the total scale (these statistics were computed using SPSS Version 8). The 'within factor' column shows that corrected item-to-total sub-scale correlations are all quite high, ranging from .53 to .88. The 'within scale' column shows that corrected item-to-total scale correlations are all acceptable, although somewhat lower than the 'within factor' correlations, ranging from .27 to .71. The overall alpha of the scale is highly satisfactory at .90. The sub-scale alphas are also satisfactory: WB .88, MRC .89, NBD .79, PM .79, WL .86. The sub-scale-to-total-scale correlations, ranging from .61 to .83, indicate that the sub-scales are highly related to the overall scale. These analyses suggest that the content validity and the reliability of the scale and the sub-scales are satisfactory. Further testing of the scale was carried out with 158 American male college students.[10] With this sample the overall scale alpha was 0.89 and the sub-scale alphas were: WB .81, MRC .80, NBD .80, PM .83, WL .89. The sub-scale to total-scale correlations ranged from .61 to .84. These results provide further confirmation of the reliability and content validity of the scale with different populations.

According to Cronbach and Meel (1955) the construct validity of a scale is established if it correlates highly with measures of theoretically similar variables (the 'nomological net') and not at all with theoretically unrelated variables. In Study 1, with a sample of 41 male undergraduates, the Attitudes to Coercive

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Behaviours Scale and the Illinois Rape Myth Scale were highly positively correlated, $r = 0.82$, $p < 0.01$. This was further supported by the American student data where the correlation with the IRMS was $r = 0.75$, $p < 0.01$. In terms of age, it would be expected that there would be no correlation with the scale. The results supported this contention with $r = -0.087$. In addition, with respect to gender, it could be predicted that men would score higher on the scale than women. A t-test on the overall sample showed that men had significantly higher mean scores than did women ($t (117) = 4.59$, $p < 0.001$). These results suggest that the ACB Scale has construct validity although further testing with other scales, within the 'nomological net', and populations is required.

As a measure of attitudes to men's coercive behaviours, the initial pilot work is promising. The scale, to date, has demonstrated adequate psychometric properties in terms of reliability and validity to warrant further use in the studies reported in this thesis.


## Introduction to studies.

The two studies presented in this chapter set out to investigate, in Study 1, the relationship between traditional masculinity and attitudes to sexual coercion, and in Study 2, the relationship between traditional masculinity and behavioural inclination to be coercive. These two studies are a partial replication and extension of work carried out by Bohner, Reinhard, Rutz, Sturm, Kerschbaum and Effler (1998). In two studies, Bohner et al (1998) presented support for the idea that rape-related attitudes have a causal influence on behavioural intentions. They presented participants with a rape myth scale and either a scale measuring 'Attraction Toward Sexual Aggression' (Malamuth, 1989a;b) and a Rape

Proclivity measure or, in their second study, five acquaintance rape scenarios and a Rape Proclivity measure.

Schwartz and Strack (1981, cited in Bohner et al., 1998) have proposed that when variables of interest are not easily manipulated, it is possible to identify causal effects by varying the cognitive accessibility of the hypothetical causal variable. In their studies, Bohner and his colleagues presented, in one condition, the rape myth scale first followed by the other scales or scenarios, while, in the second condition the order was reversed. They reported that when rape myths were made salient first, the correlations between rape myth acceptance and the behavioural indices were significantly higher then when the rape myths were presented after the scales and scenarios. The differences in the correlations, between order of presentation, were significant, suggesting a causal relationship of rape related attitudes. However, the rape myth scale was highly gendered, in that it contained items which Lonsway and Fitzgerrald (1994: 134)[11] have defined as "attitudes and beliefs that are generally false but widely and persistently held, and that serve to deny and justify male sexual aggression against women". Rape myths are highly derogatory of women, e.g. that women lie about rape, and that their behaviour encourages it. So, in the Bohner et al studies, the rape myth scale may have been making some generic notion of masculinity salient. Therefore, to test this view, it was decided to explicitly manipulate traditional masculinity by presenting a Male Role Norm Scale (Thompson & Pleck, 1986) as both the salience manipulation and as a measure of traditional masculinity.

The present studies were devised to investigate the extent to which traditional masculinity is related to behaviour and attitudes in terms of sexual

coercion; and to investigate whether there is a causal link and, although this link may be greater with particular forms of traditional masculinity, it may be that there are some underlying commonalities. What is being proposed (see Chapter 2) is that there is some hegemonic or traditional notion of masculinity which is supportive of violence (Connell, 1995). That is, there is a traditional notion of masculinity which is dominant, not in any empirical sense, but which is culturally supported through various institutions, e.g. the media. This culturally supported notion of masculinity is based around being tough (physically, emotionally and mentally self-reliant), having status (the respect of others), and which includes women 'knowing their place'. However, it should also be recognised that this particular notion of masculinity may be challenged by other notions of traditional masculinity, that there may be different ideologies relating to traditional masculinity. What is certainly not being proposed is an essentialised view of traditional masculinity. That is, traditional masculinity is not seen as a fixed trait or personality type. Therefore, in these studies, it is proposed that if traditional masculinity is made salient before the dependent variables it is supposed to be related to, then it should produce a greater relationship than the condition where the traditional masculinity measure is presented after the dependent variables. The dependent variables, in the first study, were rape myth acceptance and attitudes to coercive behaviours. In the second study, the dependent variables were measures of behavioural inclination, including rape proclivity.

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[11] Lonsway and Fitzgerald (1994) provide a comprehensive review of the relationship between rape myths and, inter alia, gender, attributions of blame and acceptance of interpersonal violence.

**Study 1.**

This first study was designed to investigate the relationship between traditional masculinity and attitudes which are derogatory of women and which act to justify sexual coercion. Rape myth acceptance has been found to be related with acceptance of interpersonal violence (Burt, 1980) and with the likelihood of raping (Check & Malamuth, 1985). The masculinity measure employed a) to make traditional masculinity salient and b) to measure traditional masculinity was the Male Role Norm Scale (Thompson & Pleck, 1986). As the authors point out "We use the term 'male role' to refer to the social norms that prescribe and proscribe what men should feel and do" (Thompson & Pleck, 1986: 531). That is, they distinguish between descriptive norms (stereotypes) in favour of socio-cultural norms. The scale was developed from a sample of 233 American undergraduates who were predominantly white and middle-class (the 'hegemonic' ideal). The attitude scales used in the present study were the Illinois Rape Myth Scale (Payne, Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1999), and the Attitudes to Coercive Behaviours Scale (see above). The IRMS was developed from over 700 male and female American undergraduate students and validated against several other scales, which were conceptually related. It has also been shown to be reliable and valid with a Scottish university population (Muir, 1994). The ACB Scale, which measures attitudes to men's coercive behaviours, was developed for the current study. (See Appendix II for MRNS and IRMS items).

*Hypotheses.*

Firstly, it was predicted that the relationship between traditional masculinity and the attitude measures would be greater for the masculinity salient condition than the non-salient condition.

Secondly, it was predicted that those participants who scored higher on the traditional masculinity measure would also score higher on the attitude scales than those participants who scored lower on the traditional masculinity measure.

## Method.

*Participants.*

41 male psychology undergraduates, attending a Scottish university, participated in this study for which they received course credit. The mean age of the students was 19.8 years, ranging from 17 to 46 years.

*Materials.*

The questionnaires used in this study were the Male Role Norm Scale (Thompson & Pleck, 1986), the Illinois Rape Myth Scale (Payne, Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1997), and the Attitudes to Coercive Behaviours Scale. Each of the questionnaires were scored on a 7 point Likert-type scale where 1 = not at all agree, 4 = moderately agree and 7 = very much agree.

The Male Role Norm Scale (MRNS) contains 26 items which includes a Toughness sub-scale with 8 items, which "reflects the expectations that men should be mentally, emotionally, and physically tough and self-reliant" (Thompson & Pleck, 1986: 534).

The Illinois Rape Myth Scale (IRMS) contains 45 items (40 rape myth items plus 5 filler items) and measures attitudes to rape including items which, *inter alia*, indicate that rape is 'no big deal', 'women lie', 'women really want it', and 'men who commit rape are deviant'.

The Attitudes to Coercive Behaviours Scale (ACB Scale) has 27 items (24 attitude items plus 3 filler items). The scale measures attitudes to men's coercive behaviours towards women and includes items relating to 'men's right to control', 'women's behaviour precipitates coercion' and 'women lie or exaggerate about coercion'.

*Design.*

Participants were randomly assigned to one of two conditions: 21 received the MRNS first and then the IRMS and ACBS (Salient Condition); for 20 participants the order of presentation was reversed (Non-salient Condition). The study was a) correlational – measuring the relationship between traditional masculinity, as measured by the MRNS, and the attitude measures of the IRMS and the ACBS, and b) between subjects (High and Low masculinity groups)

*Procedure.*

Participants were recruited from Psychology laboratory classes and asked to stay behind if they wished to participate in the study. It was explained to the participants that the study was concerned with attitudes to sexual coercion. In an attempt to reduce possible demand characteristics, a second researcher was introduced to the participants and he presented the cover story that he had a separate study, relating to male norms, that he wished them to complete at the

same time as the primary researcher's work. He then presented them with the MRNS either before or after the attitude questionnaires. The MRNS questionnaire was also prepared in a different font and layout from the IRMS and ACBS. This procedure was employed in an attempt to avoid demand characteristics.

Participants were seated, in groups ranging from 4 to 8, at separate, well spaced desks to provide privacy. Confidentiality and anonymity were assured and emphasised and each participant was provided with a plain envelope for their questionnaires, which they deposited into a box on completion. It was emphasised, both on the questionnaires and verbally by the researcher, that participants were under no obligation to complete the questionnaires and could stop at any time. They were also advised, at the end of the session, by way of a debriefing sheet (see Appendix II), the purpose of the study, and the phone number of the researcher for further information. They were further advised that after reading the debriefing sheet that they could withhold their responses.

**Results.**

The means of all items (excluding filler items) for each scale were averaged to provide each participant's score on the MRNS, IRMS and ACBS. Cronbach's alpha was also calculated for each scale.

To test the hypothesis regarding causality, correlations of the MRNS with the IRMS and the ACBS were computed separately for each condition (Salient and Non-salient). Using Fisher's z-test (see Howell, 1992: 251-252) for differences between correlations from independent samples, the coefficients were compared.

The means of each variable, between conditions, were compared also, by way of t-tests.

To test the hypothesis regarding High and Low masculinity differences, participants were divided into High and Low groups by median split of the MRNS scores, and t-tests used to compare the means of the attitude measures between groups. In addition, correlations of the MRNS with the IRMS and the ACBS were calculated separately for the High and Low masculinity groups and compared for differences.

*Scales.*

The internal consistency of the Male Role Norm Scale (MRNS) was satisfactory, $\alpha = 0.90$. The internal consistencies of the Illinois Rape Myth Scale (IRMS) and the Attitudes to Coercive Behaviours Scale (ACBS) were also highly satisfactory: IRMS, $\alpha = 0.94$; ACBS, $\alpha = 0.91$.

*Salient/Non-salient Conditions.*

It was predicted that correlations between the MRNS and IRMS and ACBS would be greater when the MRNS (as a salience manipulation) was presented before the other scales (Salient Condition) than when presented after the other scales (Non-salient Condition). The reverse, in fact, occurred. (see Table 4.1)

Table 4.1: Correlations of MRNS with the other scales for the Salient and Non-salient Conditions.

| Variable | Salient Condition (n =21) | Non-salient Condition (n=20) | Fisher z-test for difference |
|---|---|---|---|
| IRMS | 0.167 | 0.429 | ns |
| ACBS | 0.088 | 0.457* | ns |

$p < 0.05$.

The condition differences, however, were non-significant. It should be noted that the distribution of scores, for the MRNS, in the Salient Condition was bimodal and may have affected the results, while the distribution in the Non-salient Condition was normal. However, the distribution for the two conditions combined was close to normal and any analyses based on the overall MRNS scores have used parametric tests. Therefore, it was interesting that the overall scores yielded significant correlations between the Toughness sub-scale (of the MRNS) and the IRMS, $r = 0.365$, $p < 0.05$, and the ACBS, $r = 0.400$, $p < 0.01$.

It was predicted that the mean scores in the Salient Condition would be higher than the mean scores in the Non-salient Condition. Although the Salient Condition means were higher than those in the Non-salient Condition (see Table 4.2), t-tests comparing the mean scores for the difference between the two conditions were non-significant, IRMS, $t(39) = 0.748$, ns; ACBS, $t(39) = 0.804$, ns.

Table 4.2: Means (standard deviations) for the Salient and Non-salient Conditions on the IRMS and ACBS.

| Variable | Salient Condition (n = 21) | Non-salient Condition (n = 20) |
|---|---|---|
| IRMS | 2.58 (0.76) | 2.41 (0.70) |
| ACBS | 2.89 (0.92) | 2.69 (0.64) |

*High and Low Masculinity Groups.*

It was also predicted that those participants scoring higher on the MRNS (High Masculinity group) would score higher on the IRMS and the ACBS than those participants scoring lower on the MRNS (Low Masculinity group). The High and Low Masculinity groups were created by median split (3.81) on the MRNS.

Although the High Masculinity group scored higher then the Low Masculinity group on both the IRMS and ACBS, t-tests found no significant differences based on the overall scores, IRMS, $t(39) = 1.75$, ns; ACBS, $t(39) = 0.804$, ns (see Table 4.3).

Table 4.3: Means (standard deviations) for overall scores on IRMS and ACBS for High and Low Masculinity

| Variable | High Masculinity (n=21) | Low Masculinity (n=20) |
|---|---|---|
| IRMS | 2.69 (0.78) | 2.30 (0.62) |
| ACBS | 2.89 (0.84) | 2.69 (0.74) |

Since the distribution in the Salient condition was bimodal, non-parametric Mann-Whitney U-tests were conducted on the IRMS and ACBS. No significant differences were found between the High and Low Masculinity groups scores in the Salient condition, IRMS, $U = 52.5$, ns; ACBS, $U = 50.5$, ns.

However, for the Non-salient condition, t-tests indicated a significant difference between the High and Low Masculinity group scores for the IRMS, $t(18) = 2.92$, $p< 0.01$, and approaching significance for the ACBS, $t(18) = 1.98$, $p = 0.06$ (see Table 4.4).

Table 4.4: Means (standard deviations) on IRMS and ACBS for High and Low Masculinity groups in the Non-salient condition.

| Variable | High Masculinity (n=12) | Low Masculinity (n=8) |
|---|---|---|
| IRMS | 2.73 (0.70) | 1.94 (0.36) |
| ACBS | 2.91 (0.62) | 2.37 (0.41) |

Based on the overall scores, the correlations of the MRNS with the IRMS and ACBS showed a significant difference between the High and Low Masculinity groups for the IRMS and a similar but non-significant difference for the ACBS

(see Table 4.5). In both cases, the Low Masculinity group showed positive and significant correlations, while the High Masculinity group correlations were either negative or approaching zero.

Table 4.5: Correlations of MRNS with IRMS and ACBS by High and Low Masculinity groups.

| Variable | High Masculinity (n=21) | Low Masculinity (n=20) | Fisher z-test for difference (two-tailed) |
|---|---|---|---|
| IRMS | -0.241 | 0.595* | 2.91, p< 0.01 |
| ACBS | 0.020 | 0.461* | ns |

*p < 0.05; **p < 0.01.

*Post-Hoc Analysis: High/Medium/Low Masculinity Groups.*

In an attempt to interpret the above pattern of correlations (see discussion below), the sample was divided into three masculinity groups (High, Medium and Low). Two ways were considered in which this split could be made. Firstly, the three groups could be decided by criterion split, e.g. High masculinity group with a mean greater than 4, Low masculinity with a mean less than three and the Medium group with mean scores between three and four. However, this presupposes how participants use the scale, that they use the scale in the same way, i.e. in some absolute way, independent of its relation to anything else. In addition, a criterion split may produce unequal group sizes which poses problems for analysis of the data. Secondly, the groups could be determined by tertiary split, i.e. three equal groups, which does not presuppose how participants use the scale but recognises that they may use it in different ways. However, a tertiary split does pose a problem, in that in each study, where this split was used, the mean scores for each group may be different. However, a tertiary split aids statistical analysis of the data because it allows for equal numbers in each group. Analysis of the data

was carried out using both a criterion and tertiary split. The pattern of results, between the criterion and tertiary split groups, was similar but there was a variation in cell numbers with the criterion split. Therefore, it was decided to use a tertiary split, based on the MRNS scores, in all the studies where a split into High, Medium and Low Masculinity groups was used.

In this first study, the High Masculinity group was composed of scores with a mean greater than 4.00, the Medium Masculinity group had mean scores between 3.38 and 4.00, and the Low Masculinity group was composed of scores with a mean less than 3.38.

A one way ANOVA found a significant effect for masculinity on the IRMS, $F(2,38) = 3.38$, $p<0.05$ but no significant effect on the ACBS, $F(2,38) = 1.19$, ns. Post hoc analysis (Fisher LSD) of the IRMS differences showed a significant difference between the Medium Masculinity group and the Low Masculinity group on the IRMS ($p=0.01$) (see Table 4.6).

Table 4.6: Means (standard deviations) on IRMS and ACBS for High, Medium and Low Masculinity groups.

| Variable | High Masculinity (n=14) | Medium Masculinity (n=14) | Low Masculinity (n=13) |
|---|---|---|---|
| IRMS | 2.52 (0.71) | **2.82 (0.76)** | 2.13 (0.57) |
| ACBS | 2.76 (0.83) | **3.04 (0.70)** | 2.57 (0.57) |

It should be noted that the Medium masculinity group mean scores on both the IRMS and ACBS were higher than the mean scores for both the High and Low masculinity groups.

**Discussion.**

The first issue to be addressed is that the manipulation, making masculinity salient, did not have any significant effect in terms of the correlations. In fact, the trend was in the opposite direction, i.e. that presenting the two attitude scales before the masculinity measure, tended to produce higher correlations although the differences between the Salient and Non-salient conditions were non-significant. The lack of any significant salience manipulation effect may have been due to, firstly, the highly gendered nature of the attitude scales. The attitude scale items are placed in the context of male-female relationships and may have had more powerful effects than a scale which makes male-only norms salient. Secondly, the participants were recruited from classes of both male and female students and it was emphasised that only male students were required for the study. This, in itself, may have made masculinity salient for all the participants before the start of the study. Finally, the results may have been due to demand characteristics. Although the presentation of the masculinity scale, by a separate researcher, was intended to avoid demand characteristics, participants did report that they were not 'taken in' by it. This may then have exaggerated the demand characteristics. However, despite the general lack of any salience manipulation effect, there are some results which, while not providing any concrete answers, do raise some interesting questions.

Since there was no general effect of condition, it was possible to consider the overall results. It is, therefore, interesting to consider the significant correlations between the Toughness sub-scale and the attitude measures (IRMS and ACBS). The Toughness sub-scale represents "expectations that men should be mentally, emotionally, and physically tough and self-reliant" (Thompson & Pleck,

1986: 534) and contains several items which refer to a willingness to be violent (although the nature of the questions implicitly refers to fighting between men). It was, therefore, perhaps not surprising that this correlated well with the IRMS which contains items negative to women and items which justify sexual coercion against women. The correlation with the ACBS was perhaps also not surprising since this scale represents attitudes condoning the coercion of women. So, we have a male role norm sub-scale that measures, in some part, a willingness to be violent correlating significantly with scales which condone the coercion of women.

*High and Low Masculinity Groups.*

The bimodal distribution of scores in the Salient Condition may well have accounted for the non-significant differences in that condition. This may also have had an effect on the overall scores. Although the mean scores of the High Masculinity group were higher on both the IRMS and the ACBS, the differences were non-significant between the High and Low Masculinity groups. However, in the Non-salient Condition, with a normal distribution, the results were significant, between the High and Low Masculinity groups, on the IRMS and approaching significance on the ACBS, as predicted and despite low numbers. That is, the High Masculinity group demonstrated greater acceptance of attitudes derogatory of women and of coercion than the Low Masculinity group.

However, when we consider the overall scores, the High Masculinity group correlations for the MRNS with the attitude scales showed a close to zero correlation or a small negative correlation, while the Low Masculinity group showed significant positive correlations. It could be argued that the High Masculinity group are more confident in their masculinity and therefore feel no

great need to endorse negative attitudes towards women as a direct relationship with their masculinity. On the other hand, the Low Masculinity group are less secure, more threatened. They may want to identify with the group norms but are uncomfortable with those feelings, as their actual means on the attitude scales are lower than the High Masculinity group. An alternative explanation could be that the median High/Low split is too arbitrary. That is, there are some men in the Low group who are genuinely feminist men and reject these anti-women attitudes, but there are also some who are more masculine and are more accepting of these attitudes. Conversely, there are those within the High Masculinity group who are secure in their masculinity and do not consider it necessary to endorse these attitudes, while there are others, within the High group, who are less masculine but are more accepting of these attitudes. What is being argued is that, because of the arbitrary nature of the High/Low split and the unexpected pattern of correlations, there is a more complex pattern of masculinities, as measured by the MRNS. Therefore, it seems reasonable to consider the possibility of three different traditional masculinity groups. Firstly, a genuinely low masculine group which is secure in being non-masculine and reject attitudes which justify sexual coercion. Secondly, there is a medium masculinity group which scores higher on the attitude measures, and, finally, a high masculinity group, who are secure in their traditional masculinity and do not endorse coercive attitudes. This alternative explanation could account for the differences between the correlation coefficients that we found. Post-hoc examination of the data found evidence to support this explanation. With both attitude scales, the Medium Masculinity group had higher means than both the other groups. That is, the Medium Masculinity group expressed greater acceptance of rape myths and attitudes relating to the coercion

of women. However, it should be noted that the differences between the groups were non-significant, except for the significant difference between the Medium and Low Masculinity groups on the IRMS, despite low numbers in each group.

However, why does the Medium Masculinity group score higher? One possible explanation is that this is a group which is insecure in their masculinity (see Connell, 1987 and Jefferson, 1993 on masculine insecurity in attaining the 'ideal'). Those in the Medium Masculinity group want to be masculine, and therefore believe that they should support coercive attitudes, but don't think they are as masculine as they would like to be. Further evidence to support this explanation will be presented in Chapter 7.

**Summary of Study 1.**

This study has demonstrated some significant differences between the High and Low Masculinity groups in terms of rape myth acceptance and attitudes to coercive behaviours. It has also shown significant correlations between the Toughness sub-scale and the attitude scales. In addition, the data have raised some interesting questions including the correlation differences between the High and Low Masculinity groups, but more importantly the mean differences when the sample was split into three masculinity groups. However, the interpretation of the data is highly speculative especially since there may have been demand characteristic effects that were emphasised by the failed attempt to convince students that the MRNS was part of a separate study. This failure may have invoked impression management responses. Finally, while the direction of influence may be from attitudes to masculinity rather than masculinity to attitudes,

it is not possible from this study to make any judgement on the direction of influence.

**Study 2.**

The second study was designed to investigate the relationship between traditional masculinity and behavioural inclination to be sexually coercive. This study, due to the availability of participants, was run shortly after Study 1 and before the analysis of the data from Study 1 was completed. Therefore, the methodological problems noted in Study 1 were not addressed other than an attempt to improve the cover story.

The MRNS, as with Study 1, was employed a) to make traditional masculinity salient and b) to measure traditional masculinity. The masculinity measure was presented along with five acquaintance rape scenarios, with questions related to the inclination to be coercive, used by Bohner et al (1998) in their second experiment, together with a Rape Proclivity measure.

*Hypotheses.*

As with Study 1, it was predicted that if masculinity was made salient before the scenarios and the rape proclivity measure (Salient Condition) it would produce a greater correlation between traditional masculinity and the behavioural indices than the condition where the masculinity measure was presented after the scenarios (Non-salient Condition).

It was also predicted that those participants who scored higher on the masculinity measure would also score higher on the behavioural inclination indices than those participants who scored lower on the masculinity measure.

**Method.**

*Participants.*

34 male psychology undergraduates, attending a Scottish university, participated in this study for which they received course credit. The mean age of the students was 20.8 years, ranging from 17 to 52 years.

*Materials.*

The Male Role Norm Scale (Thompson & Pleck, 1986), used in Study 1, was again presented in this study.

Five acquaintance rape scenarios (translated from German) used by Bohner et al (1998)[12] were also presented along with a Rape Proclivity measure (see Appendix III).

The five scenarios described typical acquaintance rape situations. Participants were instructed to imagine themselves in the situation of the male in each scenario. After reading each scenario they were asked to answer the following three questions on a five point scale: 'In this situation, how aroused would you be?' (1= not at all sexually aroused; 2 = not particularly sexually aroused; 3 = don't know; 4 = fairly sexually aroused; 5 = very strongly sexually aroused). 'In this situation, would you have done the same?' (1 = would definitely not have done the same, and 5 = would definitely have done the same). 'In this situation, how much would you enjoy imposing your will?' (1 = would not enjoy it at all, and 5 = would greatly enjoy it).

The Rape Proclivity (RP) measure was made up of two items from the Attraction Toward Sexual Aggression Scale (Malamuth, 1989a; b) as adapted by Bohner et al

(1998). Participants were asked, 'If you could be assured that no one would know and that in no way could you be punished for engaging in the following acts how likely, if at all, would you be to commit such acts'. Firstly, 'Forcing a woman to have sexual intercourse against her will' and secondly 'Forcing a woman to do something sexual which she didn't want to do'. The items were measured on a 5 point Likert-type scale where 1 = not at all likely and 5 = very likely.

*Design.*

As for Study 1, participants were randomly assigned to one of two conditions: 19 received the salience manipulation and then the five scenarios and the Rape Proclivity items (Salient Condition); for 15 participants the order of presentation was reversed (Non-salient Condition). The study was a) correlational – measuring the relationship between traditional masculinity, as measured by the MRNS, and the behavioural inclination measures, and b) between subjects (High and Low Masculinity groups)

*Procedure.*

Participants were recruited from Psychology laboratory classes and asked to stay behind if they wished to participate in the study. It was explained to the participants that the study was concerned with issues of sexual coercion. A second researcher was introduced to the participants and he presented the cover story that he had a separate study, relating to male norms, that he wished them to complete at the same time as the primary researcher's work. In an effort to limit the possible demand characteristic effects, reported in Study 1, the presentation of the

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[12] Thanks are due to Gerd Bohner for providing the German versions of these scenarios and for checking the English translations.

masculinity measure as a separate study was more explicit. Participants were told that both researchers worked in the same research group and that while the scales might seem related they were in fact part of a separate study and were being presented at the same time as a matter of convenience. He then presented them with the MRNS either before or after the scenarios. The MRNS questionnaire was also prepared in a different font and layout from the scenario study.

Participants, in groups ranging from 3 to 5, were seated at separate, well spaced desks to provide privacy. As with Study 1, confidentiality and anonymity were assured and emphasised and each participant was provided with a plain envelope for their questionnaires, which they deposited into a box on completion. It was emphasised, both on the questionnaires and verbally by the researcher, that participants were under no obligation to complete the questionnaires and could stop at any time. They were also advised, at the end of the session, by way of a debriefing sheet, the purpose of the study, and the phone number of the researcher for further information. They were further advised that after reading the debriefing sheet that they could withhold their responses.

**Results.**

The scores of all items on the MRNS were averaged to provide each participant's masculinity score. Indices of arousal, enjoyment and behavioural inclination were also calculated by averaging the scores of the items across the five scenarios, and the Rape Proclivity index was calculated by averaging the two items. Cronbach's alpha was calculated for the MRNS and for each of the indices.

To test the hypothesis regarding salience, correlations of the MRNS with each of the four indices were computed separately for each condition. Using Fisher's z-test for differences between correlations from independent samples, the coefficients were compared. The means of each variable, between order conditions, were also compared by way of t-tests.

To test the hypothesis regarding High and Low masculinity differences, participants were divided into High and Low groups by median split, and t-tests used to compare the means of all variables between groups. In addition, correlations of the MRNS with the four indices were calculated separately for the High and Low groups and compared for differences.

*Scales.*

The internal consistency of the Male Role Norm Scale (MRNS) was again satisfactory, $\alpha = 0.85$. The internal consistencies of all indices were acceptable to good: Arousal index, $\alpha = 0.71$; Enjoyment index, $\alpha = 0.71$; Behavioural inclination index, $\alpha = 0.53$. The two rape proclivity items were correlated, $r = 0.46$, $p < 0.01$, and were combined as an index of rape proclivity. Only 33% (Bohner et al, 1998; Exp. 2 = 37%) of participants chose the response 'not at all likely' to both rape proclivity items while 67% (Bohner 63%) indicated some likeliehood of using sexual coercion against a woman. 18% (Bohner 23%) had scores higher than 2 on a 5 point scale.

*Salient/Non-salient Conditions.*

It was predicted that the correlations between the MRNS and the various indices would be greater when the MRNS was presented before the other scales

(Salient Condition) than when presented after the other scales (Non-salient Condition). The results were mixed, in some cases the correlations in the Salient Condition were greater while in others the reverse was the case. There was no discernible pattern. All differences in correlations between conditions were non-significant (see Table 4.7).

Table 4.7: Correlations of MRNS and all indices for the Salient and Non-salient conditions.

| Index | Salient Condition (n=19) | Non-salient Condition (n=15) | Fisher z-test for difference |
|---|---|---|---|
| Arousal | 0.347 | 0.433 | Ns |
| Enjoyment | 0.232 | 0.212 | Ns |
| Behavioural inclination | 0.463* | 0.489 | Ns |
| Rape proclivity | 0.468* | 0.113 | Ns |

*p < 0.05

However, the overall scores yielded significant correlations between the MRNS and Arousal index, r = 0.374, p< 0.05; Behavioural inclination index, r = 0.465, p< 0.01; and Rape Proclivity, r= 0.352, p< 0.05, but was non-significant for the Enjoyment index.

Similarly, the Toughness sub-scale yielded significant correlations on the overall scores with Arousal index, r = .469, p< 0.01; Behavioural inclination index, r = 0.400, p< 0.05; Rape Proclivity, r = 0.451, p< 0.01, but not for the Enjoyment index.

T-tests comparing the means (see Table 4.8) of all indices, between conditions, were non-significant, Arousal index, t(32) = 0.319, ns; Enjoyment

index, t(32) = 0.139, ns; Behavioural inclination index, t(32) = 1.06, ns; Rape

Proclivity, t(32) = 0.284, ns.

Table 4.8: Means (standard deviations) for the four indices by Salient and Non-salient Conditions.

| Index | Salient Condition (n=19) | Non-salient Condition (n=15) |
|---|---|---|
| Arousal index | 2.58 (0.79) | 2.49 (0.76) |
| Enjoyment index | 1.66 (0.65) | 1.69 (0.59) |
| Behavioural inclination index | 1.32 (0.40) | 1.47 (0.43) |
| Rape proclivity | 1.61 (0.77) | 1.68 (0.67) |

*High and Low Masculinity Groups.*

It was also predicted that those participants scoring higher on the MRNS (High Masculinity group) would score higher on the various indices than those participants scoring lower on the MRNS (Low Masculinity group). The High and Low Masculinity groups were created by median split (3.27) on the MRNS.

Since there were no significant differences between the Salient and Non-salient Conditions, it was decided to consider the overall scores for the High and Low Masculinity groups.

T-tests showed significant differences between the High and Low Masculinity groups on all the indices with the High Masculinity group having higher means than the Low Masculinity group (see Table 4.9). Arousal index, t(32) = 2.04, p< 0.05; Enjoyment index, t(32) = 2.36, p< 0.05; Behavioural inclination index, t(32) = 4.87, p< 0.001; Rape Proclivity, t(31) = 2.01, p< 0.05.

Table 4.9: Means (standard deviations) for the four indices by High and Low Masculinity groups.

| Index | High Masculinity (n=16) | Low Masculinity (n=18) |
|---|---|---|
| Arousal | 2.81 (0.65) | 2.30 (0.80) |
| Enjoyment | 1.92 (0.67) | 1.46 (0.48) |
| Behavioural inclination | 1.66 (0.40) | 1.13 (0.22) |
| Rape Proclivity | 1.90 (0.81) | 1.42 (0.58) |

The correlations of the MRNS with the four indices showed differences between the High and Low Masculinity groups (see Table 4.10). The High Masculinity group, with the exception of the Rape Proclivity index, had negative correlations, while the Low Masculinity group had positive correlations across all indices. There were significant correlation differences for MRNS and the Arousal and Enjoyment indices, but not for the Behavioural inclination or Rape Proclivity indices.

Table 4.10: Correlations of MRNS with the four indices by High and Low Masculinity groups.

| Index | High Masculinity (n=16) | Low Masculinity (n=18) | Fisher z-test for difference (two-tailed) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Arousal | -0.375 | 0.458 | 2.69, p<0.01 |
| Enjoyment | -0.477 | 0.114 | 1.92, p=0.054 |
| Behavioural inclination | -0.307 | 0.070 | ns |
| Rape Proclivity | 0.274 | 0.053 | ns |

*p < 0.05; **p < 0.01.

*Post-Hoc Analysis: High/Medium/Low Masculinity Groups.*

As with Study 1, in an attempt to interpret the pattern of correlations, the sample was divided into three masculinity groups (High, Medium and Low), using mean scores to determine the three groups. The High Masculinity group was composed of scores with a mean greater than 3.99, the Medium Masculinity group

had mean scores between 3.19 and 3.99, and the Low Masculinity group was composed of scores with a mean less than 3.19.

Based on the overall scores, one way ANOVAs found significant effects for level of masculinity on the Arousal Index, $F_{(2,31)} = 3,67$, $p<0.05$, and the Behavioural Inclination Index, $F_{(2,31)} = 3.54$, $p<0.05$. Post hoc analysis (Fisher LSD) showed, for the Arousal Index, a significant difference between the Medium and Low Masculinity groups ($p=0.01$), and, for the Behavioural Inclination Index a significant difference between the High and Low Masculinity groups ($p=0.01$) (see Table 4.11). There were no significant effects for level of masculinity on the Rape Proclivity index, $F_{(2,30)} = 0.615$, ns, or on the Enjoyment index, $F_{(2,31)} = 0.937$, ns.

Table 4.11: Means (standard deviations) for the four indices for the High, Medium and Low Masculinity groups.

| Index | High Masculinity (n=11) | Medium Masculinity (n=12) | Low Masculinity (n=11) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Arousal | 2.62 (0.54) | 2.88 (0.79) | 2.09 (0.76) |
| Enjoyment | 1.62 (0.41) | 1.87 (0.83) | 1.53 (0.51) |
| Behavioural inclination | 1.60 (0.38) | 1.39 (0.48) | 1.16 (0.25) |
| Rape proclivity | 1.85 (0.85) | 1.54 (0.66) | 1.54 (0.69) |

After considering the means in Table 4.11 above, it was decided to carry out a post-hoc analysis comparing the feelings indices (Arousal, Enjoyment) and the behavioural indices (Behavioural inclination, Rape Proclivity). The indices were averaged to produce a Feeling index and a Behaviour index, and a MANOVA analysis with Feeling and Behaviour as within subjects factors and High/Medium/Low Masculinity as between subject factors (see Table 4.12).

Table 4.12: Means (standard deviations) for the Feeling and Behaviour indices for the High, Medium and Low Masculinity groups.

| Index | High Masculinity (n=11) | Medium Masculinity (n=12) | Low Masculinity (n=11) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Feelings index | 2.11 (0.32) | 2.38 (0.69) | 1.81 (0.57) |
| Behaviour index | 1.72 (0.49) | 1.46 (0.55) | 1.35 (0.42) |

There was a main within factors effect for Feelings and Behaviour indices, $F(1,31)$ = 60.58, p < 0.001. There was also a significant interaction, $F(2,31) = 4.82$, p < 0.02. There was a main effect of masculinity approaching significance for the Feelings index, $F(2,31) = 2.97$, p = 0.066, but no main effect for the Behaviour index. Post hoc analysis (LSD) showed a significant difference between the Medium and Low Masculinity groups on the Feelings index.

**Discussion.**

As with Study 1, the salience manipulation did not have the predicted effect. Some participants reported that they believed the cover story and did not think the masculinity measure was related to the presentation of the scenarios, while others reported that they did not believe the cover story. Again it could be argued that the acquaintance rape scenarios were more gendered than the male role norm scale, in that they presented sexually coercive interactions between men and women. Finally, as with Study 1, participants were recruited from classes of both male and female students where it was emphasised that only male students were required for the study, possibly making masculinity salient for all the participants before the start of the study.

However, it is interesting to note the similar pattern of results to those reported in Study 1. The overall scores produced significant correlations between

the MRNS, the Toughness sub-scale and the various indices, especially the behavioural indices of Rape Proclivity and Behavioural Inclination. It is also worth noting that the correlations between the MRNS, the Toughness sub-scale and the Enjoyment index were much lower than for the other indices. Does this suggest that sexual coercion is not about enjoyment but about getting your own way, that it is about control?

The significant correlations between the Toughness sub-scale and the behavioural indices is perhaps not surprising since, as noted in Study 1, the sub-scale measures a willingness to be violent while the indices indicate a likelihood to be sexually violent towards women.

*High and Low Masculinity Groups.*

The differences between the High and Low groups across all indices were as predicted (see Table 4.9). Although the means for the Rape Proclivity index and the Behavioural inclination index tended towards 'floor' they were in line with Bohner et al. (1998) and it is perhaps surprising that they were as high considering the potential for 'social desirability' effects. That is, participants may well have been aware that an expression of being willing to be sexually coercive would be perceived negatively by others, including the researcher.

The correlation differences between the High and Low Masculinity groups (see Table 4.10) show a similar pattern to Study 1 with the High Masculinity group having negative correlations with three of the four indices and the Low Masculinity group having positive correlations for all the indices. This again lends support to the argument that we should consider three masculinity groups and that the Medium Masculinity group may be insecure in their masculinity. This is

perhaps most apparent with the higher mean scores of the Medium Masculinity group on the Arousal index, i.e. it is a matter of *feeling* aroused and also, with the Enjoyment index, i.e. it is a matter of enjoying the situations presented. They may not like the feelings but 'buy into' their perception that men should be aroused and should enjoy these sexual interactions. However, those feelings don't carry over into the inclination to be coercive as measured by the Behavioural Inclination and Rape Proclivity indices. This is highlighted in the MANOVA results looking at the combined Feelings and Behaviour indices. While it is perhaps not surprising that there was a significant difference between Feelings and Behaviour, the largest mean difference was with the Medium Masculinity group. That is they scored highest on the Feelings index but were similar to the Low Masculinity group on the Behaviour index, where the High Masculinity group scored highest. However, for the Behaviour index there was no significant difference between the groups. So, while all the masculinity groups, and especially the Medium Masculinity group, may having feelings that are related to coercion, they all are significantly less likely to say that they would be inclined to behave coercively. This distinction between feeling and behaving brings us back to our overall paradox that, on the one hand, masculinity is related to coercion, but, on the other hand, the enactment of coercive behaviour undermines masculinity. That is, men who are coercive are seen as less masculine and their behaviour is not the behaviour of 'real' men. So, while this present study, presents support for the first part of our paradox, it also provides implicit support for the second part of the paradox, but this is something that we shall address more explicitly in later chapters.

**Summary of Study 2.**

This study has demonstrated significant differences between the High and Low Masculinity groups across all the indices of feelings (Arousal and Enjoyment) and behavioural inclination. It has also demonstrated significant correlations between the MRNS, the Toughness sub-scale (this relationship as that in Study 1 will be expanded on in Chapter 7) and all the indices, except enjoyment. While it is interesting that the pattern of correlation differences between the High and Low Masculinity is the same in the two studies, it still poses a problem of interpretation. However, there was further support for the notion of three traditional masculinity groups and the results from the two studies have posed some interesting questions and problems which will be addressed in the following chapters.

# Chapter 5: Masculinity and sexual coercion: Attitudes and behavioural inclination (a partial replication).

*Participant: "If my girlfriend said no to me like that, I'd fucking do her."*

## Introduction.

As noted in the previous chapter, the results of the first two studies demonstrated an association between traditional masculinity and sexual coercion both with the acceptance of rape myths and attitudes to the coercion of women, and with behavioural inclination to be coercive, including rape proclivity. These results lend support to the premise that sexual coercion is an expression of traditional masculinity. The first two studies also produced interesting results when we split participants into the three traditional masculinity groups, High, Medium and Low. While we might have reasonably expected a linear relationship between traditional masculinity and both attitudes to coercion and inclination to be coercive, it was surprising that the relationship was in fact more complex.

However, there were methodological problems with the first two studies which needed to be addressed. Also, it was considered necessary to replicate the studies with a different population to address any issue regarding the representativeness[13] of the sample. The concern was that the University students were part of a middle class elite and that the results of the first two studies might not be generalisable to a wider population. It was also considered that students from Socio-economic groups III and IV might hold more traditional notions of

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[13] Thanks are due to the staff and students of Elmwood College, Cupar, Fife for their co-operation in this study. The students at this college came mainly (76%) from Socio-Economic groups III to V which compares with the University sample in which approximately 90% of the sample came from the Socio-Economic groups I/II.

masculinity. In addition, as noted in the previous chapter, it was necessary to test the Attitudes to Coercive Behaviours scale with a different population.

This chapter, therefore, presents a study which was a combination and a partial replication of Studies 1 and 2, and was conducted with students from a Further Education College who were attending courses on, e.g. car maintenance and greenkeeping. To overcome the problems of the first two studies the Male Role Norm Scale was used solely as a measure of masculinity and was presented a week before the other measures to avoid possible demand characteristics. A new salience manipulation[14] was devised to overcome the problem with using the MRNS as the manipulation. As noted in Studies 1 and 2, the attitude scales and acquaintance rape scenarios were more gendered than the MRNS. Items in the new salience manipulation (see Appendix IV) related to relationships between men and women and specifically men's dominant position in society, e.g. 'Men generally occupy higher status positions in society than women', and as such were designed to make traditional masculinity salient. Finally, and possibly most importantly, it was possible to recruit participants from male only classes. This addressed the problem reported in Studies 1 and 2 of masculinity being made salient to all participants before the presentation of the various materials.

This present study was designed to investigate, firstly, the relationship between traditional masculinity and attitudes to sexual coercion by presenting the Illinois Rape Myth Scale (short version) and the Attitudes to Coercive Behaviours Scale which were presented in Study 1. Secondly, the study was designed to investigate the relationship between traditional masculinity and behavioural

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[14] This was adapted from Postmes & Spears (personal communication)

inclination by presenting three of the five acquaintance rape scenarios and the Rape Proclivity measure used in Study 2. It was decided to present only three scenarios in this study in order that the study was not overly long, taking up a lot of class time and would not lead to participants becoming bored. The three scenarios were selected on the basis that they had shown higher means and greater variance than the other two.

*Hypotheses.*

It was predicted that the relationship between attitudes and inclination to be coercive would be greater with those participants who had masculinity made salient (Salient Condition) than those who did not receive the salience manipulation (Non-salient Condition).

It was also hypothesised that, for the Salient Condition, the attitude measures would be predictors of an inclination to be coercive, but not in the Non-salient Condition.

It was predicted that those participants who scored higher on the MRNS (High Masculinity group) would score higher on both the attitudinal and behavioural inclination measures than those who scored lower on the masculinity measure (Low Masculinity group).

Finally, based on the results of the first two studies, it was predicted that those participants who were rated as the Medium Masculinity group would score higher on the attitudinal and feelings measures than both the High and Low Masculinity groups. However, in terms of the behavioural inclination measures there would be a linear relationship, i.e. the High Masculinity group would have the highest mean

scores, then the Medium Masculinity group and the Low Masculinity group would have the lowest mean scores.

**Method.**

*Participants.*

57 male students, attending a Further Education College, participated in this study. 49 completed both parts of the study. The mean age of the students was 20.8 years, ranging from 16 to 45 years. No payment was made.

*Materials.*

The following materials were presented:

The Male Role Norm Scale (Thompson & Pleck, 1986), used in Studies 1 and 2.

The Illinois Rape Myth Scale – Short version (Payne, Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1999) and the Attitudes to Coercive Behaviours Scale.

Three of the five acquaintance rape scenarios (Bohner et al, 1998), used in Study 2, and the Rape Proclivity measure (Malamuth, 1989a; b, adapted by Bohner et al, 1998). Questions relating to the scenarios measured feelings, Arousal (how aroused would you be?), and Enjoyment (how much would you enjoy imposing your will?). They also measured inclinations to be coercive, Behavioural inclination (would you have done the same?), and Rape Proclivity (the likelihood of being sexually coercive).

A salience manipulation, adapted from Postmes and Spears (personal communication) was also presented (see Appendix IV).

The MRNS, ACBS, IRMS and the salience manipulation were scored on a 7 point Likert-type scale where 1 = 'not at all agree', 4 = 'moderately agree' and 7 = 'very

much agree'. The scenario indices of Arousal, Enjoyment, Behavioural Inclination and Rape Proclivity were scored on a 5 point Likert scale.

*Design.*

Participants were randomly assigned to one of two conditions: 29 received the salience manipulation before the attitude scales and the acquaintance rape scenarios (Salient Condition); 28 received the attitude scales and acquaintance rape scenarios without the salience manipulation (Non-salient Condition).

The study was a) correlational – measuring the relationship between the attitude measures (IRMS and ACBS) and feelings and behavioural inclination indices (Arousal, Enjoyment, Behavioural inclination and Rape Proclivity), and b) between subjects - High and Low Masculinity and High, Medium and Low Masculinity on all measures.

*Procedure.*

Participants were recruited from various all male classes, including, inter alia, Car Mechanics, Greenkeeping and Sports Management. The MRNS was presented to participants one week before the other measures. The students were told that the study was part of a larger project, involving other groups of students in Fife, looking at male norms. Participants were asked to write their names, ages and parents' occupations on the front cover of the questionnaire. This was to enable the matching-up of masculinity scores with the other measures. A week later, the same participants were asked to help with another study which was about issues surrounding sexual coercion. They were presented with the IRMS (short version), the ACBS, three acquaintance rape scenarios and the Rape Proclivity measure.

Half the participants, selected at random, received the salience manipulation before completing the questionnaires, the other half did not receive the salience manipulation. Again they were asked to write their names and ages on the front cover of the booklet. Participants completed the questionnaires in groups ranging from 5 to 8 in number and were seated at separate, well-spaced desks, to ensure privacy. On both occasions, confidentiality was assured and emphasised. Each participant was provided with a plain envelope for their questionnaires, which they deposited in a box. It was emphasised both on the questionnaires and verbally by the researcher, that participants were under no obligation to complete the questionnaires and could stop at any time. They were also advised, at the end of the session, by way of a debriefing sheet, the purpose of the study, the phone number of the researcher for further information, and the name and phone number of the College's student welfare adviser. They were further advised that, after reading the debriefing sheet, they could withhold their responses.

**Results.**

The scores of all items on the MRNS were averaged to provide each participant's masculinity score. This was repeated for the IRMS (Rape myth score) and the ACBS (attitude to coercive behaviours score). Indices of arousal, enjoyment and behavioural inclination were also calculated by averaging the scores of these items across the three scenarios, and the Rape Proclivity index was calculated by averaging the two Rape Proclivity items. Cronbach's alpha was calculated for the three scales and for each of the indices.

To test the hypothesis that participants presented with the masculinity salience manipulation (Salient Condition) would provide a greater correlation between attitudes and behavioural inclination, and that the attitude measures would be better predictors of behavioural inclination than those who did not receive the salience manipulation (Non-salient Condition), regression analyses were conducted. The regression analyses were conducted for each of the attitude measures (IRMS and ACBS) separately and then together and combined with the categorical variable (Salient/Non-salient) to test for an interaction effect. Post-hoc Fisher's z-test for differences between correlations from independent samples was used to compare the coefficients when there was an interaction.

In addition, t-tests were calculated to compare the means between the Salient and Non-salient Conditions for all variables.

To test the hypothesis regarding High and Low Masculinity differences, participants were divided into High and Low groups by median split on the MRNS, and t-tests used to compare the means of all variables between groups. In addition, correlations of the MRNS with the attitude measures (IRMS and ACBS) and the feelings and behavioural inclination indices were calculated separately for the High and Low Masculinity groups.

To test the prediction that the Medium Masculinity group would score higher on the attitudinal and feelings measures than the High or Low Masculinity groups, and that there would be a linear pattern of results on the behavioural inclination measures, one-way ANOVAs were calculated. The three groups were determined by using mean scores on the MRNS.

*Scales.*

The internal consistency of all the scales and indices were again satisfactory, MRNS $\alpha = 0.88$; IRMS $\alpha = 0.89$; ACBS $\alpha = 0.85$; Arousal index $\alpha = 0.67$; Enjoyment index $\alpha = 0.81$; Behavioural inclination index $\alpha = 0.79$; Rape Proclivity index $\alpha = 0.90$ (Correlated $r = 0.815$, $p< 0.01$). Further analysis of the ACBS confirmed the original factor structure and satisfactory sub-scale alphas, Women's Behaviour (WB) = 0.71, Men's Right to Control (MRC) = 0.83, No Big Deal (NBD) = 0.76, Private Matter (PM) = 0.86, Women Lie (WL) = 0.90.

*Masculinity Salient/Non-salient Conditions.*

It was predicted that the correlations between the attitude measures (IRMS and ACBS) and the feelings and behavioural inclination indices would be greater for the Salient Condition than for the Non-salient Condition, and that the attitude measures would be better predictors of behavioural inclination in the Salient Condition than in the Non-salient Condition.

Multiple regression analyses, using the stepwise method, were conducted with the ACBS and the IRMS as the predictor variables, both separately and then together, and with the categorical variable (Salient/Non-salient) as a mediating variable.

The results of the regression analysis for the ACBS and the various indices are shown in Table 5.1

Table 5.1: Regression analysis with ACBS and all the indices with the categorical variable Salient/Non-salient.

| Index | F value (1,54) | Sig | Adjusted R square |
|---|---|---|---|
| Arousal | 11.65 | p = 0.001 | 0.165 |
| Enjoyment | 17.90 | p < 0.001 | 0.242 |
| Behavioural inclination | 9.72 | p = 0.003 | 0.137 |
| Rape Proclivity | No value obtained | | |

The ACBS was a significant predictor for all the indices except Rape Proclivity. There was no interaction with either the Arousal and Enjoyment indices. However, there was a significant interaction with the Behavioural Inclination index, $F(2,53)$ = 7.74, p = 0.001 (Adj R square = 0.197). Post–hoc analysis (Fisher z test) showed a significant difference (p < 0.05) between the Salient and Non-salient conditions, with the Salient condition having a higher correlation than the Non-salient condition, as predicted.

In relation to the regression analysis with the IRMS and the various indices, the results are shown in Table 5.2.

Table 5.2: Regression analysis with the IRMS and all the indices with the categorical variable Salient/ Non-salient.

| Index | F(1,54) | Sig | Adjusted R square |
|---|---|---|---|
| Arousal | 6.18 | p = 0.016 | 0.087 |
| Enjoyment | 15.92 | p < 0.001 | 0.220 |
| Behavioural inclination | 14.62 | p < 0.001 | 0.213 |
| Rape Proclivity | 5.64 | p = 0.021 | 0.079 |

The IRMS was a significant predictor for all the indices. There were no interactions for the Enjoyment and Rape Proclivity indices. However there were significant interactions for the Arousal index, $F(1,54)$ = 5.56, p = 0.022 (Adj R square = 0.191), and for the Behavioural Inclination index, $F(1,54)$ = 16.30, p <

0.001 (Adj R square = 0.398. Post hoc analysis (Fisher z test) showed significant differences (Arousal – p < 0.01; Behavioural Inclination – p < 0.01) between the Salient and Non-salient conditions, with the Salient condition correlations higher than the Non-salient condition correlations.

A further multiple regression analysis, using the stepwise method, with ACBS and IRMS as the predictor variables and the categorical variable (Salient/Non-salient) as a mediating variable, produced the following results (see Table 5.3)

Table 5.3: Regression analysis with the ACBS and the IRMS and all the indices with the categorical variable Salient/ Non-salient.

| Index | F(2,53) | Sig | Adjusted R square |
|---|---|---|---|
| Arousal | 11.65 | p = 0.001 | 0.165 |
| Enjoyment | 17.90 | p < 0.001 | 0.242 |
| Behavioural inclination | 14.62 | p < 0.001 | 0.198 |
| Rape Proclivity | 5.64 | p = 0.021 | 0.079 |

The analysis has shown that the ACBS and IRMS as predictor variables is a significant model in relation to the indices. The model was a significant predictor for all the indices. There were no interactions for the Arousal, Enjoyment and Rape Proclivity indices. However, there was a significant interaction for the Behavioural Inclination index, $F(2,53) = 9.64$, $p < 0.001$ (Adj. R square = 0.386). Separate post-hoc regression analysis of the Salient and Non-salient conditions showed that the model was only significant in the Salient condition.

T-tests on the mean scores (see Table 5.4) between the Salient and Non-salient conditions showed no significant differences across all measures, ACBS, $t(55) = 1.95$, $p = 0.06$; IRMS, $t(55) = 0.44$, ns.; Arousal, $t(53) = 0.68$, ns.; Enjoyment,

t(52) = 0.10, ns.; Behavioural inclination, t(54) = 0.46, ns.; Rape Proclivity,

t(53) = 0.95, ns.

Table 5.4: Means (standard deviations) by Salient and Non-salient Conditions for all variables.

| Variable | Salient Condition (n=29) | Non-salient Condition (n=28) |
|---|---|---|
| ACBS | 3.00 (0.88) | 3.44 (0.81) |
| IRMS | 2.33 (0.87) | 2.43 (0.87) |
| Arousal index | 2.75 (0.94) | 2.91 (0.84) |
| Enjoyment index | 2.04 (1.08) | 2.01 (0.70) |
| Behavioural inclination index | 1.92 (1.02) | 1.81 (0.61) |
| Rape proclivity index | 1.24 (0.68) | 1.40 (0.67) |

*High and Low Masculinity Groups.*

It was predicted that those participants scoring higher on the MRNS (High Masculinity group) would score higher on the attitude scales and the scenario indices than those participants scoring lower on the MRNS (Low Masculinity group). The High and Low Masculinity groups were created by median split (3.89) on the MRNS.

T-tests showed no significant differences between the High and Low Masculinity groups for any of the dependent measures based on the overall scores (see Table 5.5), ACBS, t(43) = 1.40, ns.; IRMS, t(43) = 0.38, ns.; Arousal, t(41) = 0.59, ns.; Enjoyment, t(40) = 0.65, ns.; Behavioural inclination, t(42) = 0.06, ns.; Rape Proclivity, t(41) = 0.55, ns.

Table 5.5: Means (standard deviations) by High and Low Masculinity groups for all variables.

| Variable | High Masculinity (n=23) | Low Masculinity (n=22) |
|---|---|---|
| ACBS | 3.40 (0.90) | 3.05 (0.72) |
| IRMS | 2.46 (0.89) | 2.36 (0.95) |
| Arousal index | 2.77 (0.99) | 2.94 (0.81) |
| Enjoyment index | 2.09 (0.94) | 1.92 (0.78) |
| Behavioural inclination index | 1.81 (0.91) | 1.82 (0.70) |
| Rape proclivity index | 1.27 (0.69) | 1.38 (0.69) |

However, there was a similar pattern of correlation results in this study compared with Studies 1 and 2 with the MRNS and both the attitude measures and the feelings and behavioural indices (see Table 5.6). That is, the High Masculinity group demonstrated lower correlations (4 out of 6 were negative correlations) compared to the Low Masculinity group.

Table 5.6: Correlations of MRNS with ACBS, IRMS and the four indices by High and Low Masculinity groups.

| Variables | High Masculinity (n=23) | Low Masculinity (n=22) |
|---|---|---|
| ACBS | -0.235 | 0.395 |
| IRMS | -0.053 | 0.511* |
| Arousal | 0.082 | 0.089 |
| Enjoyment | -0.239 | 0.426 |
| Behavioural inclination | -0.111 | 0.198 |
| Rape Proclivity | 0.118 | 0.380 |

*$p<0.05$ (two-tailed)

Again, in an effort to interpret this pattern of correlations, the sample was divided into three masculinity groups, High, Medium and Low.

*High/Medium/Low Masculinity Groups.*

It was predicted that those participants who were rated as the Medium Masculinity group would score higher on the attitudinal (ACBS and IRMS) and feelings (Arousal and Enjoyment) measures than both the High and Low Masculinity groups. It was also predicted that there would be a linear pattern of results on the behavioural inclination measures (Behavioural inclination and Rape Proclivity). The three groups were created by way of the mean scores on the MRNS. The High Masculinity group was composed of scores with a mean greater than 4.29, the Medium Masculinity scores ranged between 3.55 and 4.29 and the Low Masculinity group scores were less than 3.55. The mean scores for both the attitudinal measures and the feelings indices were all as predicted (see Table 5.7). However, for the Behavioural Inclination index the pattern was not as predicted, i.e. linear. The Medium Masculinity group had a higher mean score than both the High and Low Masculinity groups. For Rape Proclivity, there was no difference between the groups.

Table 5.7: Means (standard deviations) for the attitudinal measures and behavioural indices for the High, Medium and Low Masculinity groups.

| Variable | High Masculinity (n = 15) | Medium Masculinity (n = 15) | Low Masculinity (n = 15) |
|---|---|---|---|
| ACBS | 3.23 (0.58) | **3.54 (1.03)** | 2.91 (0.74) |
| IRMS | 2.34 (0.73) | **2.90 (1.17)** | 1.99 (0.51) |
| Arousal | 2.76 (0.95) | **2.91 (0.94)** | 2.88 (0.87) |
| Enjoyment | 2.02 (0.86) | **2.31 (0.86)** | 1.64 (0.78) |
| Behavioural inclination | 1.69 (0.75) | **2.07 (0.91)** | 1.69 (0.76) |
| Rape Proclivity | 1.32 (0.82) | **1.33 (0.49)** | 1.33 (0.64) |

One-way ANOVAs showed a significant effect of masculinity for the IRMS only, $F(2,42) = 4.38$, $p = 0.02$. Post-hoc analysis (Fisher LSD) showed that there was a significant difference between the Medium and Low Masculinity groups ($p=0.005$) which replicated the finding in Study 1. Although there was no significant main effect of masculinity on the other indices, it should be noted that the Medium Masculinity group's mean scores were higher than the High and Low Masculinity groups across all the variables, except Rape Proclivity. Planned comparisons found significant differences between the Medium Masculinity group and the Low Masculinity group on the ACBS, $t(42) = 2.13$, $p < 0.05$, and the Enjoyment index, $t(39) = 2.12$, $p < 0.05$.

A MANOVA, similar to that in Study 2, comparing a Feelings index (combining the Arousal and Enjoyment indices) and a Behaviour index (combining the Behavioural inclination and Rape Proclivity indices) was carried out (See Table 5.8).

Table 5.8: Means (standard deviations) for the Feelings index and the Behaviour index for the High, Medium and Low Masculinity groups.

| Variable | High Masculinity (n = 15) | Medium Masculinity (n = 15) | Low Masculinity (n = 15) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Feelings index | 2.39 (0.78) | **2.61 (0.83)** | 2.29 (0.77) |
| Behaviour index | 1.57 (0.75) | **1.70 (0.54)** | 1.51 (0.49) |

There was a main within factors effect for Feelings and Behaviour, $F(1,40) = 92.87$, $p < 0.001$. There was no significant effect of masculinity, $F(2,40) = 0.645$, ns, nor was there an interaction, $F(2,40) = 0.198$, ns.

**Discussion.**

This study was designed to a) replicate Studies 1 and 2 but with a different population and b) to rectify the problem of possible demand characteristics, found in Study 1, and the failure to manipulate salience in both Studies 1 and 2.

Firstly, the participants in the present study were different from the previous two studies in terms of socio-economic status. Secondly, the methodological problems noted in the previous studies were addressed, in part, by presenting the MRNS a week before the other studies. However, what was more likely to have caused the problems of possible demand characteristics, and the lack of a salience manipulation effect were, firstly, the cover story was not believed, and, secondly, emphasising, in mixed gender classes, that only male students were required for the studies. In the present study, there was no need for a cover story and participants were drawn from all male classes, thus eliminating any possible salience effect before the materials were presented.

As noted in Study 1, Schwartz and Strack (1981, cited in Bohner et al, 1998) proposed that it is possible to identify causal effects by varying the cognitive accessibility of the hypothetical causal variable. Bohner and his colleagues argued that this causal variable was rape myth acceptance and, in their study, presented, in condition 1, a rape myth scale before other scales and the acquaintance rape scenarios and, in condition 2, the rape myth scale after the acquaintance rape scenarios. They reported that when rape myths were made salient first, the correlations between rape myth acceptance and the behavioural indices were significantly higher than when the rape myths were presented after the scales and scenarios. They argued that rape myths had a causal effect on behavioural inclination.

However, in the present study the order of presentation was not altered.

The ACBS and the IRMS were always presented before the feelings and behavioural inclination indices, and the only difference between the two groups was the masculinity salience manipulation. It has been proposed that attitudes, such as those measured by the ACBS and IRMS, are part of a traditional masculine ideology which allows men to justify the sexual coercion of women (Burt, 1980, Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994). If that were solely the case, one would not expect any differences between the two groups tested in this study. However, in this study, differences were found only when traditional masculinity was made salient. This could be related to 'real-life' contexts, e.g. when on a date, at a club etc., where there are male-female interactions. It was argued, in Studies 1 and 2 that, while the MRNS was a reliable measure of traditional masculinity, it was not a good traditional masculinity salience manipulation because of the highly gendered nature of the ACBS and the IRMS. The salience manipulation used in the present study was itself gendered in that it made salient differences between men and women, not in terms of violence or negative attitudes towards women, but in more general statements relating to men's position in society and male-female stereotypes. Thus, this manipulation was making salient a wider masculine ideology and, it is suggested, traditional masculinity. If we accept that the manipulation was making traditional masculinity salient, and that the MRNS was a reliable measure of masculinity, we can then argue that the present study has demonstrated a relationship between traditional masculinity and attitudes which are derogatory of women and serve to justify sexual coercion. It has also demonstrated a relationship between traditional masculinity and behavioural inclination to be coercive.

Although the mean scores for the masculinity salient condition were not significantly higher than the non-salient condition, the effect of the salience manipulation was apparent in the regression analyses. There were significant differences between the masculinity salient and non-salient conditions on the relationship between both the attitude measures and the indices of Arousal and Behavioural inclination. There were no significant differences with the Enjoyment index (as in Study 2). This non-significant difference could be due to the fact that sexual coercion has nothing to do with enjoyment, as argued in Study 2. In addition, it is important to note that, in the regression analysis with the ABCS and IRMS as predictors, the model accounted for 39% of the variance in the Salient condition for the behavioural inclination to be coercive.

In the previous studies, it was noted that any judgement on the direction of influence was not possible, i.e. whether from traditional masculinity to attitudes and feelings and behavioural inclination or vice-versa. It is suggested that this study has demonstrated that the direction of influence is from traditional masculinity to attitudes and feelings and behavioural inclination. Only when traditional masculinity was made salient was there a significant relationship between attitudes justifying coercion and the inclination to be coercive.

*High and Low Masculinity Groups.*

These results were contrary to Study 2 (Behavioural inclination) where there were significant differences in all the scenario indices between the High and Low Masculinity groups, but were in line with Study 1 (Attitudes) where there were no significant differences between the groups on the attitude scales. However, this might be explained by the median split in the samples. There was a

higher median on MRNS for FE students (3.89 compared to 3.20) than for the university students in Study 2 (scenarios) but a similar MRNS median split in this study and Study 1 (3.89 compared to 3.81). Alternatively, as highlighted by the pattern of correlations with the High and Low Masculinity groups, the argument for considering three traditional masculinity groups is reinforced. That is, there are participants at the borders of both the High and Low Masculinity groups who score higher on all the measures than those at either the very high or low ends of the MRNS scale. This alternative explanation is supported by the results when we consider three traditional masculinity groups.

*High/Medium/Low Masculinity Groups.*

As noted earlier, the pattern of correlations for the High and Low masculinity groups was the same as those in Studies 1 and 2. That is the High masculinity group showed low or negative correlations between the MRNS and all the indices compared to the higher and positive correlations for the Low Masculinity group. In Studies 1 and 2, the Medium Masculinity mean scores were higher on the attitude measures and on the Arousal and Enjoyment indices, but not on the Behavioural inclination and Rape Proclivity indices. In the present study the Medium Masculinity group's means on all measures were higher than the High and Low Masculinity groups. However, most of the differences were non-significant. As with Study 2, there was significant difference between the Feelings index and the Behaviour index. However, in this study, the Medium Masculinity group scored higher than the other two groups on both Feelings and Behaviour. Despite that, all three traditional masculinity groups, while they may have feelings

related to being coercive, are significantly less likely to say that they would be inclined to act coercively.

The results of the present study have demonstrated a more interesting but still inconclusive pattern of results in relation to the three traditional masculinity groups, in that, the Medium Masculinity group scored higher than the other two groups on behavioural inclination. The results of this study, which set out to address the methodological problems reported for Studies 1 and 2, may provide a better picture in relation to the three traditional masculinity groups. However, while the Medium Masculinity group hold more to coercive attitudes and to the inclination to be coercive, we must be careful not to read too much into this as there were only three significant results relating to differences between the Medium and Low Masculinity groups.

**Chapter Summary.**

In the present study, the masculinity salience manipulation had a significant influence on the present study's results which has helped clarify the picture regarding the relationship between traditional masculinity and negative attitudes towards women and behavioural inclination to be sexually coercive. The results have given further and more concrete support to the premise, the first part of our paradox, that there is a relationship between traditional masculinity and sexual coercion.

The most important point which has come out of this study is that, when traditional masculinity is made salient, the relationship between attitudes which are negative to women and indices of behavioural inclination towards coercive behaviour are significant. This relationship is significantly different compared to

the condition where traditional masculinity was not made salient. In addition, it has been demonstrated that the direction of influence is from traditional masculinity to attitudes and behavioural inclination. However, this does not appear to be a simple monotonic relationship, but supports the notion of different notions of traditional masculinity, suggested in Studies 1 and 2. As with the previous studies, there was an interesting pattern of results in relation to the Medium Masculinity group. This group showed higher mean scores across all dependent measures, but as noted these results should be treated with caution.

Over the three studies we have found support for the first part of our paradox, that traditional masculinity is an ideology to which people subscribe that influences behaviour but that the relationship between traditional masculinity and sexual coercion is more complex than initially proposed. We have shown that it is more useful to consider three traditional masculinity groups rather than just two groups and that there is not a linear relationship between traditional masculinity and sexual coercion. While there is not a linear relationship we have shown that there is still a very important relationship with different traditional masculinities and sexual coercion. We have proposed that the Medium Masculinity group might be considered as an 'insecure' masculinity. However, this notion of an 'insecure' masculinity is still problematic and will be considered further in Chapter 7, where we will argue that is better to look at an Ideal-Actual masculinity discrepancy. That is, we will argue that it is participants who perceive themselves (Actual) as less masculine than they feel they should be (Ideal) are our 'insecure' masculinity group.

However, having presented evidence to support the first part of our paradox and before we consider further our notion of an 'insecure' masculinity, it

is now necessary to consider the second part of the paradox, that the enactment

of sexual coercion undermines traditional masculinity.

# Chapter 6: Undermining Masculinity: Perceptions of men who are sexually coercive.

*GM: "What do you think of men who are violent towards their wives or girlfriends?"*

*Tony: "I think they must be wound up or something and they're taking it out on someone which is weaker than themselves and they know they can take it out on them which is really just another form of bullying. Wherever it be a woman or man as they know that person is physically, probably mentally weaker. I think they're weak themselves"*

*GM: "What about guys who commit rape, how do you see them?"*

*Tony: "As scum....I think there is something missing in that bloke's head or something."*

## Introduction.

The previous chapters have presented confirming evidence for the first part of our paradox. They have shown that there is a relationship between traditional masculinity and sexual coercion, when traditional masculinity is made salient. The studies have also shown an interesting pattern of results when we looked at the three masculinity groups. We have shown that there is not a linear relationship between traditional masculinity and sexual coercion. It is not those who most endorse traditional masculinity who endorse attitudes supportive of sexual coercion and the inclination to be coercive, but it is those who we have described as being 'insecure' in their traditional masculinity.

In the present chapter, we shall consider whether there is evidence of the second part of our proposed paradox: that the enactment of sexual coercion undermines masculinity. More specifically, the study presented was designed to investigate perceptions of men who engage in sexual coercion, and, as has been

argued earlier, it is proposed that men who engage in sexual coercion will be perceived as less masculine, as not real men. It is also proposed that their behaviour will be perceived negatively, as not the behaviour of real men.

It was also decided to consider whether the relationship between the man and the woman would have an effect on the perceptions of masculinity and behaviour. It could be argued that where the man and the woman are in an intimate relationship, there should be no misinterpretation about whether a woman wishes to engage in sex or not. Consequently, the man might be perceived as less masculine if he forces a woman to have sex. On the other hand, in an acquaintance situation, there may be a greater possibility of a man misinterpreting what the woman is saying (Muir, 1994). That is, participants may buy into the notion that 'no' means 'maybe' or even 'yes', and the man, therefore, is perceived as being more masculine and his behaviour as that of a typical man.

Finally, it was decided to consider our three masculinity groups. In the previous studies, the Medium Masculinity group was more accepting of attitudes justifying the coercion of women and more inclined to be coercive. However, if our notion of a paradox is to hold, then all participants, including the Medium Masculinity group would, irrespective of their adherence to a traditional masculinity, perceive a man who engages in coercion as less masculine.

Six scenarios of sexual interaction, which varied by relationship (acquaintance/intimate) and by level of coercion (force/ignore/accept), were developed and piloted for this study. Acquaintance relationships were made clear by intimating that the man and woman had 'met before' or 'knew each other from work'. The intimate relationship was made clear in the scenarios by showing that the man and woman were in a long-standing relationship, e.g. 'recently moved in

together'. The levels of coercion were 'force', in which the man physically forces the woman to have sex. The level 'ignore' involved the man ignoring the woman's clear message that she doesn't want sex and continuing to have sex with her, and the level 'accept' involves scenarios where the man intimates that he wants sex but when the woman says no he accepts her refusal.

After each scenario, participants were presented with 12 questions relating to the man in the scenario and his behaviour. These questions related to 5 indices – masculinity, likeability, typicality, excusability and acceptability (see Appendix V for scenarios and questions).

*Hypotheses.*

It was predicted that participants would perceive the man in the scenarios as more masculine and his behaviours as more positive where he accepted the woman's refusal to engage in intercourse. In the scenario, where the man used physical force he would be perceived as least masculine and his behaviours as most negative and somewhere in between but still less masculine when the man ignored the woman's refusal.

It was also predicted that participants would perceive the man as less masculine and be more negative about his behaviour in the Intimate relationship condition for Force and Ignore than in the Acquaintance relationship condition and would be more positive in the Accept condition.

Finally, it was predicted that there would be no difference (a null hypothesis) between the three traditional masculinity groups on their perceptions of masculinity and behaviour across the three levels of force.

**Method.**

*Participants.*

54 male students, attending the University of St. Andrews, participated in this study. Only 24 completed both parts of the study. The mean age of the students was 20.56 years, ranging from 17 to 46 years. No payment was made.

*Materials.*

The Male Role Norm Scale (Thompson & Pleck, 1986) was presented as a measure of participant masculinity.

Six scenarios followed by 12 questions after each scenario (see Appendix V), measuring the perceived masculinity (4 items) and likeability (2 items) of the man together with measures of the typicality (2 items), acceptability (2 items) and excusability (2 items) of the man's behaviour. All measures were scored on a 7 point Likert-type scale where 1 = 'not at all agree', 4 = moderately agree' and 7 = 'very much agree'. The four items measuring perceived masculinity were combined to form a 'Perceived masculinity' index. The typicality, acceptability and excusability items were combined to form a 'Behaviour' index.

*Design.*

Participants were presented with all conditions.

The study was a) within-subjects varied by relationship (acquaintance/intimate) and by level of coercion (force/ignore/accept), and b) between subject on masculinity (High/Medium/Low).

*Procedure.*

Participants were recruited from mixed gender Psychology laboratory classes and asked to remain behind if they wished to participate. The Male Role Norm Scale was presented to participants one week before the other measures, and was presented as part of a larger project, involving other students in Fife, and looking at male norms. It was presented a week before as an unrelated study to avoid the possibility of demand characteristics. Participants were asked to write their names, ages and parents' occupations on the front cover of the questionnaire. This was to enable the matching-up of masculinity scores with the other measures. A week later, the participants were presented with the six scenarios and the questions relating to each scenario. It was explained to participants that the study was about issues related to sexual coercion. Again they were asked to write their names and ages on the front cover of the booklet. Participants completed the questionnaires in groups, ranging from 4 to 8 in number, and were seated at separate, well-spaced desks, to ensure privacy. On both occasions, confidentiality was assured and emphasised. Each participant was provided with a plain envelope for their questionnaire, which they deposited in a box. It was emphasised both on the questionnaires and verbally by the researcher, that participants were under no obligation to complete the questionnaires and could stop at any time. They were also advised at the end of the session, by way of a debriefing sheet, the purpose of the study, the phone number of the researcher for further information. They were also provided with the phone numbers of the University's Student Support Service and Fife Zero Tolerance, a sexual coercion advice and information service. They were further advised that, after reading the debriefing sheet, they could withhold their responses.

**Results.**

The scores of all items on the MRNS were averaged to provide each participant's masculinity score. Scores on the Perceived masculinity and Behaviour indices were also averaged for each of the six scenarios. Cronbach's alpha was calculated for the MRNS and the combined indices of Perceived masculinity and Behaviour.

Within subjects ANOVAs (relationship * level of coercion) were calculated to test the first hypothesis that participants would perceive the man in the scenarios as more masculine and his behaviours as more positive where he accepted the woman's refusal to engage in intercourse. These also tested whether the man who used physical force would be perceived as least masculine and his behaviours as most negative, and somewhere in between when the man ignored the woman's refusal. These analyses also tested the second hypothesis that participants would perceive the man as less masculine and be more negative about his behaviour in the Intimate relationship condition for Force and Ignore than in the Acquaintance relationship condition and would be more positive in the Accept condition. In addition, the Acquaintance and Intimate scores for each level of coercion for perceived masculinity and behaviour were averaged and Paired Samples t-tests were calculated.

To test the third hypothesis, between subjects one-way ANOVAs for the three masculinity groups were conducted on the Perceived masculinity and Behaviour indices for each of the scenarios. It was predicted that there would be no difference between the three groups on both perceived masculinity and behaviour.

*Scales.*

The MRNS had a satisfactory Cronbach $\alpha = 0.89$. The Perceived Masculinity index (4 items) had Cronbach $\alpha$s ranging from 0.68 to 0.86 across the six scenarios. The Behaviour index had Cronbach $\alpha$s ranging from 0.78 to 0.93 across the six scenarios. The indices were considered to be satisfactory measures of perceived masculinity and perceived behaviour.

*Perceived Masculinity and Behaviour.*

It was predicted that participants would perceive the man in the scenarios as more masculine and his behaviours as more positive where he accepted the woman's refusal to engage in intercourse. Where the man used physical force, he would be perceived as least masculine and his behaviours as most negative, and somewhere in between when the man ignored the woman's refusal. That is, there would be a main effect for level of coercion. It was also predicted that participants would perceive the man as less masculine and be more negative about his behaviour in the Intimate relationship condition for Force and Ignore than in the Acquaintance relationship condition and would be more positive in the Accept condition. That is, that there would be a main effect of relationship

For Perceived Masculinity, a within-subjects ANOVA showed a non-significant main effect of relationship, $F(1,53) = 0.92$, ns. There was a significant main effect of level of coercion, $F(1.29,68.29) = 313.90$, $p<0.0001$. Since Mauchly's Test of Sphericity was significant, the more conservative Greenhouse-Geisser test is reported. There was also a significant interaction, $F(1.98,104.73) = 3.26$, $p<0.05$. The lower the mean scores the less masculine the man is perceived (See Table 6.1).

Table 6.1: Means (SDs) of Perceived Masculinity index for all 6 scenarios by relationship and level of coercion (n = 54).

| Variables | Acquaintance | Intimate | Overall |
|---|---|---|---|
| Force | 2.07 (1.04) | 2.34 (0.94) | 2.20 (0.91) |
| Ignore | 2.52 (1.02) | 2.35 (0.99) | 2.44 (0.91) |
| Accept | 5.45 (0.84) | 5.53 (0.85) | 5.49 (0.72) |

Post-hoc analysis on levels of coercion showed significant differences (Bonferroni t) for all pairings at $p<0.01$ except for Intimate Force/Ignore, which was non-significant.

In terms of the significant interaction, there was a significant difference ($p<0.05$) between Acquaintance Force and Ignore with perceived masculinity being lower in the Force condition. However, in the Intimate condition, there was no difference in the mean scores between Force and Ignore.

Paired samples t-tests on the overall means, Acquaintance and Intimate combined scores, showed significant differences for all pairings.

Force/Ignore: $t(53) = 3.11$, $p<0.01$.

Force/Accept: $t(53) = 18.87$, $p<0.001$.

Ignore/Accept: $t(53) = 18.12$, $p<0.001$.

For the Perceived Behaviour index, a within subjects ANOVA showed significant main effects of relationship, $F(1,53) = 18.05$, $p<0.001$ and of level of coercion, $F(1.35,71.50) = 487.76$, $p<0.001$. There was no significant interaction. Since Mauchly's Test of Sphericity was significant, the more conservative Greenhouse-Geisser test is reported. The lower the mean scores the more negative the perception of behaviour (see Table 6.2).

Table 6.2: Means (SDs) of Behaviour index for all 6 scenarios by relationship and level of coercion (n = 54).

| Variables | Acquaintance | Intimate | Overall |
|---|---|---|---|
| Force | 1.70 (0.81) | 1.66 (0.63) | 1.68 (0.63) |
| Ignore | 2.21 (0.84) | 1.86 (0.83) | 2.04 (0.74) |
| Accept | 5.64 (0.84) | 5.25 (0.98) | 5.44 (0.80) |

Post-hoc analysis on levels of coercion showed significant differences (Bonferroni t) for all pairings at $p<0.01$ except for Intimate Force/Ignore, which was non-significant.

Post-hoc analysis on relationship produced significant differences (Bonferroni t) for Acquaintance/Intimate Ignore ($p<0.01$) and Acquaintance/Intimate Accept ($p<0.05$) but was non-significant for Acquaintance/Intimate Force.

Paired samples t-tests on the overall means, Acquaintance and Intimate combined scores, showed significant differences for all pairings.

Force/Ignore: $t(53) = 4.68$, $p<0.001$.

Force/Accept: $t(53) = 26.16$, $p<0.001$.

Ignore/Accept: $t(53) = 20.93$, $p<0.001$.

*High/Medium/Low Masculinity Groups.*

It was predicted that, if our paradox was to hold, there would be no difference between the three traditional masculinity groups on perceptions of masculinity and behaviour for the three levels of coercion.

The three traditional masculinity groups were created by way of the mean scores on the MRNS. This tertiary split, as discussed in Chapter 5, was employed

to create groups with approximately even numbers and, thus, aid the statistical analysis. The High masculinity group was composed of scores with a mean greater than 3.47, the Medium masculinity scores ranged between 3.06 and 3.47 and the Low masculinity group scores were less than 3.06.

One-way ANOVAs for the three masculinity groups on each of the three levels of force for the Perceived masculinity and Behaviour indices across all six scenarios produced the following results.

For Perceived Masculinity, there was no main effect for the three masculinity groups on any of the levels of coercion:

Force – $F(2,21) = 0.11$, ns; Ignore – $F(2,21) = 0.11$, ns; Accept – $F(2,21) = 0.41$, ns.

The mean scores for each level of coercion were for the mean of the acquaintance and intimate scores combined. The lower the mean scores the less masculine the man is perceived (See Table 6.3).

Table 6.3 Means (SD) for High/Medium/Low Masculinity groups for the three levels of coercion(n = 8 for each group) on Perceived masculinity index.

| Variables | High Masculinity | Medium Masculinity | Low Masculinity |
|---|---|---|---|
| Force | 2.05 (0.77) | 2.22 (0.58) | 2.16 (0.84) |
| Ignore | 2.45 (0.42) | 2.28 (0.70) | 2.39 (0.96) |
| Accept | 5.47 (0.97) | 5.34 (0.32) | 5.67 (0.75) |

For the Perceived Behaviour index, there was no significant main effect of masculinity on any of the levels of coercion:

Force – $F(2,21) = 0.96$, ns; Ignore – $F(2,21) = 0.29$, ns; Accept – $F(2,21) = 0.88$, ns.

The mean scores for each level of coercion were for the mean of the acquaintance and intimate scores combined. The lower the mean scores the more negative the perception of behaviour (see Table 6.4).

Table 6.4: Means (SD) for High/Medium/Low Masculinity groups for the three levels of coercion (n = 8 for each group) on Behaviour index.

| Variables | High Masculinity | Medium Masculinity | Low Masculinity |
|---|---|---|---|
| Force | 1.56 (0.71) | 1.92 (0.44) | 1.60 (0.51) |
| Ignore | 1.98 (0.76) | 2.15 (0.59) | 1.89 (0.73) |
| Accept | 5.52 (0.99) | 5.35 (0.61) | 5.55 (0.88) |

**Discussion.**

This study was designed to consider the second half of our paradox that the enactment of sexual coercion undermines masculinity. More specifically, the study presented was designed to investigate perceptions of men who engage in sexual coercion.

*Perceived Masculinity and Behaviour.*

It was predicted that men who engage in sexual coercion would be perceived as less masculine, as not real men, and that their behaviour would be perceived negatively, as not the behaviour of real men. It was also predicted that participants would perceive the man as less masculine and be more negative about his behaviour in the Intimate relationship condition for Force and Ignore than in the Acquaintance relationship condition and would be more positive in the Accept condition.

*Perceived Masculinity.*

For the Perceived masculinity index, there was a main effect of level of coercion in the predicted direction, i.e. the man was perceived as least masculine in the Force condition, then the Ignore condition and then the Accept condition. Post-hoc analysis showed that the differences were significant for all pairings with the exception of Intimate Force and Ignore (see later).

Overall, however, as predicted participants perceived the man as least masculine man in the scenario when he used force to have sex with the woman. In the ignore condition, while still perceiving the man as not masculine participants were slightly less negative than in the force condition. Also, as predicted, participants were positive in their perceptions of the man's masculinity in the accept condition. The mean differences between both the force and ignore conditions and the accept condition were large, ranging from approximately 2 (not at all masculine) to over 5 (very masculine), on a seven point scale.

While there was no significant effect for relationship, there was an interaction. In the Acquaintance condition, there was a significant difference between the Force and Ignore conditions, but, in the Intimate condition, there was no difference in the mean scores between Force and Ignore. Why was there no difference in the Intimate relationship? It could be that, in the Intimate scenarios, Ignore is perceived as being the same as Force because the man should understand the meaning of a refusal and that when the woman says 'no' she means 'no'. Consequently, the man might be perceived as less masculine, if he forces the woman to have sex but also when he ignores the woman's wish not to have sex. Another possible explanation might be that there was not equivalence in the wording of the scenarios in relation to Acquaintance/Intimate, Force/Ignore (see

Appendix V for wording of scenarios). In the Intimate Force and Ignore scenarios, the woman cries, and this may have had an effect on participants' perceptions, in that, they perceived the situations as equivalent. However, in relation to the Acquaintance Force and Ignore scenarios there was no mention of crying and, it may be that the difference between Force and Ignore was more apparent without the possible emotive term 'crying'. Nevertheless, as we noted earlier, in the Acquaintance condition there may be a greater possibility of a man misinterpreting what the woman is saying and buy into the idea that 'no' means 'maybe' or even 'yes'.

However, the main point is that a man, who uses force to have sex or who ignores a woman's wishes and continues to have sex against her wishes, is perceived as less masculine than a man who accepts her wishes. In addition, this applies irrespective of whether the relationship is acquaintance or intimate.

*Perceived Behaviour.*

For the Perceived Behaviour index, there were significant main effects for relationship and level of coercion as predicted.

In terms of the level of coercion, the man's behaviour was perceived most negatively in the force condition, then in the ignore condition and as positive in the accept condition. Post-hoc analysis showed that the differences were significant for all pairings, irrespective of relationship.

In terms of relationship, there was no difference between the acquaintance relationship mean score and the intimate relationship in the force condition. While it was predicted that there would be a difference, and the difference was in the predicted direction, i.e. the Acquaintance mean score was higher, it is important

that the man's behaviour was perceived most negatively when he used force to have sex. The difference in relationship means in the ignore condition was significant and as predicted. That is, the man's behaviour was perceived less negatively in the acquaintance relationship. As argued earlier, this may be related to the possibility of the man misinterpreting what the woman is saying in an acquaintance situation, and that the man's behaviour is more typical and acceptable than would be the case in an intimate relationship. Nevertheless, in both relationships the means are low and participants are not condoning the behaviour, that is, they still perceive the behaviour negatively, as not the behaviour of a typical man. In the accept condition, it was predicted that the mean score in the acquaintance relationship would be lower than in the intimate relationship. However, the mean scores were in the opposite direction. That is, the man's behaviour was perceived less positively in the intimate relationship might be explained by participants' perception that, in an intimate relationship, the man has 'rights' and the woman was challenging those rights. Hence, just accepting the woman's refusal of his 'rights' is not perceived as positive behaviour. The notion, that a challenge to who one is as a man, will be investigated and discussed in later chapters.

However, and most importantly, participants perceived the man's behaviour most negatively in the scenario when he used force to have sex with the woman. In the Ignore condition, while still perceiving the behaviour negatively participants were slightly less negative than in the force condition. Also, as predicted, participants were positive in their perceptions of the man's behaviour in the Accept condition. As with the results for perceived masculinity, the difference

in the mean scores between the force and ignore conditions and the accept condition were large and significant.

*High/Medium/Low Masculinity groups.*

It was predicted that, if our paradox was to hold, there would be no difference between the three masculinity groups on perceptions of masculinity and behaviour for the three levels of coercion. That is, even our High Masculinity group and, particularly our Medium Masculinity group, who we have shown hold more to a traditional masculine ideology, would perceive the man in the force and ignore conditions as not masculine.

This null hypothesis was upheld for both the Perceived masculinity index and the Behaviour index. The important point is that all participants, including what we have termed our 'insecure' masculinity group, perceived the man in both the Force and Ignore conditions as less masculine than in the Accept condition. They also perceive his behaviour more negatively, as not the behaviour of a typical man, more in the Force and Ignore conditions than in the Accept condition. These results reinforce our notion of a paradox, in that our 'insecure' masculinity group, who have been shown to endorse attitudes which support coercion and to be more inclined to be coercive, are equally negative in their perceptions of men who are coercive as the other masculinity groups.

**Chapter Summary.**

This study was designed to address the second half our paradox, that the enactment of sexual coercion undermines masculinity. More specifically it was designed to investigate perceptions of men who engage in sexual coercion, and it

was proposed that men who engage in sexual coercion would be perceived as less masculine, as not real men. It was also proposed that their behaviour would be perceived negatively, as not the behaviour of real men.

Overall, the results supported our predictions. While there were some differences in terms of whether the relationship was Acquaintance or Intimate, the important point to come out of this study was that, a man who forces a woman to have sex was perceived as not masculine and his behaviour as not that of a real man. In addition, when a man ignores a woman's plea that she doesn't want to have sex, he is also perceived as not a real man and his behaviour is perceived negatively. And finally, when the man accepts the woman's refusal to have sex, he is perceived as more masculine and his behaviour as that of a real man.

In terms of the three traditional masculinity groups, it is important that there were no differences between the Medium Masculinity group and the High and Low Masculinity groups. That is, the Medium Masculinity group, which we have shown in the previous studies hold to a more traditional ideology of masculinity in that they scored higher on coercive attitudes and on the inclination to be coercive, also perceive men who are coercive as less masculine.

While the results support the second half of our paradox, the paradox is not as straightforward as originally predicted. That is, it is not those who most endorse traditional masculinity who endorse attitudes supportive of sexual coercion and the inclination to be coercive, but it is those who we have described as being 'insecure' in their masculinity. This will be investigated further in the following chapter with a survey study that allows us to consider both sides of the paradox with the same sample.

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**A statistical note.**

Before going on to consider the survey study presented in the following chapter, it is necessary to consider the issue of power and sample size in relation to the first four studies presented.

Experimental results have traditionally been concerned with attempting to avoid Type I errors, i.e., saying that there is a difference between means when there is none. However, this ignores the other, equally important, possibility of Type II errors, i.e. saying that there is no difference between means when there is one.

In seeking to reduce the likelihood of making a Type I error, by reducing the alpha level and being prepared to tolerate less inferential uncertainty, the chances of making a Type II error are increased. To deal with the possibility of a Type II error, it is acknowledged that one should consider the notion of power, in that the more powerful an experiment, the less chance there is of making a Type II error. To increase the power of an experiment, the three most common methods are a) to increase the alpha, b) to use the most powerful test suitable for the data collected, and c) to increase the sample size.

In the studies presented to date, the tests conducted on the data were the most suitable and powerful tests for that data. In terms of the alpha, the normal convention of 0.05 was employed. To increase the power of the experiments it would have been possible to increase the level of alpha but this would increase the possibility of a Type I error. Therefore, the remaining alternative would be to increase the sample size.

It is acknowledged that in the studies presented to date that the sample sizes were on the margins, or in one case below the margin, of being acceptable.

For a between subjects t-test, with an alpha of 0.05 and an effect size of 0.80 (see Howell, 1992, pp. 207-209 for a discussion of sample size and effect size), the total sample size should be 49. Studies 1 and 2 were 41 and 34 respectively, and for Studies 3 and 4 were 57 and 54. These sample sizes, with the exception of Study 2 were acceptable for the t-tests and correlations carried out but were inadequate when the samples were split into the three masculinity groups. There was, therefore, the possibility of Type II errors, i.e., not finding a difference when there is one. Nevertheless, the fact that we did still find some significant differences between groups is important to note.

In addition, as we shall see in the following study, which had a sample of 359, the pattern of results was similar to the pattern of the first four studies and supports our interpretation of the findings in those studies. So let us now consider the survey study.

# Chapter 7: The Paradox and Insecure Masculinity.

*Mark: "I'm not proud of that. That is down on my record as domestic. He's a woman beater, that's not good. I have no respect. I don't want to talk to no one."*

## Introduction.

Up to this point, four studies have been presented which have provided support for the notion of a paradox in terms of the relationship between traditional masculinity and sexual coercion. We have presented evidence showing that traditional masculinity is associated with the inclination to be sexually coercive, that there is a traditional ideology of masculinity which people internalise and which, when salient, influences their behaviour. On the other hand, we have demonstrated that the actual expression of sexual coercion undermines this traditional notion of masculinity. That is, men who engage in sexual coercion are perceived as less masculine, as not real men. However, while the results endorse the notion of a paradox, it is slightly different to what we originally envisaged. Rather than it being the case that men who most endorse traditional masculinity being those who most endorse coercion against women, it is those in the Medium Masculinity group, in terms of endorsing traditional masculinity, who are most inclined to be coercive. That is, a group which we have posited as being 'insecure' in their masculinity. Nevertheless, this 'insecure' masculinity group is as likely as any others to see that coercion undermines their already insecure masculinity.

This chapter presents data collected from a survey, designed by the author[15] for the University of St. Andrews Student Welfare Office, which was sent out to approximately 4,000 undergraduate and postgraduate students at the University of St. Andrews. A total of 1,055 students responded (696 female and 359 male). The data presented here relate only to the responses of the male students. The survey had questions relating, *inter alia*, to the incidence of sexual coercion, drug taking, sexual harassment and to general satisfaction with University life. The survey provided us with unique opportunities, firstly, to draw together the previous four studies and present both sides of the paradox to the same sample rather than presenting separate studies to different groups of students. Secondly, it allowed us to consider whether the paradox held good for coercion more generally rather than just sexual coercion. Thirdly, we were able to consider the notion of an 'insecure' masculinity more directly by looking at an Ideal-Actual masculinity difference (see below).

The survey included two sections relating to the current research. Because the overall survey was comprehensive, and therefore quite long, it was necessary to keep the sections relating to the present research as short as possible. Participants were presented with two sub-scales from the Attitudes to Coercive Behaviours Scale (Women's Behaviour precipitates coercion and Men's Right to Control). These two sub-scales were chosen because they are at the core of the ACBS scale. Participants were also presented with the Tough sub-scale of the Male Role Norm scale as a measure of Tough Ideal (what I should be like). The Tough sub-scale was used because it measures 'expectations that men should be

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[15] Thanks are due to Louise Fitzgerald of the University of Illinois, Champiagn-Urbana for giving permission to use some items developed by her and her colleagues for a survey at the University of Illinois.

mentally, emotionally, and physically tough and self-reliant' (Thompson & Pleck, 1986: 534) and contains several items which refer to a willingness to be violent. These items were then reworded and presented as a measure of Tough Actual (what I am like).

In the second section, participants were presented with three scenarios which varied by level of coercion (physical, verbal and agree). The first scenario (physical coercion) read as follows, *'You see a man have an argument with his girlfriend in a club. He is upset because he has told her he wants to leave, but she tells him she wants to stay and continue dancing. He then starts slapping her across the face and pulling her towards the door'*. In the second scenario (verbal coercion), only the final sentence changed and read, *'He then starts screaming violent abuse at her and telling her she has to leave with him'*. Finally, the last sentence of the third scenario (agrees) read, *'In the end he agrees to stay at the club'*. After each scenario, participants were presented with questions relating to their perceptions of the masculinity of the man in the scenario (See Appendix VI). They were also asked whether they would intervene in the situation or not. The data on intervention will not be presented or discussed as it was peripheral to the main aims of the current research project.

While the scenarios presented in the survey were not of sexually coercive interactions (acquaintance or intimate rape), as in the previous chapter, they did present coercive behaviours (slapping and verbal abuse). As was stated in the introduction to the thesis (Chapter 1), sexual coercion was defined as being on a continuum ranging from sexual harassment through domestic violence to rape and murder. Therefore, it is proposed that the scenarios presented in the survey were

related to and indeed extend the arguments regarding our paradox by relating them to coercion more generally and not just sexual coercion.

As argued earlier, it was proposed that our Medium Masculinity group, who scored higher on attitudes supportive of coercion and on the inclination to be coercive, was suggestive of an 'insecure' masculinity. That is, it is a group of participants that feel they should be more masculine than they actually are. It was decided to address this notion of an 'insecure' masculinity more directly by considering an Ideal-Actual masculinity difference. It is proposed that those participants who score lower on Tough Actual (what I am like) than on Tough Ideal (what I should be like) are our 'insecure' masculinity group. That is, they feel they should be masculine but don't actually live up to that, and they perceive themselves as less masculine than they would like to be.

We have shown in our previous studies that, what we have termed our 'insecure' masculinity group, i.e. the Medium Masculinity group, was more accepting of attitudes justifying the coercion of women and more inclined to be coercive. It is, therefore, reasonable to consider that, in the present study, the group in which the Tough Actual score was less than the Tough Ideal score (our insecure masculinity group) would score higher on the attitude scales than the other masculinity groups. Based on the findings in the previous study, it is predicted that our 'insecure' masculinity group will be no different from other participants in their perception of a man who is coercive.

*Hypotheses.*

It was predicted that participants would perceive the man as more masculine in the scenario where he agreed to stay at the club with the woman. In the scenario where

he used physical coercion (slapping) he would be perceived as least masculine and, in the scenario where he verbally coerced her, he would still be perceived as not masculine but more masculine than when he used physical coercion.

It was also predicted that the group in which the Tough Actual score was less than the Tough Ideal score (our insecure masculinity group) would score higher on the attitude measures (two sub-scales taken from the Attitudes to Coercive Behaviours Scale) than the other masculinity groups.

Finally, following from the results in the previous chapter, it was predicted that there would be no difference between the 'insecure' group and the other masculinity groups on perceived masculinity for the three levels of coercion.

**Method.**

*Participants.*

359 male students responded anonymously to a University survey. Ages ranged from 17 years to 55 years with a mean age of 21.78 years. 87% were undergraduates and 13% postgraduates. 62% were in the Arts faculty, 37.4% Science Faculty and 0.6% Divinity. Participants were given the chance to enter into a prize draw which they were able to do separately and anonymously.

*Materials.*

Participants completed the Tough sub-scale (5 items – Tough Ideal) of the MRNS, the Women's Behaviour (5 items) and Men's Right to Control (5 items) sub-scales of the ACBS. The Tough sub-scale was also reworded so that participants could record how they perceived themselves (Tough Actual). (See Appendix VI)

Three scenarios, which varied by level of coercion (physical, verbal, agree), were also presented (See Appendix VI). Participants then completed 4 items related to perceptions of the man's masculinity. All scales were scored on a Likert-type 7-point scale, where 1 = 'strongly disagree', 4 = 'moderately agree' and 7 = 'strongly agree'.

*Design.*

Participants were presented with all materials.

The study was a) within subjects with three levels of coercion (physical/verbal/agree) and b) between subjects on three levels of Tough Ideal-Actual difference.

*Procedure.*

The University survey was distributed by student volunteers to approximately 4,000 students both male and female attending the University of St. Andrews. The students were provided with envelopes to return the survey forms either through the University internal mail system or by depositing them into 'letter boxes' in Halls of Residence, the Student Union and the University Library. Participants were requested not to put their names on the survey to ensure anonymity and confidentiality. They were also advised that they did not have to complete the survey and that they could leave blank any sections of the survey which they did not wish to complete.

**Results.**

For the male participants, scores for each of the sub-scales, including Tough Actual, and perceptions of the man's masculinity in each of the three scenarios were averaged. Cronbach's alpha was calculated for each of these measures. The two attitude sub-scales (WB and MRC) correlated 0.78 and were combined to form an Attitude Index.

Paired samples t-tests were calculated for the overall sample to test the first hypothesis that, firstly, participants would perceive the man as more masculine in the scenario where he agreed to stay at the club with the woman. Secondly that, in the scenario where he used physical coercion (slapping), he would be perceived as least masculine and, in the scenario where he verbally coerced her, he would still be perceived as not masculine but more masculine than when he used physical force.

To test the second hypothesis that the insecure masculinity group would score higher on the attitude measures one-way between subjects ANOVAs were calculated on each of the attitude measures. Further one-way between subjects ANOVAs also tested the null hypothesis that there would be no difference between the 'insecure' group and the other masculinity groups on perceived masculinity for each of the three levels of coercion.

*Scales.*

The Cronbach alphas for all scales were satisfactory: Tough Ideal = 0.79; Women's Behaviour = 0.88; Men's Right to Control = 0.83; Attitude Index (WB+MRC) = 0.89; Tough Actual = 0.83; Perceived Masculinity (physical

coercion) = 0.70; Perceived Masculinity (verbal coercion) = 0.74; Perceived Masculinity (agree) = 0.81.

Before considering our hypotheses it should be noted that the correlation between Tough Ideal scores and the Attitude Index (WB+MRC sub-scales) was r = 0.334, p<0.01 which was similar to the correlation of Tough Ideal and the full ACBS in Study 1, which was r = 0.400, p<0.01. That is, there was a significant relationship between a measure which indicates a willingness to be violent with attitudes which justify coercion.

*Perceived Masculinity.*

In relation to the second part of our paradox, it was predicted that participants would perceive the man as more masculine in the scenario where he agreed to stay at the club with the woman. In the scenario where he used physical coercion (slapping) he would be perceived as least masculine and, in the scenario where he verbally coerced her, he would still be perceived as not masculine but more masculine than when he used physical coercion. That is, there would be significant differences between each pair of scenarios.

For Perceived Masculinity, paired samples t-tests, on the overall sample, showed significant differences for all pairings as predicted. The mean score in the physical coercion condition was lowest, then verbal coercion and finally was highest in the agree condition (see Table 7.1). The lower the mean score the lower the perceived masculinity of the man in the scenario.

Table 7.1: Means (SDs) of Perceived Masculinity by level of coercion (n=352)

| Level of coercion | |
|---|---|
| Physical Coercion | 2.24 (1.00) |
| Verbal Coercion | 2.57 (1.07) |
| Agree | 4.93 (1.10) |

Physical Coercion/Verbal Coercion:  $t(349) = 7.95$ , $p<0.001$ .

Physical Coercion/Agree:  $t(351) = 30.08$ , $p<0.001$ .

Verbal Coercion/Agree:  $t(348) = 25.75$ , $p<0.001$ .

*Insecure Masculinity: Attitudes and Perceived Masculinity.*

Before calculating the ANOVAs on attitudes and perceived masculinity, it was decided to set criteria and divide the sample into three masculinity groups. The criterion for the first group (Group 1) was composed of all those participants whose Tough Actual score was less than their Tough Ideal score. This, as argued earlier, is our 'insecure' masculinity group which numbered 82 participants. The remaining participants were divided into two groups, a Moderate Secure group (Group 2) and a High secure group (Group 3). The Ideal/Actual difference for the Moderate Secure group ranged from 0.00 to 1.00, i.e. their Tough Actual score was either the same as or greater than their Tough Ideal score. For the High Secure group, the Tough Actual score was greater than the Tough Ideal score by more than 1.00. These criteria will be maintained for the following chapters.

*Attitudes.*

It was predicted that the group in which the Tough Actual score was less than the Tough Ideal score (our insecure masculinity group) would score higher on the attitude measures than the other masculinity groups.

One-way ANOVAs for the three Tough Ideal/Actual difference groups on the Attitude Index (WB + MRC) and on the two individual sub-scales produced the following results (see Table 7.2 for means)

Table 7.2: Means (SDs) of three Tough Ideal/Actual difference groups for the Attitude Index and the WB and MRC sub-scales.

|  | **Group1 (n=82)** **(Insecure)** | Group 2 (n=169) Moderate Secure | Group 3 (n=104) High Secure |
|---|---|---|---|
| Attitude Index | **2.44 (1.27)** | 2.02 (0.95) | 1.94 (0.84) |
| WB sub-scale | **2.37 (1.42)** | 1.93 (0.99) | 1.87 (0.82) |
| MRC sub-scale | **2.51 (1.26)** | 2.11 (1.03) | 2.00 (0.98) |

The mean scores for the 'Insecure' masculinity were greater than the mean scores for the other groups, as predicted.

There were significant main effects of Group for all three variables.

Attitude Index: $F(2,352) = 6.68$, p= 0.001.

Post-hoc analysis (LSD) showed that the only significant group differences were between Group 1 and the other groups: Group 1-2, p= 0.002; Group 1-3, p= 0.001.

Women's Behaviour sub-scale:  $F(2,352) = 6.24$, p= 0.002.

Again, post-hoc analysis (LSD) showed that the only significant group differences were between Group 1 and the other two groups: Group 1-2, p= 0.002; Group 1-3, p= 0.001.

Men's Right to Control sub-scale: $F(2,352) = 5.63$, p= 0.004.

Similarly, post-hoc analysis (LSD) showed that the only significant group differences were between Group 1 and the other two groups: Group 1-2, p= 0.006; Group 1-3, p= 0.001.


*Perceived Masculinity.*

In relation to perceived masculinity, it was predicted, based on the previous study, that there would be no difference between the 'insecure' group and the other masculinity groups on perceived masculinity for the three levels of coercion.

One-way ANOVAs for the three Tough Ideal/Actual difference groups on perceived masculinity for the three levels of coercion (physical/verbal/agree) produced the following results (see Table 7.3 for means). The lower the mean scores the lower the perceived masculinity of the man in the scenarios.


Table 7.3: Means (SDs) of three Tough Ideal/Actual difference groups for Perceived masculinity on three levels of coercion.

|  | **Group1 (n=80)** **Insecure** | Group 2 (n=166) Moderate Secure | Group 3 (n=102) High Secure |
|---|---|---|---|
| Physical coercion | **2.44 (1.17)** | 2.20 (0.92) | 2.20 (0.99) |
| Verbal coercion | **2.83 (1.24)** | 2.56 (1.00) | 2.39 (0.99) |
| Agree | **4.79 (1.12)** | 4.91 (1.09) | 4.98 (1.18) |


In relation to the Physical coercion condition there was no main effect of Group, $F(2,346) = 1.79$, ns.

There was a significant main effect of Group in the Verbal coercion condition, $F(2,346) = 3.96$, p= 0.02. Post-hoc analysis (LSD) produced a significant

difference between Groups 1 and 3, p= 0.005, and a difference approaching significance between Groups 1 and 2, p= 0.56.

There was no significant main effect of Group for the Agree condition, $F(2,345) = 0.63$, ns. It should be noted that Paired samples t-tests for the Insecure group on condition (level of coercion) were all significant, matching the overall scores.

**Discussion.**

This study, based on data collected from a University survey, was designed to provide further support for our paradox. It was also designed to consider our notion of an 'insecure' masculinity more directly by looking at an Ideal/Actual masculinity difference.

*Attitudes.*

The results of this study lend further support to the first part of our paradox that there is a relationship between traditional masculinity and sexual violence. The present study used the Tough sub-scale of the Male Role Norm Scale. The Tough sub-scale taps into a set of male role norms regarding the use of violence in particular contexts and as such is a more specific and limited measure of 'masculinity', unlike the complete Male Role Norm Scale. This sub-scale indicates that violence is sometimes necessary in particular contexts if a man is to be seen as a man.

There was a significant correlation between the Tough sub-scale and the combined Attitude Index made up of the scores from the two sub-scales. The two sub-scales tap into the ideology that women bring on violence against themselves by their behaviour, and that men have the right to control 'their' woman's

behaviour. These attitudes are similar to those attitudes surrounding rape (rape myths) and as we have seen in Chapter 4, correlate highly with the Illinois Rape Myth Scale. The relationship between the Tough Ideal sub-scale and the attitude measures in this study was similar to that reported in Study 1.

It should also be noted that the Cronbach Alphas for both of the sub-scales of the Attitudes to Coercive Behaviours Scale were highly satisfactory, providing further confirmation of the reliability of the scale.

*Perceived Masculinity.*

In relation to the second part of our paradox, that coercion undermines masculinity, it was predicted that participants would perceive the man as more masculine in the scenario where he agreed to stay at the club with the woman. In the scenario where he used physical coercion (slapping) he would be perceived as least masculine and, in the scenario where he verbally coerced her, he would still be perceived as not masculine but more masculine than when he used physical coercion.

Overall, the results supported our hypothesis. Participants perceived the man as least masculine in the scenario where he physically coerced the woman. They also perceived the man as not masculine in the scenario where he verbally coerced the woman, but not to the same extent as in the physical coercion scenario. In the Agree scenario, where the man accepts the woman's decision not to leave and stays himself, participants were more positive about the man. The differences between the two coercive scenarios and the agree scenario were large, ranging from just over 2 to almost 5 on a 7-point scale, and highly significant. The overall picture, then, supports the second part of our paradox that men who are

coercive are perceived as not masculine, that the enactment of coercion undermines masculinity.

*Insecure Masculinity (Tough Ideal and Actual Differences).*

To investigate the notion of an insecure masculinity, it was decided to look at groups where there was a discrepancy between the Ideal and Actual scores on the Tough sub-scale.

We have argued in previous studies that the Medium Masculinity group, as measured by the MRNS, could be thought of as an 'insecure masculinity' group, i.e. they want to be masculine but feel that they are not. We believed that a way of identifying this group more directly would be to look at discrepancies between participants' Ideal and Actual Tough scores. As well as presenting the Tough sub-scale (Ideal), we presented the same scale but reworded it to tap into how participants saw themselves in terms of toughness (Actual). We have suggested that those participants whose Actual Tough scores were less than their Ideal scores would be our 'insecure masculinity' group. This is a group who see being tough as an ideal to be aspired to but who feel that they themselves do not reach that aspiration, i.e. they want to be tough but don't see themselves as tough.

*Attitudes.*

It was predicted that the 'insecure' masculinity group would score higher on the attitude measures than the other masculinity groups. The results, in the present study, supported this hypothesis. The mean scores for the 'insecure' masculinity group were significantly higher than the two other masculinity groups. That is, a group who see themselves as less tough than they believe they should be

scored higher on attitudes justifying the coercion of woman than the groups who see themselves as just as tough or tougher than they should be.

In particular, the 'insecure' group scored significantly higher on the Men's Right to Control sub-scale. That is, not only do they believe that women's behaviour contributes to their sexual coercion as measured by the Women's Behaviour sub-scale, but they believe that a man has the right to control a woman's behaviour.

*Perceived Masculinity.*

In relation to perceived masculinity, it was predicted that there would be no difference between the 'insecure' group and the other masculinity groups on perceived masculinity for the three levels of coercion (physical, verbal, agree). The hypothesis was supported for the physical coercion and agree conditions but not for the verbal coercion condition. In the verbal coercion condition, the mean scores for the 'insecure' masculinity group were higher than the other two groups. That is the 'insecure' group perceived the man as more masculine than the other groups. It would seem that the 'insecure' masculinity group, which is more supportive of attitudes justifying coercion, is not as negative about the masculinity of a man who is coercive, especially when that coercion falls short of physical violence. However, they are still much more negative in their perceptions of masculinity in both the coercive situations than in the agree situation.

**Chapter Summary.**

Overall, this study has provided further support for our premised paradox: a) that there is a relationship between traditional masculinity and sexual coercion

and b) that the enactment of sexual coercion undermines masculinity. The study has also provided more direct and substantive support for our notion of an 'insecure' masculinity. The results of the present study are particularly relevant, not only in providing support for our paradox, but that support came from the same men in the sample, and not from separate groups of participants.

At the start of the thesis, we proposed a paradoxical relationship between traditional masculinity and sexual coercion. Our results, from the five studies presented, endorse the notion of a paradox but it is slightly different to what we originally envisaged. Rather than it being the case that men who most endorse traditional masculinity being those who most endorse coercion against women, it is those who are most insecure in their traditional masculinity who are most inclined to be coercive. The paradox is that the performance of coercion threatens to further undermine their masculinity, in that, the perception is that real men don't need to or shouldn't exert their power. Those who do exert their power display their weakness. However, it does seem that while there is condemnation of physical coercion, other forms of coercion (verbal) as control are not out rightly condemned in terms of perceived masculinity.

Having provided support for our paradox, it is now necessary to consider more explicitly the conditions or contexts under which the paradox may arise and how it is resolved. That is to consider, 'How do men deal with this paradox?'. Do they do nothing when challenged by women which would be in contradiction with their view of how the world should be? Are they coercive and thereby risk the loss of an identity to which they wish to lay claim? One way of addressing this issue is to conceive of the paradox as a balance: the greater the weight on either side the more likely it is to determine the response. Thus, men may be more likely to be

coercive when women's behaviour is seen as more of a challenge to their masculinity or when the threat of sanction by other men is less. These questions will be addressed in the following two chapters.

# Chapter 8: Challenges to Masculinity and Feelings of Threat.

*Brian: "In a relationship I like to be in control, do what I want without being told what I can do. Yeah, you've got to be in control in order to be a real man, yeah."*

## Introduction.

As we argued in the previous chapter, we now have evidence for the paradox. We proposed that if a paradox existed we should then consider more explicitly the conditions under which the paradox might arise and how it might be resolved. In this chapter, we shall consider the former, the conditions under which the paradox might arise.

The studies presented to date started out with the basic assumption that the relationship between men and women is a relationship of unequal power (e.g. Godenzi, 1994). We would argue that real power is invisible since it is reflected in the fact that the powerless police themselves. They anticipate and obey the desires of the powerful. They do not need to be told. Hence the mere act of challenge indicates a crisis of power and the need to use force only makes the challenge – and hence the weakness - more visible. As Garland (1996: 445) argues, the display of "…punitiveness may pose as a symbol of strength, but it should be interpreted as a symptom of weak authority and inadequate controls." Therefore, it seems reasonable to argue that a challenge by a woman will be perceived as a threat to a man's traditional masculinity. Certainly, the literature covering male on male violence has suggested that a threat to identity leads to violence (Polk, 1994; Messerschmidt, 2000), and in the following, chapter, we shall consider the social contexts under which the paradox might be resolved, in which the instigation of coercive behaviour is more likely.

First, however, the study presented in this chapter was designed to address the conditions under which the paradox arises and, more explicitly, to consider whether a challenge by a woman engenders feeling of threat to a man's masculinity. The study was also designed to consider whether a man, who is challenged by a woman, is perceived as less masculine by other men. That is, the very fact that a woman feels that she can challenge the wishes of a man then he is not a 'real' man. In addition, the study considers whether a challenge to a man results in feelings of lack of control of a relationship.

Following from the previous studies, it is further proposed that our 'Insecure' masculinity group, will feel the threat to their masculinity, when challenged by a woman, more than the two 'secure' masculinity groups. In addition, since they hold more to a traditional ideology of masculinity, they will perceive a man who is challenged as less masculine, more so than the two 'secure' masculinity groups. Further, they will, in a similar situation, feel that they would be less in control of a relationship than the secure masculinity groups.

Finally, we have shown that our 'Insecure' group holds more to traditional views of masculinity which emphasise the power differences between men and women and which support the view that women should 'know their place' and 'do as they are told'. We have also shown previously that this group is more inclined to be coercive and, while they do not perceive a man who is coercive as a 'real' man, they may see coercive behaviour as justified in situations of threat. In addition, where the challenge by a woman is very explicit, i.e. when a woman refuses to do what a man requests, it is argued that the 'Insecure' group will perceive the man's request as justified. That is, the woman should have done as she was requested in the first place. It is also argued that they will support the

view that the man would be justified in physically coercing the woman to do as he wishes.

To summarise, the study was designed to address the following questions. Firstly, would participants feel that their masculinity had been threatened when challenged by a woman? Secondly, will a man who is challenged by a woman be perceived as less masculine and, thirdly, would participants, in the same situation, feel less in control of a relationship? Finally, for our 'Insecure' masculinity group, would they, in relation to the two 'secure' masculinity groups, feel threat more, when challenged, and be more likely to feel that a man would be justified in being coercive? And, would they perceive a man as less masculine and feel less in control of a relationship?

Participants were presented with eight scenarios (two for each level of challenge) representing four levels of challenge by a woman. The levels of challenge were Anticipates, Accedes, Ignores and Challenges. In the Anticipates condition, the woman, although wanting to do something, knows that her boyfriend would not like it and does not do it. In the Accedes condition, the man tells her he does not want her to do something and, although she does not want to, she does what he says. In the Ignore condition, she knows her boyfriend would not like her doing something but she does it anyway. In the Challenge condition, the boyfriend tells her he does not want her to do something but she goes ahead and does it anyway. In none of these scenarios were participants presented with any response by the man, they were only presented with the differing levels of challenge.

*Hypotheses.*

It was predicted that participants would intimate that they would feel that their masculinity was threatened when challenged by a woman. The threat would be greatest in the Challenge condition, then Ignore, then Accedes and finally participants would feel least threatened in the Anticipates condition.

Secondly, it was predicted that a man who is challenged by 'his' woman will be perceived as less masculine than when the woman anticipates his wishes. That is, based on the four different levels of challenge, perception of masculinity will be lowest for the Challenge condition, then Ignore, then Accedes and finally perceived masculinity will be highest for the Anticipates condition.

Thirdly, it was predicted that participants would feel less in control of the situation in the Challenge condition, then the Ignore condition, then Accedes, and feel most in control in the Anticipates condition.

Finally, in relation to the different masculinity groups, it was predicted that the 'Insecure' masculinity group would feel more threatened for all four challenge conditions than both the Moderate and High Secure groups. It was also predicted that the 'Insecure' masculinity group would perceive the man as less masculine and feel less in control of the relationship than the other groups, except in the Anticipates condition where there would be no difference between the groups. It was also predicted that the 'Insecure' group would be more likely to say, in the challenge condition, that the man in the scenario was justified in behaving the way he did (telling her what to do), and that he would be justified in physically coercing her to do what he wants.

**Method.**

*Participants.*

58 undergraduate students, with a mean age of 20.55 years (range 18 to 33 years), participated in the study. 11 of the participants were Medical Science students, 11 were undergraduate students who replied via the Internet and 36 were first year psychology students some of whom had participated in a previous study, conducted six months earlier. The only part of the present study, which was comparable with the previous study, was the Male Role Norm Scale and the psychology students reported, during the debriefing session, that they saw no similarities to the previous study in which they had participated. The pattern and distribution of each group's responses were checked and did not differ from each other.

Participants were given the opportunity to enter a prize draw for £25. When they completed the study, they were asked to write their e-mail address on a separate sheet of paper to ensure confidentiality.

The participants who completed the study via the Internet had previously indicated (when they had completed a University Survey – see Chapter 7) that they would be willing to participate in further studies. Their responses were printed out and reference to the participant's identity was removed to ensure their anonymity.


*Materials.*

Male Role Norm Scale (Thompson & Pleck, 1986), as a measure of participants' masculinity plus the Tough Actual items, presented in previous study, to measure how participants perceived themselves.

Eight scenarios (four levels of challenge) – 2xAnticipates; 2xAccedes; 2xIgnores; 2xChallenges (see Appendix VII).

After each scenario, participants were presented with items measuring Perceived Masculinity (4 items); Feeling masculinity threat (2 items); Feeling in control (1 item). After the Challenge scenarios, participants were presented with items measuring Justified Behaviour and Physical Coercion Justified (see Appendix VII).

All items were measured on 7 point Likert-type scale with 1 = strongly disagree, 4 = moderately agree and 7 = strongly agree.

*Design.*

A 3 ('Insecure'/ Moderately Secure/High Secure Masculinity) between subjects x 4 (level of challenge) within subjects mixed design.

*Procedure.*

Presentation of the materials was counterbalanced. The MRNS was presented before the scenarios and dependent measures to half the participants and after the scenarios and dependent measures to the remaining participants. The order of presentation of the scenarios was also counterbalanced.

Other than the Internet participants, the participants completed the questionnaires in groups of 6 to 10 at separate desks to ensure confidentiality. They were advised of the nature of the study, that they could withdraw at any time and that their responses were completely confidential. They were asked to report their age but not to write their names anywhere on the questionnaire. After completing the study they were given a debriefing sheet with the researcher's name, address,

telephone number and e-mail address. The debriefing sheet also gave them a contact number for the University Student Welfare Office and the Fife Zero Tolerance Office, an organisation dealing with issues relating to sexual coercion. The debriefing sheet was e-mailed to the Internet respondents.

**Results.**

*Scales.*

There was no difference in the distribution of scores between those who received the MRNS before the scenarios and those who received the MRNS after the scenarios. Nor were there any differences between the three groups of participants (Medical Science students, Internet respondents, Psychology students).

The Male Role Norm Scale (MRNS) had a Cronbach Alpha of 0.85. The Tough Ideal and Tough Actual scales had Cronbach Alphas of 0.76 and 0.81 respectively. The Cronbach Alphas for the four combined items measuring perception of masculinity for seven of the eight scenarios ranged from 0.61 to 0.70 and were considered adequate. However, the Cronbach alpha for perceived masculinity on the remaining scenario (one of the Anticipates scenarios) was only 0.42. Therefore, the results relating to Perceived Masculinity in the Anticipates condition and their subsequent interpretation should be treated with caution. The correlations of the measures, Feel Threat, Feel in Control, Justified Behaviour, Physical Coercion Justified, for the two scenarios for each level of challenge ranged from 0.43 to 0.78, which were considered satisfactory. Therefore, the scores on the responses for all dependent measures for the two scenarios, for each of the four levels of challenge, were averaged. This gave combined scores for Perceived Masculinity, Feel Masculinity Threatened and Feel in Control for the

four levels of challenge (Anticipates, Accedes, Ignores, Challenges). It also gave combined scores, for the Challenge condition only, for Justified Behaviour and Physical Coercion Justified.

*Feelings of Threat to Masculinity.*

To test the first hypothesis that participants would intimate that they would feel that their masculinity was threatened when challenged by a woman, paired samples t-tests were conducted on the four levels of challenge. The hypothesised order (higher the mean, higher the feeling of threat) was Challenges→Ignores→Accedes→Anticipates. The results are reported in Table 8.1.

Table 8.1: Means (SDs) for four levels of challenge on Feel threat to masculinity (self). (n = 58)

| Anticipates | Accedes | Ignores | Challenges |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1.66 (0.80) | 1.94 (1.15) | 2.02 (1.27) | 2.26 (1.32) |

The results were in the predicted order and all paired samples t-tests were significant except for Accedes-Ignore and Accedes-Challenges which approached significance. A test for within subjects contrasts showed a significant Linear Trend, $F(1,57) = 12.73$, $p < 0.001$.

Anticipates – Accedes:     $t(57) = 2.33$, $p = 0.02$

Anticipates – Ignores:     $t(57) = 2.83$, $p = 0.01$

Anticipates – Challenges: $t(57) = 4.33$, $p < 0.001$

Accedes – Ignores:         $t(57) = 0.52$, ns

Accedes – Challenges:     $t(57) = 1.91$, $p = 0.06$

Ignores – Challenges:     $t(57) = 3.75$, $p < 0.001$

*Perceived Masculinity.*

To test the second hypothesis that a man who is challenged by a woman will be perceived as less masculine than when the woman accedes to him, paired samples t-tests were conducted on the Perceived Masculinity index for the four levels of challenge. The hypothesised order was (higher the mean, the higher the perception of masculinity) Anticipates→ Accedes→ Ignores→ Challenges. The means scores are reported in Table 8.2.

Table 8.2: Means (SDs) for four levels of challenge on Perceived Masculinity (n =58)

| Anticipates | Accedes | Ignores | Challenges |
|---|---|---|---|
| 4.74 (0.64) | 4.42 (0.80) | 4.72 (0.61) | 4.38 (0.70) |

The results did not support the hypothesised order, in that the mean score for the Accedes condition were lower than Ignores. The results of the paired samples t-tests were:

Anticipates – Accedes:     $t(57) = 4.36, p < 0.001$

Anticipates – Ignores:     $t(57) = 0.31$, ns

Anticipates – Challenges: $t(57) = 3.82, p < 0.001$

Accedes – Ignores:     $t(57) = 2.98, p = 0.004$

Accedes – Challenges:     $t(57) = 0.304$, ns

Ignores – Challenges:     $t(57) = 4.99, p < 0.001$

There were four significant differences, from six paired samples t-tests. The pairings Anticipates-Ignores and Accedes-Challenges were non-significant.

*Feeling in Control.*

To test the third hypothesis that participants would intimate that they would feel that they were not in control in a situation where they were challenged by a woman, paired samples t-tests were conducted. The hypothesised order was (higher the mean score, the higher the feeling of control) Anticipates→ Accedes→ Ignores → Challenges. The means scores are reported in Table 8.3.

Table 8.3: Means (SDs) for four levels of challenge on Feel in control (n =58)

| Anticipates | Accedes | Ignores | Challenges |
|---|---|---|---|
| 3.72 (1.39) | 4.27 (1.58) | 2.57 (1.34) | 2.22 (0.98) |

The results were not in the predicted order, in that the mean score for the Accedes condition was greater than Anticpates. All paired samples t-tests were significant.

Anticipates – Accedes:      $t(57) = 3.11$, $p = 0.003$

Anticipates – Ignores:      $t(57) = 5.18$, $p < 0.001$

Anticipates – Challenges: $t(57) = 7.23$, $p < 0.001$

Accedes – Ignores:      $t(57) = 6.80$, $p < 0.001$

Accedes – Challenges:      $t(57) = 9.01$, $p < 0.001$

Ignores – Challenges:      $t(57) = 2.49$,  $p = 0.016$

*'Insecure' Masculinity: Perceived Masculinity, Feeling in Control and Feelings of Threat.*

As in the previous chapter, it was decided to look at our notion of an 'Insecure' masculinity more directly by measuring a Tough Ideal (what I should be like)/Tough Actual (what I am like) difference. As argued before, the 'Insecure'

group is composed of those whose Tough Actual score is less than their Tough Ideal score. This criterion, used in the previous study, was again used as were the other criteria to create the remaining two groups. The moderately secure group was composed of those whose Tough Actual score was either the same as or greater than their Tough Ideal score by no more than 1.00. The highly secure group was made up of those whose Tough Actual score was greater than their Tough Ideal score by more than 1.00.

*Feel Threat to Masculinity.*

It was predicted that the 'Insecure' masculinity group would feel more threatened in all the challenge conditions than both the Moderate and High Secure groups, i.e. there would be a main effect of group. A repeated measures analysis for the four levels of challenge by the three Tough Ideal/Actual difference groups produced the following results. The higher the mean score the higher the feeling of threat (see Table 8.4 for means).

Table 8.4: Means (SDs) for the three Tough Ideal/Actual difference groups on Feeling Masculinity Threat for the four levels of challenge

| Level of Challenge | 'Insecure' Group (n = 9) | Moderately Secure Group (n = 30) | Highly Secure Group (n = 18) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Anticipates | 2.08 (0.89) | 1.72 (0.85) | 1.38 (0.54) |
| Accedes | 2.86 (1.33) | 1.85 (1.05) | 1.67 (1.05) |
| Ignores | 3.00 (1.66) | 1.92 (1.00) | 1.74 (1.31) |
| Challenges | 3.28 (1.43) | 2.24 (1.24) | 1.86 (1.22) |

Since Mauchly's Test of Sphericity was significant, the more conservative Greenhouse-Geisser test is reported. There was a significant main effect of condition, $F(1.77,95.40) = 7.83$, $p = 0.001$. As predicted, there was a significant main effect of group, $F(2,54) = 4.91$, $p = 0.01$. Post-hoc analysis (LSD) showed

that for Anticipates there was a significant difference between the 'Insecure' group and High Secure group ($p<0.05$). For Accedes there were significant differences between 'Insecure' and Moderate secure ($p<0.05$) and High secure ($p=0.01$). For Ignores there were significant differences between 'Insecure' and Moderate secure ($p<0.05$) and High secure ($p<0.05$). For Challenge there were significant differences between 'Insecure' and Moderate secure ($p<0.05$) and High secure ($p<0.01$). There was no interaction.

*Perceived Masculinity.*

It was predicted that the 'Insecure' group would perceive the man as less masculine than the other two secure groups for the three levels of challenge (Challenges/Ignores/Accedes), i.e. there would be a main effect of group. However, it was predicted that there would be no difference between the groups in the Anticipates condition.

A repeated measures analysis for the four levels of challenge by the three Tough Ideal/Actual difference groups produced the following results. The higher the mean score the higher the perception of masculinity (see Table 8.5 for means).

Table 8.5: Means (SDs) for the three Tough Ideal/Actual difference groups on Perceived Masculinity for the four levels of challenge

| Level of Challenge | 'Insecure' Group (n = 9) | Moderately Secure Group (n = 30) | Highly Secure Group (n = 18) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Anticipates | 4.43 (0.54) | 4.86 (0.61) | 4.70 (0.73) |
| Accedes | 4.24 (0.65) | 4.53 (0.86) | 4.31 (0.79) |
| Ignores | 4.44 (0.59) | 4.81 (0.67) | 4.72 (0.52) |
| Challenges | 4.15 (0.62) | 4.51 (0.69) | 4.28 (0.74) |

Since Mauchly's Test of Sphericity was significant, the more conservative Greenhouse-Geisser test is reported. There was a significant main effect of condition, $F(2.09,113.05) = 7.07$, $p = 0.001$. While the mean scores for the 'Insecure' group were lower than the other groups across all levels of challenge, the hypothesis was not supported as there was no main effect of group, $F(2,54) = 1.64$, ns. There was no interaction. Post-hoc analysis for the three groups for each of the four levels of challenge, showed no significant differences.

*Feel in Control.*

It was predicted that the 'Insecure' masculinity group would feel less in control in the three challenge conditions (Challenges/Ignores/Accedes) than both the Moderate and High Secure groups. However, it was predicted that there would no difference between the groups for the Anticipates condition. A repeated measures analysis for the four levels of challenge by the three Tough Ideal/Actual difference groups produced the following results. The higher the mean score the higher the feeling of control (see Table 8.6 for means).

Table 8.6: Means (SDs) for the three Tough Ideal/Actual difference groups on Feeling in Control for the four levels of challenge

| Level of Challenge | 'Insecure' Group (n = 9) | Moderately Secure Group (n = 30) | Highly Secure Group (n = 18) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Anticipates | 3.89 (1.32) | 3.48 (1.37) | 4.14 (1.38) |
| Accedes | 3.83 (1.15) | 4.27 (1.66) | 4.64 (1.51) |
| Ignores | 2.67 (1.22) | 2.67 (1.45) | 2.44 (1.25) |
| Challenges | 2.33 (0.83) | 2.33 (0.97) | 2.02 (1.08) |

Since Mauchly's Test of Sphericity was significant, the more conservative Greenhouse-Geisser test is reported. There was a main effect of condition, $F(2.22,$

201.68) = 33.79, p< 0.001. Contrary to our hypothesis, there was no effect of group, F(2,54) = 0.119, ns. There was no interaction. Post-hoc analysis for the three groups for each of the four levels of challenge, showed no significant differences.

*Justified Behaviour.*

It was predicted that the 'Insecure' group would be more likely to say, in the challenge condition, that the man in the scenario was justified in behaving the way he did (telling her what to do), i.e. there would be an effect of group. A one-way between subjects ANOVA was calculated for the three masculinity groups on 'Justified Behaviour' (a combination of the two challenge scenarios). The higher the mean score the higher the behaviour was justified. The mean scores are shown in Table 8.7.

Table 8.7: Means (SDs) for the three Tough Ideal/Actual difference groups on Justified Behaviour.

|  | 'Insecure' Group (n = 9) | Moderately Secure Group (n = 30) | Highly Secure Group (n = 18) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Justified Behaviour | 3.66 (1.58) | 2.80 (1.18) | 2.44 (0.89) |

As predicted, there was a significant effect of group, F(2,54) = 3.30, p< 0.05. Post-hoc analysis (LSD) showed differences between the 'Insecure' group and the other two groups, Moderate secure (p= 0.056) and High secure (p= 0.01).

*Physical Coercion Justified.*

It was predicted that when participants were asked if the man would be justified in physically coercing her to do what he wanted, the 'Insecure' group would score higher than the Secure masculinity groups. A one-way between subjects ANOVA was calculated for the three masculinity groups on 'Physical Coercion Justified' (a combination of the two challenge scenarios). The higher the mean score the higher physical coercion was justified (see Table 8.8 for mean scores).

Table 8.8: Means (SDs) for the three Tough Ideal/Actual difference groups on Physical Coercion Justified.

|  | 'Insecure' Group (n = 9) | Moderately Secure Group (n = 30) | Highly Secure Group (n = 18) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Physical Coercion Justified | 1.33 (0.66) | 1.18 (0.46) | 1.06 (0.24) |

While the 'Insecure' group did score higher than the other groups as predicted, there was no effect of group, $F(2,54) = 1.21$, ns.

**Discussion.**

The present study was designed to consider whether, when a woman challenges a man, the challenge is seen as a threat to a man's masculinity. The study was also designed to investigate whether, a man who is challenged by a woman is perceived as less masculine and to feelings of being in control in a situation when challenged. The study further considered whether our 'Insecure' masculinity group would differ from the other 'secure' masculinity groups on feelings of threat to masculinity, perceptions of masculinity, and feelings of being

in control. We also considered, for our three groups whether, in the challenge condition, the man's behaviour was perceived as being justified, and whether the man would be justified in being physically coercive in the Challenge condition.

### *Feelings of threat to masculinity.*

The key point of this study was to consider the conditions under which the paradox might arise. Based on the assumption that the relationship between men and women is a relationship of unequal power, we proposed that a challenge by a woman would be perceived as a threat to a man's masculinity and especially for those men who are 'Insecure' in their masculinity. Overall, it was predicted that participants, when asked if they would feel that their masculinity was threatened in the same situations where a woman challenges them, would report the greatest feelings of threat to their masculinity in the Challenge condition. The remaining order of feelings of threat would be Ignores, Accedes and the lowest feeling of threat would be in the Anticipates condition.

The results supported our hypothesised order and there was a significant linear trend with the means all in the predicted direction. That is, the results showed that the greater the challenge to the man's masculinity, the greater the feeling of threat.

For this key issue of feelings of threat when challenged by a woman, it is important at this point to consider the results for our three masculinity groups. It was predicted that the 'Insecure' masculinity group would feel more threatened for all four conditions than both the other groups and especially when there is a direct threat. If a man is 'Insecure' in his masculinity then it is reasonable to suggest that he would be more sensitive to any threat to that masculinity. It has been shown, in

our previous studies, that those who are 'Insecure' hold more to a traditional ideology of masculinity which supports the view that women should do as they are told and should not challenge a man's wishes. A perceived challenge to who they are as men is in contradiction with their view of how the world should be. Our hypothesis was supported. The 'Insecure' group did report that they would feel that their masculinity was threatened significantly more than the other groups for all levels of challenge.

In the following chapter we shall consider more directly whether feelings of threat are translated into acts of coercion. However, the present study does give us some hints whether that would be the case or not, especially for our 'Insecure' masculinity group.

In the present study, we asked participants whether, in the Challenges condition where there was an explicit challenge by the woman, the man was justified in telling the woman what to do. It was predicted that the 'Insecure' group would be more likely, than the two 'secure' groups, to say that the man was justified in telling the woman what to do. That is, those holding more to a traditional ideology of masculinity would perceive that a woman should do as she is told. The results supported this hypothesis. The 'Insecure' group scores were significantly higher than the other two groups. That is, the 'Insecure' group saw the man's verbally coercive behaviour as justified when the woman challenged his wishes.

We then asked participants whether, in the same Challenge condition, the man would be justified in physically coercing the woman to do what he wants. It was predicted that the 'Insecure' group would score higher than the two 'secure' groups. Despite the 'Insecure' group scoring higher than the other two groups, the

results were not significant and our hypothesis was not supported. However, the lack of significance may be due to the very low scores, i.e. they were almost at 'floor', combined with the uneven distribution of group numbers and low group numbers. The results also lend some support to our paradox, in that all the participants, and as we shall see in the following chapter may feel like being physically coercive, but perceive enacting physical coercion as something 'real' men don't do. Nevertheless it is interesting that the 'Insecure' masculinity group did display greater support for the idea that a man would be justified in using physical coercion when directly defied by a woman.

## *Perceived Masculinity.*

In relation to perceptions of masculinity when challenged by a woman, it was predicted that, overall, a man who is challenged by a woman would be perceived as less masculine than when the woman anticipates his wishes. That is, the fact that a woman feels that she can challenge a man's wishes then he is not a 'real' man. It was hypothesised that in the four conditions that the man would be perceived as most masculine in the Anticipates condition, i.e. where the woman knows that he would not like her doing something and changing what she wanted to do in anticipation of his wishes. In the Accedes condition, where the woman does as the man instructs although not wanting to, the man would be perceived as masculine but not as masculine as in the Anticipates condition. The man would be perceived as less masculine in the Ignore condition, where the woman, knowing his wishes, does what she wants. Finally, in the Challenge condition, where the woman directly opposes what the man explicitly states are his wishes and does as she wants, the man will be perceived as least masculine.

However, what we found was that the mean scores were lowest in the Accedes and Challenges conditions, i.e. the man was perceived as least masculine in the conditions where there was a direct and explicit challenge, compared to Anticipates (no challenge) and Ignores (an implicit challenge). So, while our hypothesis, in terms of direction of means, was not supported, the results did provide some support for our notion that a man who is challenged by a woman is perceived as less masculine. However, the results for Perceived Masculinity should be treated with some caution as the mean scores between conditions, although significant, were very small (see Table 8.2). That is, while such differences have proved to be statistically significant, their psychological significance remains unclear (see Howell, 1992, Ch. 8 for a discussion of this matter).

In relation to our three masculinity groups, it was predicted that the 'Insecure' group, who hold to more traditional views of what it is to be a man, would perceive the man as less masculine than the other groups. The 'Insecure' group did score lower on perceptions of masculinity for all levels of challenge. However, the differences were not significant and our hypothesis was not supported. That is, all the participants perceived the man as least masculine in the Challenges condition. A man who allows a woman to challenge him is perceived as not a real man. However, as before, the lack of group difference may be due to a combination of uneven and low group numbers.

### *Feel in Control.*

When participants were asked whether, in the same situations, they would feel in control, it was predicted that they would report feeling in control most in

the Anticipates condition, then Accedes, Ignores and, finally, feel least in control in the Challenges condition.

The results were not as predicted. In fact, the Accedes condition had the highest mean score, i.e. participants reported that they would feel more in control in the Accedes condition. This may not be surprising, in that in the Accedes condition there is a direct challenge, which is dealt with by the man, and the woman does as she is told. However, it may be that participants scored higher in the Accedes condition because they perceived that it was actually the man who was making the challenge by telling the woman what to do (see wording of scenarios in Appendix VII) and she then accedes to his challenge. Nevertheless, he demonstrates explicitly that he is in control. In the other conditions, control is either implicit (Anticipates) or lack of control is either implicit and not dealt with by the man (Ignores) or explicit and not dealt with by the man (Challenges). That is, feelings of being in control are functions of the outcome.

For our three masculinity groups, it was predicted that the 'Insecure' masculinity group would feel less in control of the situations than the two 'secure' masculinity groups, for the three levels of challenge (Challenges/Ignores/Accedes) but not Anticipates. It was proposed that those 'Insecure' in their traditional masculinity would hold more to the view that a man should be in control of a relationship and that any challenge to their traditional views of masculinity would be perceived as a loss of control. Our hypothesis, other than for the Anticipates condition, was not supported in that there was no significant differences between the three groups. The pattern of results for the 'Insecure' group was similar to that of the other groups in that they felt least in control in the Challenges condition. It may well be that feelings of being in control are not important for the 'Insecure'

group, or certainly not as important as the feelings of threat engendered by a challenge.

**Chapter Summary.**

While our results for perceptions of masculinity and feelings of being in control were not as predicted, they still make sense. We have shown that when a man is challenged by a woman he is perceived as less masculine, but it was only when that challenge was direct and explicit. That is, perceptions of masculinity are a function of the challenge. In relation to feelings of control, what emerged was that when there is a challenge, which is not addressed, there is a feeling of lack of control, but when a direct challenge is addressed (Accedes) there is a greater feeling of being in control. That is, feelings of being in control are an outcome of a challenge.

However, the important point coming out of this study relates to our basic assumption that the relationship between men and woman is a relationship of unequal power. We proposed that in a situation where a woman challenges a man, the very act of challenge would engender feelings of threat to a man's masculinity. We proposed that this would particularly be the case for those who are insecure in their masculinity. The results of the present study were exactly as predicted both overall and for the different masculinity groups. We have shown that the more explicit the challenge, the greater the feeling of threat to masculinity. We also showed that the 'Insecure' masculinity group scored significantly higher on feelings of threat than the two 'secure' masculinity groups. The results also hint that when there is a direct challenge, those who are 'Insecure' in their masculinity are more likely to condone both verbal and physical coercion as resources in the

resolution of the threat. That is, a woman's challenge is in contradiction with their views of a traditional masculinity in which a woman should do as she is told, and, as we have proposed in the previous chapter, feelings of threat to one's masculinity increase the probability of coercion.

Having shown that men are aware of and feel threatened by challenges to their masculinity, we should look more closely at the social contexts in which the paradox might be resolved and which might increase the probability of coercion. That is, firstly, whether feelings of threat to masculinity might be translated into coercive behaviour and, secondly, in what context. That is, we shall look more directly at whether a challenge to a man's masculinity, and the consequent feeling of threat, increase the probability of coercion. Secondly, to consider whether coercion is more likely to be enacted in private than public.

# Chapter 9: Resolving the paradox: Feelings of Threat to Masculinity and Coercion in a Public or Private Context.

*Greg: "I suppose when you are behind closed doors things are different, init. The woman acts more different behind closed doors, the bloke does. Another thing as well, if you do it behind closed doors, the bloke there's less chance people are going to find out about it. So they think they're going to get away with it."*
*GM: "Do you think maybe their mates wouldn't think too much of them?"*
*Greg: "What of the bloke? Yeah....I don't know, as he could turn round and brag to his mates. Yeah, I gave her a slap last night or something like that. It all depends on how his mates think an that, don't it really."*

## Introduction.

In the previous chapter we have shown that a challenge by a woman was perceived as a threat to a man's masculinity, especially for those men who are 'Insecure' in their masculinity. The results showed that the greater the challenge the greater the feeling of threat. The study also gave some indication that when there is a direct challenge, the 'Insecure' masculinity group is more likely to condone both the verbal and physical coercion of women so that the women will accede to their wishes. However, in the present study, while we shall consider our three masculinity groups, the main focus will be on 'feelings of threat' to one's masculinity and the relationship between those feelings of threat and being coercive: resolving the paradox.

Following from our paradox, for all men the actual performance of coercion may further undermine their masculinity, in that the perception is real men don't need to or shouldn't exert their power. Those who do exert their power display their weakness. So, men are then faced with a dilemma, how do they

resolve the paradox? Do they do nothing when challenged by women? Are they coercive and thereby risk the loss of an identity to which they wish to lay claim? As argued before, one way of addressing this issue is to conceive of the paradox as a balance: the greater the weight on either side the more likely it is to determine the response. Thus, men may be more likely to be coercive when a woman's behaviour is seen as more of a challenge to their masculinity or when their accountability to other men is less, i.e. when it is not observed by other men.

In the present study, we wanted to address more explicitly the social contexts in which the enactment of coercion might occur, i.e. in which the paradox might be resolved. Firstly, as noted before, the sociology and criminology literature based mainly on qualitative work, has suggested that violence is associated with threats to identity in a male on male context (e.g. Toch, 1972). However, it is necessary to consider whether this is the case, firstly, experimentally and, secondly, whether it is the case in relationships between men and women, as suggested in the qualitative interviews of Dobash and Dobash (1992). Epidemiological studies of rape and attempted rape (e.g. Muir & MacLeod, in press a) and of domestic violence (e.g. Dobash & Dobash, 1992) have shown that most of the sexual coercion of women is carried out in private by a man who is known to the woman, i.e. an acquaintance or an intimate. However, this coercion may be the result of, not only a challenge in private, but because of a perceived challenge in public, e.g. in front of friends or peers. Following from this, the present study was also designed to consider, experimentally, whether participants would report that, if they were likely to be coercive, whether their coercive behaviour would be more likely in private or public.

In our earlier studies, we showed that there was a relationship between a traditional ideology of masculinity and the inclination to be coercive. In the present study we will use the term 'feel like being coercive' as being synonymous with the term 'inclination'. As we have noted in Chapter 3, for the SIDE model, one critical factor that affects both the cognitive and strategic dimensions is visibility. In particular, visibility affects accountability to others, and lowered visibility to the ingroup lowers the pressure to conform to ingroup norms. Hence, lack of accountability to the ingroup (other men) will relieve the problems of being coercive and make it more likely. Therefore, from the cognitive aspect of SIDE it is proposed that, in a situation where a man's masculinity is challenged by a woman, participants will report that they would feel that their masculinity was threatened, and that they would feel like being coercive (i.e. an inclination to be coercive). However, from the strategic aspect of SIDE, it is only in the private context, where a man is not visible and hence not accountable to other men (the ingroup), that they will report that they would actually be coercive when they felt that their masculinity was threatened.

In the present study, we presented scenarios where a woman challenges a man's masculinity in public and he responds by hitting her either in public (in front of his friends) or in private (when they returned home). We found in the previous chapter that that the more explicit the challenge, the greater the feeling of threat to masculinity, and that there was some support for physical coercion being justified in the face of a direct challenge to a man's masculinity. Therefore, this study considered whether feelings of threat to masculinity were related to feeling like being coercive and actually being coercive. It was also designed to consider

whether actually being coercive was more likely in a private context than in a public context. That is, we expect an effect of private/public context on actually being coercive but not feeling like being coercive. In particular, based on the results of the previous study, we would expect an effect on actually being coercive for our 'insecure' masculinity group who will feel more threatened and, therefore be more liable to be coercive.

Three scenarios, in which a man's masculinity is directly challenged by a woman in public and he responds by hitting her either in public or private, were presented (see Appendix VIII). After each scenario, participants were presented with questions asking a) whether they would behave like the man in the scenarios, i.e. would they hit the woman, and b) whether they would do something (demand an apology, tell her he would have nothing more to do with her), i.e. verbal coercion. They were then asked c) whether they would feel that their masculinity had been threatened (would you feel that your masculinity had been threatened; would you be concerned how others might see you as a man), and d) whether they would feel like hitting the woman. Finally, they were asked whether they would feel like doing something (demanding an apology, telling her you want nothing more to do with her), i.e. verbal coercion. Therefore, in the present study, we looked at feelings of threat to masculinity when directly challenged and its relationship with participants reporting that they would feel like being coercive and actually be coercive in either a public or private context. That is, we addressed the questions does a challenge to a man's masculinity engender feelings of threat to one's masculinity and increase the likelihood of coercive behaviour and is coercion more likely to be enacted in private than public?

*Hypotheses.*

Firstly, it was predicted that High Feel Threat participants would score higher on measures of feel like being coercive and actually being coercive than Low Feel Threat participants.

Secondly, it was predicted that participants would score higher overall on feel like being coercive in both the Public and Private contexts than actually being coercive. However, it was also predicted that there would be no difference in feel like being coercive between the Public and Private contexts.

Thirdly, it was predicted that participants would score higher on measures of actually being coercive in a Private context than in a Public context.

Fourthly, it was predicted that there would be a greater relationship between Feeling Masculinity Threat and measures of feeling like being coercive and actually being coercive in the Private condition than in the Public condition.

Finally, it was predicted, based on the previous study, that the 'Insecure' masculinity group (measured by Tough Ideal-Actual difference) would score higher than the two secure masculinity groups on feeling masculinity threat, feel like being coercive, and actually being coercive.

**Method**

*Participants.*

98 male psychology undergraduates, mean age 19.66 years (range 17 – 31), received course credit for their participation.

*Materials.*

Male Role Norm Scale (Thompson & Pleck, 1986), which included the Tough Ideal items (how they would like to be) reported in the two previous chapters. As before, participants were also presented with Tough Actual items (how they see themselves).

Three scenarios where a man is challenged in public by his girlfriend and he responds physically by hitting the woman in either public or private. (See Appendix VIII)

After each scenario, participants were presented with items measuring Feel masculinity threat (two items - would you feel that your masculinity had been threatened; would you be concerned how others might see you as a man); Behave like (i.e. hitting, one item); Combined Do Something (two items - demanding an apology, telling her you want nothing more to do with her, i.e. verbal coercion); Feel like hitting (one item), and Combined feel like doing something (two items as for Combined Do Something but feel like). All items were measured on 7 point Likert type scale with 1 = strongly disagree, 4 = moderately agree and 7 = strongly agree (See Appendix VIII).

*Design.*

The design was a) a mixed 2 between (High/Low Feel Masculinity Threat) x 2 between (Public/Private response to public threat) x 2 within (Being coercive/Feel like being coercive) design. Half the participants received the Public response scenarios and half the Private response scenarios.

b) A correlational design – the relationship between Feel Masculinity Threat and other dependent variables for both Public and Private contexts.

c) a between subjects design with 3 (Insecure/Moderately secure/High secure Masculinity) Tough Ideal/Actual difference groups.

*Procedure.*

The order of presentation of the scenarios was counterbalanced. In addition, the MRNS was presented before the scenarios and dependent measures to half the participants and after the scenarios and dependent measures to the remaining participants.

Participants were recruited from Psychology laboratory classes and asked to stay behind if they wished to participate in the study. It was explained to the participants that the study was concerned with attitudes to sexual coercion and male role norms.

Participants were seated, in groups ranging from 4 to 8, at separate, well spaced desks to provide privacy. Confidentiality and anonymity were assured and emphasised and each participant was provided with a plain envelope for their questionnaires, which they deposited into a box on completion. It was emphasised, both on the questionnaires and verbally by the researcher, that participants were under no obligation to complete the questionnaires and could stop at any time. They were also advised, at the end of the session, by way of a debriefing sheet (see Appendix VIII), the purpose of the study, and the phone number of the researcher for further information. They were further advised that after reading the debriefing sheet that they could withhold their responses.

**Results.**

There was no difference in the distribution of scores between those who received the MRNS before the scenarios and those who received the MRNS after the scenarios and, therefore, the dependent measures were combined, i.e. averaged across the three scenarios. The dependent variables were Feel Threat to Masculinity; Behaving like; Combined Do Something; Feel like hitting; Combined Feel like doing something. A reliability analysis was carried on these composite variables as indices and the Cronbach Alphas ranged from 0.77 to 0.92. These were all considered highly satisfactory. Any differences in reported degrees of freedom were due to missing data.

Before presenting the results of the present study it is worth considering briefly our notion of an 'Insecure' masculinity. In the first four studies, we suggested that our Medium masculinity group (based on a tertiary split of the MRNS) represented an insecure masculinity. In the following three studies, we addressed this more directly by considering a Tough Ideal/Actual difference (based on a criterion split). That is, we proposed that those participants whose Actual scores (how they saw themselves) were less than their Ideal scores (i.e., what they think they should be like) would represent our 'Insecure' group. Were we right in proposing that our Medium masculinity was an insecure group? While we have used different methods of creating the groups (tertiary vs. criterion splits and the complete MRNS vs. Tough sub-scale), it is interesting and important to note that in the present study, where it was possible to consider both a Medium masculinity group and a Tough Ideal/Actual difference group, there were no significant differences in the mean scores between either the Medium masculinity group or the Tough Ideal/Actual difference group. For example, on the Combined

Do Something variable, the mean score for the Medium Masculinity group was 2.94 and for the Insecure (Tough Ideal/Actual) group the mean score was 2.95. However, it should be noted that those participants in the Tough Ideal/Actual difference group did not all fall into the Medium masculinity grouping. Nine of the 13 participants fell within the Medium masculinity group, while, of the remaining four, three were on the borders of the High and Medium masculinity groups and one at the border of the Medium and Low masculinity groups. We would argue, therefore, that while the Tough Ideal/Actual difference is a more specific measure of our 'Insecure' masculinity group, our proposal that the Medium masculinity was an insecure masculinity group has some support.

*High/Low Feel masculinity threatened.*

High/Low Feel Masculinity Threat groups were created by way of median split (2.25) on the Feel Masculinity Threat index. It was predicted that, overall, the High Feel Threat group would score higher on all variables than the Low Feel Threat group. To test this t-tests were carried out (see Table 9.1 for mean scores).

Table 9.1: Means (SDs) for all four variables by High/Low Feel Masculinity Threat.

|  | High Feel Threat (n=49) | Low Feel Threat (n=49) |
|---|---|---|
| Behave like (hit) | 1.64 (0.90) | 1.32 (0.74) |
| Combined Do Something | 3.01 (0.74) | 2.58 (0.73) |
| Feel like hitting | 2.05 (1.25) | 1.36 (0.92) |
| Combined feel like do something | 3.36 (0.93) | 2.84 (1.10) |

As predicted the High Feel Threat group scored significantly higher than the Low Feel Threat group on all variables.

Behave like (hit): t(96) = 1.92, p = 0.058.

Combined Do Something: t(96) = 2.91, p < 0.01.

Feel like hitting: t(95) = 3.10, p < 0.01.

Combined Feel like Do Something: t(96) = 2.51, p = 0.01

*Public/Private Context and Being coercive and Feel like being coercive.*

It was predicted that participants would score higher on 'Feel like being coercive' than actually being coercive. It was also predicted that participants would score higher on measures of actually being coercive in a Private context than in a Public context. However, it was also predicted that there would be no difference in 'Feel like being coercive' between the Public and Private contexts. In order to test this, 2 mixed ANOVAs, 2 within (feel like/actually coercive) x 2 between (public/private) were conducted (see Table 9.2 for mean scores).

Table 9.2: Means (SDs) for the Behave like and Feel like hitting and Combine Do Something and Combined Feel like doing something by Public/Private context.

|  | Private context(n=51) | Public context (n= 47) |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Behave like (hit) | 1.52 (0.84) | 1.44 (0.84) |
| Feel like hitting | 1.63 (1.04) | 1.80 (1.25) |
| Combined Do Something | 2.79 (0.79) | 2.79 (0.74) |
| Combined feel like doing Something | 2.92 (0.95) | 3.21 (0.98) |

In relation to the within subjects factor of Behave like (hit) and Feel like hitting there was a main effect of factor, F(1,95) = 6.19, p = 0.015. The mean scores, as predicted, for 'Feel like hitting' were greater than for Behave like (hit). There was no effect of Public/Private context, F(1,95) = 0.074, ns., which supported our

hypothesis of no difference for 'Feel like hitting', but not our hypothesis for Behaving like (hit). There was no significant interaction.

In relation to the within factor of Combined do something and Combined feel like doing something, there was a main effect of factor, $F(1,95) = 17.01$, $p < 0.001$. The mean scores, as predicted, for Combined Feel like doing something were greater than for Combined do something. There was no effect of Public/Private context, $F(1,95) = 0.828$, ns., which supported our hypothesis of no difference for Combined feel like doing , but not our hypothesis for Behaving like (hit). There was a significant interaction, $F(1,95) = 4.57$, $p = 0.035$ which we shall consider further in the following three-way Repeated Measures analysis.

*Public/Private (between) x High/Low Feel Masculinity Threatened (between) x Feel like hitting and Behaving like (within).*

To test whether there were any interactions between Public/Private context, High/Low Feel threat and the within factor of Behaving like (hitting) and Feel like hitting a Repeated Measures analysis was conducted (see Table 9.3 for mean scores).

Table 9.3: Means (SDs) for Feel like hitting and Behaving like (hitting) by High/Low Feel Threat by Public/Private context

|  | Feel like hitting | | Behaving like (hitting) | |
|  | Private (n=51) | Public (n=46) | Private (n=51) | Public (n=46) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| High Feel Threat (n=49) | 2.06 (1.29) | 2.04 (1.22) | 1.84 (1.05) | 1.41 (0.65) |
| Low Feel Threat (n=48) | 1.19 (0.36) | 1.55 (1.26) | 1.17 (0.31) | 1.49 (1.01) |

As before, there was a main within effect of factor, $F(1,93) = 6.36$, $p = 0.01$.

There was an interaction of within factor and High/Low Feel Threat, $F(1,93) = 4.54$, $p < 0.05$. There were no other interactions with factor.

There was no main effect of Public/Private context. There was a main effect of High/Low Feel Threat, $F(1,93) = 7.81$, $p < 0.01$.

When we looked more closely at these results we found that, in respect of the main within factor effect, the overall difference between feeling like being coercive and actually being coercive was as predicted. That is, the mean score for feeling like being coercive was higher (1.71, sd 1.14) than actually being coercive (1.48, sd 0.84), $t(97) = 2.42$, $p < 0.01$.

In relation to the interaction between High/Low Feel Threat and the within factor, we found that for the High Feel Threat group, in the Private condition, there was no significant difference between Feel like hitting and Behave like (that is actually hitting) – $t(25) = 0.870$, ns. However, in the Public condition, there was a significant difference with a higher mean for Feel like hitting – $t(22) = 3.15$, $p < 0.01$. For the Low Feel Threat group there were no significant differences in either the Private or Public conditions. Private – $t(23) = 0.347$, ns: Public – $t(24) = 0.253$, ns.

When we considered only the High Feel threat group, we found that there was no significant difference for Feel Like Hitting between the Public and Private conditions – $t(47) = 0.039$, ns. In relation to actually hitting, although the mean score for the Private condition was higher than the mean score for the Public condition, it was not significant, but only approached significance – $t(47) = 1.79$, $p = 0.08$.

For the main effect of High/Low Feel Threat we found that there were significant differences between the groups for both Feel Like Hitting (t(49) = 3.254, p < 0.01) and Behaving like (t(49) = 3.089, p < 0.01) in the Private condition. However, in the Public condition, there were no significant differences between the groups for either Feel Like Hitting (t(44) = 1.344, ns) or Behaving Like (t(45) = 0.269, ns).

*Public/Private (between) x High/Low Feel Masculinity Threat (between) x Combined Doing Something and Combined Feel Like Doing Something (within).*

To test whether there were any interactions between Public/Private context, High/Low Feel threat and the within factor of Combined Doing Something and Combined Feel like Doing Something a Repeated Measures analysis was conducted (see Table 9.4 for mean scores).

Table 9.4: Means (SDs) for Combined Feel like doing and Doing for High/Low Feel Threat by Public/Private context

|  | Feel like doing | | Doing | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | Private (n=51) | Public (n=46) | Private (n=51) | Public (n=46) |
| High Feel Threat (n=49) | 3.36 (0.93) | 3.35 (0.94) | 3.20 (0.75) | 2.79 (0.68) |
| Low Feel Threat (n=48) | 2.46 (0.74) | 3.23 (1.29) | 2.37 (0.61) | 2.79 (0.80) |

There was a main within effect of factor, $F(1,93) = 17.13$, $p < 0.001$. There were no interactions with factor.

There was no main effect for Public/Private context. There was a main effect of High/Low Feel Threat, $F(1,93) = 10.36$, $p < 0.01$. There was a significant interaction between High/Low Feel Threat and Public/Private context, $F(1,93) = 5.76$, $p < 0.02$.

When we looked more closely at these results we found that, in respect of the main within factor effect, the overall difference between feel like doing something and actually doing something was as predicted. That is, the mean score for feel like doing something was higher (3.06, sd 0.97) than actually doing something (2.80, sd 0.76), $t(97) = 3.95$, $p < 0.001$.

In relation to the interaction between High/Low Feel Threat and Public/Private condition, we found that, in the Private condition, there were significant differences between the groups for both Feel Like Doing Something and Doing something. The mean scores for the High Feel Threat group were higher than the mean scores for the Low Feel Threat group – Feel Like Doing, $t(49) = 3.80$, $p < 0.001$; Doing Something, $t(49) = 4.33$, $p < 0.001$. However, in the Public condition, there were no significant differences between the High/Low Feel threat groups for either Feel Like Doing ($t(44) = 0.972$, ns) or Doing something ($t(45) = 0.017$, ns).

When we considered only the High Feel threat group, we found that there was no significant difference for Feel Like Doing Something between the Public and Private conditions – $t(47) = 0.043$, ns. In relation to actually doing something, we found that the mean score in the Private condition was significantly higher than the mean score for the Public condition, $t(47) = 1.99$, $p = 0.052$.

*Relationship between Feel Masculinity Threat and the other four variables.*

It was predicted that there would be a greater relationship between Feel Masculinity Threat and the measures of being coercive and feel like being coercive in the Private condition than in the Public condition (see Table 9.5 for correlations). To test this hypothesis a stepwise regression was conducted with

Feel Masculinity Threat as the predictor variable and Private/Public context as a category mediating variable. The results of this regression are shown in Table 9.5.

Table 9.5: Regression with Feel Masculinity Threat and all variables with category variable public/ private context.

|  | $F(1,96)$ | Sig | Adj. R square |
|---|---|---|---|
| Behave like | 6.21 | $p = 0.014$ | 0.051 |
| Combined do Something | 24.14 | $p < 0.001$ | 0.193 |
| Feel like hitting | 13.64 | $p < 0.001$ | 0.116 |
| Combined feel like do something | 22.78 | $p < 0.001$ | 0.185 |

Feel Masculinity Threat was a significant predictor for all variables but there were no interactions for the two 'Feel like' variables. However, there were significant interactions for both 'Behave Like' (hitting), $F(2,95) = 6.09$, $p = 0.003$ (Adj. R square = 0.095), and for 'Combined Do Something', $F(2,95) = 16.21$, $p < 0.001$ (Adj. R square = 0.239). Post-hoc analysis (Fisher z test) showed that the interaction effect of context (Private/Public) was due to the significant difference in the correlations ('Behave like' – $p = 0.02$; 'Combined Do Something' – $p = 0.01$) between the Private and Public contexts with the Private context correlation higher than the Public context correlation. This supported our hypothesis.

*Ideal-Actual Tough Difference Groups (Insecure/Moderate Secure/High Secure).*

It was predicted that the 'Insecure' masculinity group (measured by Tough Ideal-Actual difference) would score higher than the two secure groups on feeling masculinity threat, being coercive and feel like being coercive. To test this a one-way between subjects ANOVA was calculated, and it was predicted that there

would be a main effect of group for Feel Masculinity Threat, Being coercive and Feel like being coercive (see Table 9.6 for mean scores).

As argued before, the 'Insecure' group is composed of those whose Tough Actual score is less than their Tough Ideal score. This criterion, used in the previous study, was again used as were the other criteria to create the remaining two groups. The 'Insecure' masculinity group was composed of those whose Tough Actual score was less than their Tough Ideal score. The Moderate secure group was composed of those whose Tough Actual score was either the same as or greater than their Tough Ideal score by 1.00. The High secure group was made up of those whose Tough Actual score was greater than their Tough Ideal score by more than 1.00.

Table 9.6: Means (SDs) for three Ideal/Actual difference groups on the four variables.

|  | Insecure (n=13) | Moderate Secure (n=51) | High Secure (n=34) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Feel Masculinity Threat | 2.72 (1.39) | 2.41 (1.24) | 2.39 (1.49) |
| Behave like | 1.59 (0.73) | 1.51 (0.92) | 1.39 (0.75) |
| Combined Do Something | 2.95 (0.70) | 2.83 (0.74) | 2.68 (0.82) |
| Feel like hitting | 2.08 (1.05) | 1.74 (1.12) | 1.52 (1.21) |
| Feel like doing Something | 3.40 (1.10) | 3.10 (0.93) | 2.86 (0.97) |

Although the 'Insecure' group scored higher on all variables, as predicted, there were no significant effects of group. These results did not support our hypotheses. Due to the low numbers in the 'Insecure' group it was decided not to conduct an analysis looking at differences between the masculinity groups in the private and public contexts which would further reduce the cell sizes.

**Discussion.**

In the present study, we wanted to address explicitly the social contexts in which the paradox might be resolved and in which the enactment of coercion might occur. We proposed that men may be more likely to be coercive when a woman's behaviour is seen as more of a challenge to their masculinity or when their accountability to other men is less, i.e. when it is not observed by other men. Working within the SIDE model we proposed, from the cognitive aspect, that, in a situation where a man's masculinity is challenged in public by a woman, participants would report that they would feel like being coercive (i.e. an inclination to be coercive). That this would be irrespective of whether the response (physical or verbal coercion) was in a public or private context. However, from the strategic aspect of SIDE, where a man is not visible and hence not accountable to other men (the ingroup), participants would report that they would actually be coercive. That is, in a private context, feeling like being coercive would be translated into actually being coercive. We, therefore, looked at feelings of threat to masculinity and its relationship with feeling like being coercive and actually being coercive in either a public or private context.

*Feelings of Threat to Masculinity.*

When we considered the overall scores, we found significant differences between a High Threat group and a Low Threat group. That is, the High Threat group scored significantly higher than the Low threat group on both feeling like being coercive and actually being coercive, both physical coercion (hitting) and verbal coercion. This supported our hypothesis and confirms our proposal that

there is a relationship between threat to masculinity and coercion in a male on female context and we shall consider this further below.

*Public/Private Context.*

Based on previous epidemiological studies, we predicted that participants would score higher on actually being coercive in the Private context than in the Public context but there would be no difference on feel like being coercive between a Public context and a Private context. The results for feel like being coercive supported our null hypothesis of no difference. Although the mean scores for actually being coercive were in the predicted direction there was no significant difference. However when we looked at the Repeated Measure analysis and decomposed the results we found an interesting pattern which could explain a) the lack of significance between the Private and Public contexts and b) the significant differences between the High and Low Feel Masculinity Threat groups.

*High/Low Feeling of masculinity threat by Public/Private context by Feel like being coercive and actually being coercive.*

Firstly, let us consider the variables Behaving like, i.e. being physically coercive (hitting) and Feel like being physically coercive. There was a main within effect of factor. That is, the overall mean scores for Feel like hitting were higher than the Behave like (actually being coercive) mean scores as predicted. While we have noted above that there was no significant difference on any of the variables between the Private and Public context, when we look more closely at the Repeated Measures analysis we can find an explanation. In the Private context, we find significant differences between the High and Low Masculinity Threat groups

for both being physically coercive and feel like being coercive. Yet, in the Public context, there were no significant differences between the two groups on either actually being coercive or feel like being coercive. That is, the significant difference we found overall between the High and Low Feel Threat groups was because of the difference between the groups in the Private context. This finding then lends support to our hypothesis that feelings of threat, when challenged, are translated not only into feeling like being coercive but also into actually being coercive, but only in a Private context for actually being coercive.

For the High Feel Threat group, we found that there was no difference between the Private and Public contexts for feel like being coercive, just as predicted overall. However, while the difference between the Public and Private contexts for actually being coercive was not significant, the difference was in the right direction and approached significance. We shall consider below further support for our prediction that actual coercion is more likely in a Private context than in a Public context.

In addition, when we considered more closely the variables Do Something (verbal coercion) and Feel like doing something, we found the same pattern of results. However, we did find a significant difference for the High Feel Threat group between the Private and Public contexts on actually Doing Something. That is the mean scores for actually being verbally coercive were higher in the Private context than in the Public context.

It was decided to test the hypotheses further by conducting a regression analysis with Feel Threat to Masculinity as the predictor and the category variable Private/Public context as a mediating variable with the variables measuring actual coercion and feel like being coercive. What we found was further confirmation of

our hypotheses, in that, there were higher significant correlations in the Private

context than in the Public context with the 'actually being coercive' variables but

not the 'feel like being coercive' variables. The important point that comes out of

these correlation differences was that the differences, between the private and

public contexts, were only significant for the variables measuring actual coercion

(both physical and verbal). That is, we have shown that the higher the feeling of

threat to masculinity, the more likely that actual coercive behaviour will occur and

that it will occur in private.

*Ideal-Actual Tough Difference Groups (Insecure/Moderate Secure/High Secure).*

Based on the results from the previous study, it was predicted that the

'Insecure' masculinity group (measured by Tough Ideal-Actual difference) would

score higher than the two secure masculinity groups on feeling masculinity threat,

feel like being coercive, and actually being coercive. While the mean scores were

all in the predicted direction, i.e. the 'Insecure' masculinity did score higher than

the two 'secure' masculinity groups the differences were not significant. This may,

in part, be due to the unequal cell sizes and, in particular, the small number in the

'Insecure' group relative to the two 'secure' groups.

**Chapter Summary.**

In the present study, we wanted to address more explicitly the social

contexts in which the paradox might be resolved and in which the enactment of

coercion may occur. We proposed that men may be more likely to be coercive

when a woman's behaviour is seen as more of a challenge to their masculinity or

when their accountability to other men is less, i.e. when it is not observed by other

men. That is, in a private context, feeling like being coercive would be translated into actually being coercive. We, therefore, looked at feelings of threat to masculinity and its relationship with feeling like being coercive and actually being coercive in either a public or private context.

Most importantly, we have shown that when a challenge is perceived as a threat, then the greater that feeling of threat the greater the relationship with actually being coercive (both physical and verbal coercion) and that it is more likely in a private context than a public context.

Not only do these results provide experimental support for our hypotheses but they also provide some theoretical support for the SIDE model. We proposed, from the cognitive aspect, that, in a situation where a man's masculinity is challenged in public by a woman, participants would report that they would feel like being coercive (i.e. an inclination to be coercive). That this would be the case irrespective of whether the response (physical or verbal coercion) was in a public or private context. However, from the strategic aspect of SIDE, where a man is not visible and hence not accountable to other men (the ingroup), we proposed that they would report that they would actually be coercive. That is, in a private context, feeling like being coercive would be translated into actually being coercive.

However, the results relating to the 'Insecure' masculinity who we argued hold more to a traditional ideology of masculinity, did not support our prediction that they would be more likely to say that they would be coercive than the two 'secure' masculinity groups. While the 'Insecure' group means were higher than those of the 'secure' masculinity groups, the differences were not significant.

In these two final experimental chapters we addressed the conditions under which the paradox might arise and the social contexts in which it might be resolved, based on our assumption that there is an unequal power relationship between men and women. We proposed, in the previous chapter, that, in a situation where a woman challenges a man, the very act of challenge would engender feelings of threat to a man's masculinity. We proposed that this would particularly be the case for those who are insecure in their masculinity. The results of the previous study were as predicted both overall and for the different masculinity groups. In the present chapter, we have also provided support for our view that when a challenge is perceived as a threat there is a greater likelihood that the feeling of threat to a man's masculinity will be translated into coercive behaviour, especially in a private context. That is, we have shown that, in relation to the resolution of the paradox, a challenge to a man's authority may increase the probability of coercion especially in a private context.

Having presented the results of our seven experimental and survey studies, the following chapter will draw together these findings and consider their contribution to the body of knowledge in relation to masculinity and sexual coercion. We shall also consider issues and questions raised by the present research and propose ways forward.

# Chapter 10: Conclusion.

*"Rather than being the indispensable weapon used to ensure the subordination of women, might not rape be the deformed behaviour of men accompanying the destabilisation of gender relations, and the consequent contradictions and insecurities of male gender identities?" (Segal, 1990: 240)*

This thesis set out by proposing that that there might be a paradox in the relationship between traditional masculinity and sexual coercion. That is, on the one hand, there is a traditional ideology of masculinity that justifies or excuses sexual coercion and also the behavioural inclination to be coercive. On the other hand, that the enactment of sexual coercion undermines masculinity, in that men who are coercive are perceived as less masculine. The thesis worked from the assumption that the relationship between men and women is a relationship of unequal power (e.g. Painter & Farrington, 1997). Based on this assumption, we set out in the second part of the thesis to consider more explicitly the conditions under which the paradox might arise and how it might be resolved. That is, does the paradox arise when a woman challenges a man, and is the paradox resolved under conditions when a man is not accountable to other members of the ingroup?

We, therefore, addressed the following questions. Firstly, is there a relationship between a traditional masculinity and both attitudes, which justify sexual coercion, and the behavioural inclination to be coercive, and is this relationship greater when traditional masculinity is made salient? Secondly, does the enactment of sexual coercion undermine masculinity, in that, men who are coercive will be perceived as not masculine? These first two questions addressed

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the overall issue, 'does a paradox exist?' In relation to the conditions under which the paradox might arise and how it might be resolved, we considered the question, 'is a challenge by a woman perceived as a threat to a man's masculinity? Finally, in considering the social contexts in which the enactment of sexual coercion may occur, we addressed the questions, 'when a challenge by a woman is perceived as a threat, are those feelings of threat translated into the inclination to be coercive. And is the inclination to be coercive more likely to be enacted in private than in public?'

We proposed that the SIDE model (Social Identity Definition and Enactment) provided a theoretical framework within which we could consider the issues addressed in this thesis. Working within the SIDE model, it was proposed that traditional masculinity is both cognitive and strategic. In terms of the cognitive, the key point is that when a social identity is made salient this leads to the adoption of values and norms that guide behavioural inclination. However, behavioural inclination is also affected by strategic factors, that it is about acting in ways which allow the individual to be a member of the ingroup and being able to lay claim to ingroup identity. One of the key points about the SIDE model is that visibility or accountability to others and the consequent possibility of sanction can affect behaviour both cognitively and strategically, sometimes in contradictory or paradoxical ways.

**Summary of findings.**

*Attitudes to Coercive Behaviours Scale.*

Before we presented the studies in this thesis we argued that it was necessary to develop a new scale measuring attitudes to coercive behaviour. This

was because there was not a scale available which measured the broad scope of sexual coercion. The new scale (ACBS) was shown to have good psychometric properties in terms of reliability and construct validity. It was tested with different populations including Scottish university and FE college students and also American university students. However, further validity testing of the scale would be beneficial with other scales within the same 'nomological' net (Cronbach & Meel, 1955).

*The Paradox.*

In relation to our proposed paradox, five studies were presented in Chapters Four to Seven which supported our view that there might be a paradox in the relationship between traditional masculinity and sexual coercion. The first two studies addressing the relationship between traditional masculinity and attitudes, which justify sexual coercion, and the behavioural inclination to be coercive were presented. The results from these first two studies were inconclusive (see limitations of research below). However, they both provided some evidence to support the view that there is a relationship between traditional masculinity and sexual coercion both in terms of attitudes and behavioural inclination. The main point of interest that came out of these studies was the data relating to what we speculated was an 'insecure' masculinity group. That is, we speculated that this group was a group that wanted to be masculine but didn't think they were as masculine as they would like to be. Following an unusual pattern of correlations between the High and Low Masculinity groups, we divided participants into three masculinity groups. We found that there was not a linear relationship between traditional masculinity and both attitudes and behavioural inclination. In fact, it

was the Medium Masculinity group who scored higher than the other two groups on attitudes and on feelings of arousal and enjoyment in acquaintance rape situations. However, there was no significant difference between the three masculinity groups on the inclination to be coercive, which will be discussed further below.

To address the possible problem that the university student sample, in the first two studies, was not representative, the study presented in Chapter Five was with students attending a FE college. This study gave more concrete support for the first part of our paradox that there is a relationship between traditional masculinity and sexual coercion. The study addressed both attitudes and behavioural inclination with the same sample and incorporated a new traditional masculinity salience manipulation. The most important point that came out of this study was that, when traditional masculinity was made salient, the relationship between attitudes which deny and justify sexual coercion (a traditional masculine ideology) and the behavioural inclination to be coercive was significant. This relationship was significantly different compared to the condition where traditional masculinity was not salient. A regression analysis also showed, only in the salient condition, that the attitude measures were significant predictors of the inclination to be coercive, accounting for 53% of the variance. In addition, the study demonstrated that the direction of influence was from traditional masculinity to attitudes and behavioural inclination. However, the results of this study also showed that the relationship between traditional masculinity and sexual coercion is not a simple monotonic relationship. The Medium Masculinity group scored higher on all the dependent measures (attitudes and behavioural inclination) than both the High and Low Masculinity groups, but, apart from the Rape Myth Scale,

the differences were not significant. It was, therefore, suggested that these results should be treated with caution.

Nevertheless, these first three studies provided support for the first part of our paradox that there is a traditional masculine ideology to which people subscribe which influences the inclination to be coercive, but only when traditional masculinity was made salient, and that the relationship is more complex than initially proposed. The studies showed that it was more useful to consider three masculinity groups and that there was not a linear relationship between traditional masculinity and sexual coercion.

In Chapter 6 we presented a study addressing the second part of our paradox that the enactment of sexual coercion undermines masculinity. That is, we proposed that men who were coercive would be perceived as less masculine, as not 'real' men. While there was some differences in terms of whether the relationship, in the coercive scenarios, was Acquaintance (known to each other) or Intimate (in a relationship with each other), the main point was that the results supported our hypotheses. That is, a man who forced a woman to have sex was perceived as not masculine and his behaviour as not that of a 'real' man. In addition, where the man ignored the woman's plea that she didn't want to have sex, he was also perceived as not a 'real' man and his behaviour was also perceived negatively. And finally, when the man accepted the woman's refusal to have sex, he was perceived as more masculine and his behaviour as that of a 'real' man. A further important point that came out of this study was that the Medium ('insecure') Masculinity group, which we had shown held to a more traditional ideology of masculinity, did not differ from the other two masculinity groups in

their perceptions of masculinity. That is, they also perceived a man who was actually coercive as not masculine.

Further support for the paradox was provided in a University survey presented in Chapter Seven. The survey provided unique opportunities, firstly, to present both sides of the paradox to the same large sample (359 participants) rather than presenting separate studies to different groups of students. Secondly, it allowed us to consider whether the paradox held good for coercion more generally (both physical and verbal) rather than just sexual coercion (rape). Finally, in relation to our speculated notion of an 'insecure' masculinity, we looked at this more directly by looking at an Ideal-Actual difference. We proposed earlier that this 'insecure' group felt that they should be more masculine than they actually were. We, therefore, presented them with items from the Tough sub-scale of the Male Role Norm scale, measuring how they felt they should be (Ideal). We then reworded the items to measure how they felt they actually were (Actual). The 'insecure' group was then made up of those whose Actual scores were less than their Ideal scores.

The results of this study provided further support for the paradox and more direct and substantive support for our notion of an 'insecure' masculinity. Firstly, overall there was a significant correlation between the Tough sub-scale of the MRNS, which contains several items which refer to a willingness to be violent, and the two attitude sub-scales of the Attitudes to Coercive Behaviour Scale. That is, there was a significant relationship between masculinity and attitudes supporting sexual coercion. Secondly, this study gave support for the second part of our paradox that men who are coercive are perceived as less masculine. Overall, participants perceived a man who was physically coercive as not masculine and

significantly less masculine than a man who was verbally coercive. Similarly a man who was verbally coercive was perceived as less masculine than a man who agreed to the woman's wishes (to stay at a club).

When we considered the results for the 'insecure' masculinity group, compared to the two 'secure' masculinity groups, we found that the 'insecure' masculinity group scored significantly higher on the attitude measures than the other two groups. That is, a group who see themselves as less tough than they believe they should be scored higher on attitudes justifying the coercion of women than the groups who see themselves as just as tough or tougher than they should be. However, as with the previous study, this 'insecure' group did not differ from the other two groups on perceptions of masculinity when the man in the scenarios was physically coercive. That is, this group also perceived the man who was physically coercive as not masculine. Similarly, in the scenario where the man agrees with the woman's wishes, the 'insecure' group did not differ from the two 'secure' masculinity groups, in that the man was perceived as most masculine. However, in the scenario where the man verbally abused the woman, the 'insecure' masculinity group were significantly less negative in their perception of the man's masculinity than the other two groups. That is, it seemed that while this group condemned physical coercion, verbal coercion as a means of control was not out-rightly condemned in terms of perceived masculinity.

These five studies provided support for our notion of a paradox that, on the one hand, there is a traditional ideology of masculinity that justifies or excuses sexual coercion and also the behavioural inclination to be coercive. On the other hand, the enactment of sexual coercion undermines masculinity, in that men who are coercive are perceived as not masculine. However, the paradox is slightly

different from what we originally envisaged. Rather than it being the case that men who most endorse traditional masculinity being those who most endorse coercion against women, it is those who are most insecure in their traditional masculinity who are most inclined to be coercive. The paradox is that the enactment of coercion threatens to further undermine their masculinity, in that, the perception is that real men don't need to or shouldn't exert their power. Those who do exert their power display their weakness.

*A dilemma and resolving the paradox*

In the final two experimental chapters we considered more explicitly the conditions under which the paradox might arise and how it might be resolved. That is, does the paradox arise when a woman challenges a man, and is the paradox resolved under conditions when a man is not accountable to other members of the ingroup?

Based on the assumption that there is an unequal power relationship between men and women, we proposed that the paradox would arise if men feel threatened when challenged by a woman and, consequently feel like being coercive to assert or reassert their masculinity. If this is the case, and if a paradox exists, then men are faced with a dilemma, how do they resolve the paradox? Do they do nothing when challenged by women? Are they coercive and thereby risk the loss of an identity to which they wish to lay claim? We proposed that one way of addressing this issue was to conceive of the paradox as a balance: the greater the weight on either side the more likely it is to determine the response. Thus, men may be more likely to be coercive when a woman's behaviour is seen as more of a

challenge to their masculinity or when their accountability to other men is less, i.e. when their behaviour is not observed by other men.

In Chapter 8, we set out to test whether a challenge by a woman engenders feelings of threat to masculinity by presenting scenarios which depicted different levels of challenge. What we found was that the greater the level of challenge presented in the scenarios the greater the feeling of threat to masculinity. In addition, we found that our 'insecure' masculinity group, who hold more to a traditional ideology of masculinity which supports the view that women should do as they are told, reported that they would feel that their masculinity had been threatened significantly more than the two 'secure' masculinity groups. The 'insecure' group also reported that, in the scenario where the woman directly challenged the man by refusing to do what he wanted, the man was justified in being verbally coercive. However, when we asked if the man would be justified in being physically coercive to get his way, there were no significant differences between the masculinity groups. While the 'insecure' group did score higher, the lack of significance may have been due to the low group numbers and very low mean scores (almost at 'floor').

In this study, we also considered how a man who was challenged by a woman was perceived in terms of his masculinity. The results, while not completely as predicted, showed that a man was perceived as least masculine where there was a direct and explicit challenge to his masculinity. That is, a man who allows a woman to challenge him is perceived as not a real man, and that perceptions of masculinity are a function of the challenge. In terms of our three masculinity groups, there was no difference between the groups in their perceptions of masculinity. That is, our 'insecure' masculinity group did not differ

from the two 'secure' masculinity groups in their perceptions of masculinity when a man was explicitly challenged by a woman.

Finally, we asked participants whether, in the same situation, they would feel in control. While the results were not as predicted, they did show that in a situation where there was a direct challenge that was not addressed, then participants reported feelings of not being in control. However, when a direct challenge was addressed, and the woman acceded to the man's wishes, there was a greater feeling of being in control. That is, feelings of being in control are an outcome of the challenge. The prediction that the 'insecure' masculinity group would feel less in control than the two secure masculinity groups was not supported.

However, the main point that came out of this study was that a challenge by a woman engendered feelings of threat to masculinity and especially for the 'insecure' masculinity group. Following from this, it was decided to consider whether feelings of threat to masculinity would be translated into coercive behaviour and also to consider the social contexts in which coercion might be more likely.

*Resolving the paradox.*

Earlier, we proposed that the paradox would arise if men feel threatened when challenged by a woman and, consequently feel like being coercive to assert or reassert their masculinity. In the previous chapter we showed that this was the case. When a woman challenges a man this engenders feelings of threat to a man's masculinity and there was also evidence that participants felt that at least verbal coercion was justified when a man was challenged. That being the case and in

light of the evidence supporting the existence of the paradox, we proposed that men are faced with a dilemma, how do they resolve the paradox? Do they do nothing when challenged by women? Are they coercive and thereby risk the loss of an identity to which they wish to lay claim?

Therefore, in the final experimental chapter (Chapter 9), we considered whether men were more likely to be actually coercive when a woman's behaviour was seen as being more of a challenge to their masculinity, or when their accountability to other men was less, i.e., when it is not witnessed by other men. That is, working within the framework of the SIDE model, we proposed, from the cognitive aspect, that, in a situation where a man's masculinity is challenged in public by a woman, participants would report that they would feel like being coercive (i.e., an inclination to be coercive), irrespective of whether the response (physical or verbal coercion) was in a public or private context. However, from the strategic aspect of SIDE, where a man is not visible and hence not accountable to other men (the ingroup), that they would report that they would actually be coercive. That is, in a private context feeling like being coercive would be translated into actually being coercive, but not in a public context.

Overall, the results of the study supported our predictions, in that, when a challenge by a woman was perceived as a threat, then the greater the feeling of threat, the greater the relationship with actually being coercive (both physical and verbal coercion). While feelings of threat were related to both the inclination to be coercive (feeling like being coercive) in both public and private contexts, the enactment of coercion was more likely in a private context than in a public context.

Finally, we predicted that the 'insecure' masculinity group, who we argued hold more to a traditional ideology of masculinity, would be more likely to say that they would be coercive than the two 'secure' masculinity groups. While the differences between the groups were not significant, the means were in the predicted direction, i.e. the 'insecure' group means were higher than those of the 'secure' masculinity groups,

**Limitations of research.**

Having presented a summary of the findings, let us now consider the limitations of the research presented. Firstly, we shall consider methodological issues related to the particular studies presented, and, secondly consider conceptual issues relating to the research as a whole.

*Methodological issues.*

Firstly, let us consider the issue of sample sizes. In the first two studies, where we had originally proposed that we should divide the sample into two (High and Low) masculinity groups, the unusual pattern of correlations indicated that we should consider three (High/Medium/Low) masculinity groups. This resulted in relatively small group sizes for analysis. Similarly, in the last two studies when we used a criterion split based on Ideal – Actual difference, the 'insecure' group numbers were lower than the other two groups, which again posed some problems for statistical analysis. However, in the University survey, where we had a large sample, the pattern of results was very similar to those in the other studies which suggests that while smaller numbers and unequal group sizes may have accounted for lack of significance, the pattern of results and our interpretation held good.

Nevertheless, the analysis of the different masculinity groups was not the main focus of the thesis but came out of an unexpected pattern of correlations in the first two studies. Overall, the studies, with sufficient participant numbers, supported our hypotheses relating to our main focus, the paradox and its resolution.

Secondly, we noted further problems in the first two studies relating to; a) issues of demand characteristics and possible impression management responses, due to the cover story not being believed; b) using the Male Role Norm Scale proved to be ineffective as a salience manipulation due to the gendered nature of the attitude measures and the acquaintance rape scenarios; and c) the recruitment of male participants from mixed gender classes and the possibility that this made masculinity salient before the presentation of the studies. However, these issues were addressed in the study with FE college students. A new gendered salience manipulation was used and the male participants were drawn from all male classes and were presented with the MRNS (solely as a measure of masculinity) a week before the other experimental measures.

A third methodological issue relating to the studies is the low mean scores (some close to 'floor'), especially in those studies which employed the sexual coercion scales and rape scenarios. There is the strong possibility that these induced 'social desirability' effects. However, the mean scores did produce sufficient significant differences between conditions and groups. In addition, the mean scores found in this thesis are similar to those found in research carried out elsewhere in the domain of sexual coercion (Muir, 1994; see Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994 for a review).

*Conceptual issues.*

Let us now consider the more important conceptual limitations of the research as a whole.

Firstly, the thesis might be criticised for the participant samples, i.e. students, especially university students. However, as has been noted by others (Grace et al, 1992; Payne, 1993; Warr, 1988), the majority of rapes involve men in the age range 17 to 26 years of age, not dissimilar to the samples in this thesis. It should also be noted that, even with mainly middle-class university students, the overall results showed a number of participants reporting their support for coercive attitudes and the inclination to be coercive. The problem of 'representativeness' was addressed in the study with FE college students who were a quite different population, not only in the courses studied, but also in socio-economic status. It should be noted that the mean scores on all measures for the FE college students did not differ significantly from the mean scores of the university student samples. Nevertheless, further research would benefit from incorporating more participants from other populations, including those from lower socio-economic groups (see below).

A second conceptual issue, in the studies presented, is that we did not deal with actual behaviour. The studies, as with a great deal of research in this domain, relied on what participants said they would do. Nevertheless, in these experimental studies, there was still considerable variation between the different traditional masculinity groups in their responses, and, even in an experimental situation where they were not anonymous to the experimenter, participants were willing to report that they would be coercive. The issue of measuring or observing actual behaviour is especially problematic in studies of sexual coercion. It raises both

ethical and practical issues that are difficult to resolve, particularly in experimental studies.

Finally, in relation to conceptual issues, we presented data relating to different notions of or adherence to traditional masculinity and provided some evidence for what we termed an 'insecure' masculinity. However, this treatment of masculinity was very limited and did not address the ideas raised by the likes of Connell (1987, 1995) and Messerschmidt (1993, 2000). We did not, in this thesis, address the nature of differing masculinities nor their general argument that particular behaviours are resources in the construction of masculinity. However, what we did take from them was the notion of power differences, not only between men and women but also power differences between men within a traditional masculinity grouping. We pointed out that Messerschmidt (2000) and West and Fenstermaker (1995) made the important point that individuals realise that they may be held accountable by others for their behaviour, and they, therefore, tailor their behaviour and justifications for the behaviour to those others. For Messerschmidt, social action is a performance which attempts to 'accomplish gender'. It was this strategic sense of construction of identity and the effect of accountability to others on that construction that we took from Connell and Messerschmidt.

**Future directions.**

These limitations, in particular the conceptual limitations of this research, point to where we can take this research forward. So, let us consider the conceptual limitations in turn and how they might addressed.

Firstly, the issue of participant samples which were limited, in this thesis, to students and in particular university students. A systematic analysis of the issues presented here could be conducted with different populations, e.g. with different age groups (are these issues viewed differently by an older age group, i.e. do they hold more to a traditional masculine ideology?) and by socio-economic status. In the present thesis, we only had one study with young men from a lower socio-economic group and it would be useful to conduct further systematic studies. It could also be important to carry out a systematic analysis of different ethnic groups, e.g. as noted in Chapter 2, Afro-Caribbean offenders are significantly over-represented in cases of recorded rape and attempted rape (Smith, 1989a; Muir & MacLeod, in press b). A systematic series of studies with an Afro-Caribbean sample would not only consider the relationship between masculinity and sexual coercion but may provide support for Connell's view of different masculinities and practices (see below).

Secondly, in dealing with the issue of actual behaviour rather than what participants say they would do in response to a questionnaire, this might be better addressed in interview studies with prisoners, in particular with sex offenders. Interview studies could address questions relating to the social contexts in which coercion or violence might arise, not only sexual coercion. They could consider, inter alia, the effect of threats to identity, relationships, what it means to be a man and perceptions of men who are coercive. We noted at the beginning of the thesis that a semi-structured interview study with prisoners (not sex offenders) was conducted but not presented because of constraints of length. This interview study addressed some the questions posed above and did provide some confirmation (triangulation) of the results of the experimental studies presented here and

explored, in a limited way, the meaning of traditional masculinity. However, longer and more detailed interviews, particularly, with sex offenders would provide a further insight into the relationship between masculinity and sexual coercion.

Thirdly, to address the issue of different masculinities and sexual coercion as a resource in the construction of masculinity, both experimental and interview studies could be employed. In terms of experimental studies, we could devise studies that make salient different notions of masculinity, e.g. a 'new' man, a 'lad', 'macho' man, but as noted above this may be more directly addressed with studies with different population groups, e.g. working class and ethnic groups. In terms of interview studies, these could not only consider the questions noted above but also address the question of resources. Firstly by asking whether men feel limited to what they can do in a situation where they feel that their masculinity has been challenged, and, by interviewing men from different populations, explore whether there are differences in perceived availability of resources. Gadd (1995) has argued that men's behaviour is not so much determined by their position within the social structure but is delimited by their position.

Finally, the thesis has shown that the SIDE model provides a useful framework for addressing the issue of power differences between groups. This could then be taken forward, firstly, in extending the work presented in this thesis and, secondly, in investigating other forms of violence, e.g. 'square goes' between individual men and small groups (gangs). In taking forward the current research, the issue of accountability in relation to resolving the paradox, might be more explicitly addressed using a CMC (computer mediated communication) methodology (e.g. Spears, Lea & Lee, 1990; Douglas & McGarty, 2000).

Participants could, e.g. be shown video representations of the scenarios presented in this thesis, and visibility (as accountability) to either ingroup or outgroup members could be manipulated. This form of study could also consider further our notion of an 'insecure' masculinity and explore the direct effects of accountability on this group.

## Concluding comments.

Despite the methodological and conceptual limitations noted above, let us reiterate what the research presented here has achieved. Firstly, we developed a new attitude scale and other measures that helped us address the issues addressed in the thesis. Secondly, the studies presented were a systematic examination of the relationship between traditional masculinity and sexual coercion and the processes involved in the possible enactment of coercive behaviour. The studies, informed by the SIDE model, supported our notion of a paradox and the social contexts in which the enactment of sexual coercion is more likely to occur, i.e. the conditions and the contexts in which the paradox might arise and in which it might be resolved.

The thesis has demonstrated that the SIDE model, as a framework, provides us with a more comprehensive and integrated means of thinking about identity (traditional masculinity) and behaviour (sexual coercion). It is a theory which acknowledges power differences between groups, that acknowledges that identity is cognitive and attitudes influence behaviour, but also acknowledges that people act strategically in terms of visibility or accountability to others in order to have their identity validated by those others. It is a theory that has allowed us to

generate hypotheses in relation to the paradoxical relationship between

traditional masculinity and sexual coercion and the resolution of that paradox.

**A final note.**

The thesis started with anecdotal evidence from my prison research and I

will close with further anecdotal evidence with reference to the incidence of

recorded sexual coercion in lower socio-economic groups. I interviewed a number

of young offenders and was struck by their perceptions of how society saw them.

As one youth said, "I know they (society) see me as a piece of dog shit on the

bottom of their shoe." These young offenders felt that there was no chance that

they would get into employment on release and they would go back into the same

social situation and peer groups that led them into prison in the first place. They

felt powerless and emasculated by society at large. This led me to consider that

one way for them to reassert their masculinity within their own sphere of influence

is through those over whom they have power, women and children.

Theoretically the studies presented here have gone some way to addressing

the social processes involved in sexual coercion. However, in practical terms, the

implication of my work is that if one wishes to address male violence against

women – and, of course, the only justification for studying such violence is to

challenge it – then the most effective way may involve not so much looking at the

characteristics of the perpetrator or the victim, but rather by making more visible

and comprehensible what goes on in those domains we treat as most private: the

family and the home. That is, if the key issue is accountability then making men's

sexual coercion of women more visible, perhaps by placing responsibility for

others to make it visible. A useful way to address this, over and above the other

studies proposed, would be an ethnographic study of young men and their social relationships in, e.g. inner-city estates. That is, to address the major problem that, *"no one knows what goes on behind closed doors"* (from the song, 'Behind Closed Doors', words and music by Kenny O'Dell, 1973).

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# APPENDIX I

a) Ethics Committee Approval.

b) Original 9 categories and scale items for the Attitudes to Coercive Behaviours Scale.

c) Final 21 item (plus three filler items) AVCB scale in five factors.

d) Item factor loadings, within scale and item-to-total correlations, within factor and within scale for the 21 AVCB items.

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*UNIVERSITY OF ST ANDREWS*
*SCHOOL OF PSYCHOLOGY ETHICS COMMITTEE*

10th December 1998

Grant Muir
School of Psychology
University of St Andrews

Dear Grant

### Re: Masculinities and Sexual Violence (Three Studies)

Thank you for your full and helpful letter of 3/12/98 which the committee has now considered. We give our approval to your application.

There are two minor points which we wish to make – the first a clarification and the second a request.

i) With regard to Point 5: it is the committee's understanding that participants will be asked not to deposit their responses in the plain envelopes until after the debriefing (thus ensuring their ability to withdraw their participation until the debriefing is completed). We believe this was your intention but felt some ambiguity remained.

ii) Whilst it is not a condition of our acceptance, we would be grateful for a copy of the front sheet of the questionnaire which gives advice regarding withdrawal from the study.

If, during the course of the proposed research, any important condition were to alter, then the Committee would wish to be informed.

Yours sincerely

Dr Hugh Morris
Convener

Replied 14/12/98

Dictated but not read

**b) Attitudes to coercive behaviours scale.**
**9 initial Categories and pilot items.**

**1. Women Lie/Exaggerate: general mysogyny items.**

1. Sometimes women lie about domestic violence just to get even with a man.

2. Women often exaggerate claims about violence by their husband.

3. Women sometimes make up false allegations of 'date' rape.

4. Women who claim they have been sexually harassed are usually exaggerating.

5. Women tend to exaggerate how much sexual harassment affects them.

**2. Women's Fault: specific acts which precipitate violent and controlling behaviours.**

6. If a woman is a sexual tease, she shouldn't be surprised if a man tries to force her to have sex.

7. When a woman deliberately makes her boyfriend jealous, she only has herself to blame if he responds violently.

8. If a woman flirts with another man in public, she should not be surprised if her husband is physically abusive to her.

9. If a woman flirts with another man in public, she should not be surprised if her boyfriend is verbally abusive to her.

10. If a woman criticises her husband in public, it is hardly surprising if he is violent towards her.

11. If a woman criticises her boyfriend in public, it is hardly surprising if he is physically abusive towards her.

12. If a woman constantly nags her husband, she should not be surprised if he threatens her with violence.

**3.Asking for trouble: general statements about women's behaviours which might or do lead to violent situations.**

13. Women who are sexually harassed have often done something to cause it.

14. If women encourage sexual attention to gain some advantage, they are playing a dangerous game.

15. When a man is violent towards his wife, it is frequently because she has been unfaithful to him.

16. If a man hits his girlfriend, it is often because she has done something to provoke him.

17. If a man hits his wife, it is often because she has done something to provoke him.
18. A woman who dresses provocatively to gain attention from men, is asking for trouble.

## 4. No Big Deal: general statements tapping men's controlling behaviours being misunderstood as more than they are.

19. If a man and his wife get into a fight with each other, it shouldn't be called domestic violence.

20. If a woman is fondled at a party she shouldn't make a big deal of it.

21. Women shouldn't be upset by men whistling at them in the street.

22. It's no big deal if a man makes sexual remarks to a woman when he is drunk.

23. It takes more than 'dirty jokes' and sexual comments to be sexual harassment.

24. Women shouldn't be so quick to take offence when a man expresses sexual interest.

25. If a man pushes his wife around, it shouldn't be considered domestic violence.

26. Innocent flirtation is often seen by women as sexual harassment.

27. A slap may be wrong, but should not be considered as domestic violence.

28. Women often cry domestic violence about behaviour that could be considered reasonable in an argument.

## 5. A Man is Entitled to Control: acceptable behaviour if authority challenged in specific ways.

29. If a man thinks his wife is spending too much time out of the house with her friends, he is entitled to deliberately keep her short of money.

30. If a woman dresses provocatively, her husband should be able to tell her to change the way she dresses.

31. If a woman dresses provocatively, her boyfriend should be able to tell her to change the way she dresses.

32. A husband is entitled to know what his wife does when she goes out with her girlfriends.

33. A boyfriend is entitled to know what his girlfriend does when she goes out with her girlfriends.

**6. A Man is Entitled to Control: general statements about acceptable controlling behaviours**

34. Sometimes men show how much they care for their wife through jealous and possessive behaviour.

35. Sometimes men show how much they care for their girlfriend through jealous and possessive behaviour.

36. A man should have a say in how his wife behaves in public

37 A man should have a say in where his wife goes in public.

38. It is the husband who should control the household spending.

**7. A Man is Entitled to Chastise: justifiable behaviour if masculinity threatened.**
39. It is all right for a husband to hit his wife if she is unfaithful to him.

40. It is all right for a man to hit his girlfriend if she is 'sleeping around'.

41. It is acceptable for a man to verbally abuse his wife if she shows him up in public.

42. It is acceptable for a man to verbally abuse his girlfriend if she flirts in public.

43. It's understandable for a man to respond violently if he finds out that his girlfriend is 'sleeping around'.

**8. Boys Will be Boys: It's only natural for men to be violent and controlling**

44. It is inevitable that men will 'come on' to women at a party.

45. It is just human nature that men will make sexual comments to women.

46. Often men use violence as a way to control the women in their lives.

47. In all societies it is inevitable that men will be dominant.

48. It is normal for men to wolf-whistle at a woman who dresses provocatively.

49. Whether we like it or not men are naturally violent toward women.

**9. Private Matter: nobody else's business.**

50. If your neighbour is physically abusing his wife, it is really nobody else's business.

51. Physical fighting between a man and his girlfriend is a personal matter between the two people involved.

52. Domestic violence is a private family matter

53. If you see a man and his girlfriend fighting, you shouldn't get involved.

54. If you see a man and his wife fighting, it might make it worse if you intervene.

**c) AVCB scale: 21 items in 5 factors plus 3 filler items.**

1. *Women's behaviour used to justify.*

WB1   If a woman flirts with another man in public, she should not be surprised if her husband is physically abusive to her.
WB2   If a man thinks his wife is spending too much time out of the house with her friends, he is entitled to deliberately keep her short of money.
WB3   Women who are sexually harassed have often done something to cause it.
WB4   When a woman deliberately makes her boyfriend jealous, she only has herself to blame if he responds violently.
WB5   A woman who dresses provocatively to gain attention from men, is asking for trouble.

2. *Men's right to control.*

MRC1 If a woman dresses provocatively, her boyfriend should be able to tell her to change the way she dresses.
MRC2 If a woman is a sexual tease, she shouldn't be surprised if a man tries to force her to have sex.
MRC3 It is alright for a man to hit his girlfriend if she is 'sleeping around'.
MRC4 It is acceptable for a man to verbally abuse his wife if she shows him up in public.

3. *No big deal.*

NBD1 It is just human nature that men will make sexual comments to women.
NBD2 Innocent flirtation is often seen by women as sexual harassment.
NBD3 Women shouldn't be so quick to take offence when a man expresses sexual interest.
NBD4 It takes more than 'dirty jokes' and sexual comments to be sexual harassment.

4. *Private matter.*

PM1   Physical fighting between a man and his girlfriend is a personal matter between the two people involved.
PM2   Domestic violence is a private family matter.
PM3   If you see a man and his wife fighting, it might make it worse if you intervene.
PM4   If your neighbour is physically abusing his wife, it is really nobody else's business.
PM5   If you see a man and his girlfriend fighting, you shouldn't get involved.

5. *Women lie/exaggerate.*

WL1   Women tend to exaggerate how much sexual harassment affects them.
WL2   Women often cry domestic violence about behaviour that could be reasonable in an argument.
WL3   Women who claim they have been sexually harassed are usually exaggerating.

*Filler items.*
F1   It is not acceptable for a man to tell his girlfriend how to dress in public.
F2   It is not acceptable, under any circumstances, for a man to hit his wife.
F3   Cases of domestic violence should be dealt with severely by the courts.

d) **ACB Scale (based on 54 male and 69 female students) : Principal Components Analysis withVarimax rotation and an Eigen value of 1. 5 factors and 21 items.**

| Factor | Item | Factor Loading within Scale. | Item-to-total Correlations | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Within factor | Within scale |
| 1. *Women's behaviour used to justify. (Alpha .88)* | | | | |
| | WB1 | .72 | .75 | .59 |
| | WB2 | .41 | .68 | .66 |
| | WB3 | .68 | .77 | .56 |
| | WB4 | .79 | .82 | .67 |
| | WB5 | .74 | .81 | .71 |
| 2. *Men's right to control. (Alpha .89)* | | | | |
| | MRC1 | .89 | .88 | .56 |
| | MRC2 | .86 | .85 | .57 |
| | MRC3 | .63 | .72 | .55 |
| | MRC4 | .53 | .76 | .68 |

3.  *No big deal. (Alpha .79)*

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| NBD1 | .48 | | .66 | .43 |
| NBD2 | .54 | | .72 | .60 |
| NBD3 | .78 | | .78 | .58 |
| NBD4 | .71 | | .65 | .44 |

4.  *Private matter. (Alpha .79)*

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| PM1 | .55 | | .69 | .51 |
| PM2 | .76 | | .67 | .27 |
| PM3 | .46 | | .65 | .48 |
| PM4 | .53 | | .53 | .48 |
| PM5 | .74 | | .68 | .32 |

5.  *Women lie/exaggerate. (Alpha .86)*

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| WL1 | .62 | | .83 | .55 |
| WL2 | .62 | | .73 | .38 |
| WL3 | .78 | | .85 | .47 |

ACB (21 items) Scale Alpha = .90

Total percentage of variance accounted for = 60.92%

(Factor 1 = 15.62%; Factor 2 = 12.95%; Factor 3 = 12.59%; Factor 4 = 10.28%; Factor 5 = 9.48%)

*Sub-scale to total correlations:*

Women's behaviour (WB) .83; Men's right to control (MRC) .74; No big deal (NBD) .74; Private matter (PM) .63; Women lie (WL) .61.

# APPENDIX II

*Study 1.*
a) Male Role Norm Scale (Thompson and Pleck, 1986).

b) Illinois Rape Myth Scale (Payne, Lonsway and Fitzgerald, 1997).

c) Debriefing Sheet.

## a) MALE ROLE NORM SCALE.

This questionnaire relates to male role norms. For each statement you should put a cross through the number which best matches your view, where 1= 'not at all agree', 4= 'moderately agree', and 7= 'very much agree'.

1. Success in his work has to be a man's central goal in life. **(S)**

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. **(S)**

3. When a man is feeling a little pain he should try not to let it show very much. **(T)**

4. It bothers me when a man does something that I consider feminine'. **(AF)**

5. A man owes it to his family to work at the best-paying job he can get. **(S)**

6. Nobody respects a man very much who frequently talks about his worries, fears and problems. **(T)**

7. A man whose hobbies are cooking, sewing, and going to the ballet probably wouldn't appeal to me. **(AF)**

8. A man should generally work overtime to make more money whenever he has the chance. **(S)**

9. A man always deserves the respect of his wife and children. **(S)**

10. A good motto for a man would be 'When the going gets tough, the tough get going'. **(T)**

11. It is a bit embarrassing for a man to have a job that is usually filled by a woman. **(AF)**

12. It is essential for a man to always have the respect and admiration of everyone who knows him. **(S)**

13. A man should never back down in the face of trouble. **(S)**

14. I think a young man should try to become physically tough, even if he's not big. **(T)**

15. Unless he was really desperate, I would probably advise a man to keep looking rather than accept a job as a secretary. **(AF)**

16. I always like a man who is totally sure of himself. **(S)**

17. Fists are sometimes the only way to get out of a bad situation. **(T)**

18. A man should always think things out coolly and logically, and have rational reasons for everything he does. **(S)**

19. A real man enjoys a bit of danger now and then. **(T)**

20. If I heard about a man who was a hairdresser and a gourmet cook, I might wonder how masculine he was. **(AF)**

21. A man should always try to project an air of confidence even if he doesn't feel confident inside. **(S)**

22. In some kinds of situations a man should be ready to use his fists, even if his wife or girlfriend would object. **(T)**

23. I think it's extremely good for a boy to be taught to cook, sew, clean the house, and take care of younger children. **(AF)**

24. I might find it a little silly or embarrassing if a male friend of mine cried over a sad love scene in a movie. **(AF)**

25. A man must stand on his own two feet and never depend on other people to help him do things. **(S)**

26. A man should always refuse to get into a fight, even if there seems to be no way to avoid it. **(T)**

S = **Status Norm Sub-scale**

T = **Tough Norm Sub-scale**

AF= **Anti-femininity Norm Sub-scale**

**b) ILLINOIS RAPE MYTH SCALE.**
This questionnaire covers the scope of sexual assault, including possible causes, precipitating factors, effects, victim or perpetrator characteristics, and so on. These questions concern not only stranger rape but also acquaintance rape. There are no 'right' or 'wrong' answers and for each statement you should circle the number which best corresponds with your <u>opinion</u>, where 1= 'not at all agree', 4= 'moderately agree', and 7= 'very much agree'.

1. If a woman is raped while she is drunk, she is at least somewhat responsible for letting things get out of control

2. Although most women wouldn't admit it, they generally find being physically forced into sex a real 'turn-on'.

3. When men rape it is because of their strong desire for sex.

4. If a woman is willing to 'pet' with a man, then it's no big deal if he goes further and has sex.

5. Women who are caught having an illicit affair sometimes claim that it was rape.

6. Newspapers should not release the name of a rape victim to the public.

7. Many so-called rape victims are actually women who had sex and 'changed their minds' afterwards.

8. Many women secretly desire to be raped

9. Rape mainly occurs in 'certain' parts of a town.

10. Usually it is only women who do things like hang out in bars and sleep around that are raped.

11. Most rapists are not caught by the police.

12. If a woman doesn't physically fight back, you can't really say that it was rape.

13. Men from nice middle-class homes never rape.

14. Rape isn't as big a problem as some feminists would like people to think.

15. When women go round wearing low-cut tops or short skirts, they're just asking for trouble.

16. Rape accusations are often used as a way of getting back at men.

17. A rape probably didn't happen if the woman has no bruises or marks.

18. Many women find being forced to have sex very arousing.

19. If a woman goes home with a man she doesn't know, it is her own fault if she is raped.

20. Rapists are usually sexually frustrated individuals.

21. All women should have access to self-defence classes.

22. It is usually only women who dress suggestively that are raped.

23. Some women prefer to have sex forced on them so they don't have to feel guilty about it.

24. If the rapist doesn't have a weapon, you really can't call it rape.

25. When a woman is a sexual tease, eventually she is going to get into trouble.

26. Being raped isn't as bad as being mugged and beaten.

27. Rape is unlikely to happen in a woman's own familiar neighbourhood.

28. In reality, women are almost never raped by their boyfriends.

29. Women tend to exaggerate how much rape affects them.

30. When a man is very sexually aroused, he may not even realise that the woman is resisting.

31. A lot of women lead a man on and then cry rape.

32. It is preferable that a female police officer conduct the questioning when a woman reports a rape.

33. A lot of times, women who claim they were raped just have emotional problems.

34. If a woman doesn't physically resist sex - even when protesting verbally - it really can't be considered rape.

35. Rape almost never happens in the woman's own home.

36. A woman who 'teases' men deserves anything that might happen.

37. When women are raped, it's often because the way they said 'no' was ambiguous.

38. If a woman isn't a virgin, then it shouldn't be big deal if her date forces her to have sex.

39. Men don't usually intend to force sex on a woman, but sometimes they get too sexually carried away.

40. This society should devote more efforts to preventing rape.

41. A woman who dresses in skimpy clothes should not be surprised if a man tries to force her to have sex.

42. Rape happens when a man's sex drive gets out of control.

43. A woman who goes to the home or the flat of a man on the first date is implying that she wants to have sex.

44. Many women actually enjoy sex after the man uses a little force.

45. If a woman claims to have been raped but has no bruises or scrapes, she probably shouldn't be taken too seriously.

## c) Debriefing.

Thank you very much for your participation in this study. The purpose of the study is to consider the relationship between masculinity and attitudes to sexual violence. In actual fact, the Male Role Norm Scale, presented by the other experimenter, was not a separate study but was part of the one study.

Many of the statements which you responded to are what are known as 'rape myths' i.e. beliefs about rape that are false but still commonly held. These cultural beliefs and attitudes seem to support the sexual victimisation of women.
The other questionnaire was about men's violent and controlling behaviours and is a new scale currently being tested for its reliability and validity.

Many of the statements are ones which you may have heard regularly but which are derogatory to both men and women. I apologise if you were offended or upset by these items. The great majority (over 80 per cent) of rapes are committed by someone known to the victim and it has been estimated that 1 in 4 women will experience some form of sexual violence in their lifetime. Research like this helps us to gain a greater understanding of sexual violence in that only by gaining a greater understanding of cultural beliefs and attitudes can we bring about change.

If this study has disturbed or upset you in any way, please do not hesitate to contact me (Grant Muir), or if you wish further information about the study or the issues raised, I shall be happy to talk with you either immediately after the study or at any time.

I wish to emphasise that your responses are completely confidential but if you do not wish them to be included in the study then you are not required to return them. However, your responses are extremely valuable in taking forward our understanding of sexual violence.

I would also ask you not to discuss this study with other students who may be taking part in the study later in the week.

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# APPENDIX III

*Study 2.*

a) Acquaintance rape scenarios (translated from Bohner et al, 1998) and measures.

b) Debriefing Sheet.

Situation 1
**Please read the following text carefully and imagine yourself in the situation presented.**

You have gone out a few times with a woman you met recently. One weekend you go to a film together and then back to your place. You have a few beers, listen to music and do a bit of petting. At a certain point your friend realises she has had too much to drink to be able to drive home. You say she can stay over with you, no problem. You are keen to grab this opportunity and sleep with her. She objects, saying you are rushing her and anyway she is too drunk. You don't let that put you off, you lie down on her and just do it.

Situation 2
**Please read the text carefully and again imagine yourself in the situation presented.**

A while back, you met an attractive woman in a disco and you would like to take things a bit further with her. Friends of yours have a holiday home, so you invite her to share a weekend there. You have a great time together. On the last evening you are ready to sleep with her, but she says no. You try to persuade her, insisting it's all part of a nice weekend. You invited her, after all, and she did accept. At that she repeats that she doesn't want to have sex, but then puts up hardly any resistance when you simply undress her and go to bed with her.

Situation 3
**Please read the text carefully and again imagine yourself in the situation presented.**

Imagine you are a firm's Personnel Manager. You get on specially well with a new female member of staff. At the end of a busy week, you invite her out to dinner and take her home afterwards. As you want to spend some more time in her company, you suggest she might ask you in for a coffee. Next to her on the

sofa, you start fondling her and kissing her. She tries to move out of reach, but you tell her that her career prospects stand to be enhanced by her being on good terms with her boss. In due course she seems to have accepted this, and she doesn't resist when you sleep with her.

Situation 4
**Please read the text carefully and again imagine yourself in the situation presented.**

You are at a party and meet a good-looking and interesting woman. You chat, dance together and flirt. After the party you give her a lift home in your car, and she invites you in. You both sit down on the floor, then your new friend kisses you and starts to fondle you. That's absolutely fine by you, and now you want more. When you start to undress her in order to sleep with her, she suddenly pushes you off and says she wants to stop now. Her resistance only turns you on more, and, using some force, you press her down to the floor and then penetrate her.

Situation 5
**Please read the text carefully and again imagine yourself in the situation presented.**

You helped a young woman recently when her car broke down. She invites you to supper in her flat as a way of saying thank you. It's a very pleasant evening, and you have the impression she likes you. When your hostess indicates she is beginning to feel rather tired, you are not at all ready to leave. You would rather you finished the evening in bed together, and you try to kiss her. At that the woman gets mad and tells you to clear out. Instead, you grab her arms and drag her into the bedroom. You throw the woman on to the bed and force her to sleep with you.

**After each scenario, participants were presented with the following questions:**

1. In this situation, how aroused would you be?

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| not at all sexually aroused | not particularly sexually aroused | don't know | fairly sexually aroused | very strongly sexually aroused |

2. In this situation, would you have done the same?

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| would definitely not have done the same | would probably not have done the same | don't know | would probably have done the same | would definitely have done the same |

3. In this situation, how much would you enjoy imposing your will?

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| would not enjoy it at all | would not particularly enjoy it | don't know | would rather enjoy it | would greatly enjoy it |

**After all the scenarios were presented, the following two questions were presented as a measure of rape proclivity.**

**If you could be assured that no one would know and that you could in no way be punished for engaging in the following acts how likely, if at all, would you be to commit such acts.**
**Please answer the following questions, ticking the answer which is most applicable to yourself.**

1. Forcing a woman to have sexual intercourse against her will.

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Not at all Likely | not particularly likely | Neutral | fairly likely | very likely |

2. Forcing a woman to do something sexual which she didn't want to do.

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Not at all Likely | not particularly likely | neutral | fairly likely | very likely |

**b) Debriefing.**

**Thank you very much for your participation in this study. The purpose of the study is to consider the relationship between masculinity and behavioural inclination in relation to sexual violence. In actual fact, the Male Role Norm Scale, presented by the other experimenter, was not a separate study but was part of the one study.**

The scenarios presented depicted differing versions of acquaintance rape (also commonly referred to as 'date' rape). I apologise if you were offended or upset by these scenarios. The great majority (over 80 per cent) of rapes are committed by someone known to the victim and it has been estimated that 1 in 4 women will experience some form of sexual violence in their lifetime. Research like this helps us to gain a greater understanding of sexual violence in that only by understanding how attitudes and cultural beliefs interact with behavioural inclination can we bring about change.

If this study has disturbed or upset you in any way, please do not hesitate to contact me (Grant Muir), or if you wish further information about the study or the issues raised, I shall be happy to talk with you either immediately after the study or at any time.

I wish to emphasise that your responses are completely confidential but if you do not wish them to be included in the study then you are not required to return them. However, your responses are extremely valuable in taking forward our understanding of sexual violence.

I would also ask you not to discuss this study with other students who may be taking part in the study later in the week.

My phone No.: 01334 - 462092

E-mail: gm12@st-andrews.ac.uk

Room No.: 0.52

University Counselling Service Phone No.: 01334 – 462250

# APPENDIX IV

a) Salience manipulation adapted from Postmes and Spears (1999).

b) Debriefing Sheet.

**a) This questionnaire is about men and women's roles in society. There are no 'right' or 'wrong' answers and for each statement you should circle the number which best corresponds with your <u>opinion</u>, where 1= 'not at all agree', 4= 'moderately agree', and 7= 'very much agree'.**

1. Men generally occupy higher status positions in society than women.

2. Women's reactions to situations are generally more emotional than men's.

3. Men tend to be more decisive than women.

4. Men generally earn more money than women.

5. Clear differences exist between men and women.

b) **Debriefing: Please read and detach this sheet before placing your completed questionnaire in the envelope provided.**

Thank you very much for your participation in this study. The purpose of the study is to consider the relationship between masculinity and attitudes to sexual violence.

The Male Role Norm Scale, which you may have completed in the past few days, was not a separate study but was part of the present study which is being carried out in different educational institutions in Fife. It was presented separately to avoid what is known as 'demand characteristics', i.e. when the presentation of one questionnaire may influence the responses to a second questionnaire. However, even if you did not complete the Male Role Norm Scale, your responses to the present questionnaires are still very important for the overall research project.

You were asked to put your names on the questionnaires so that your responses to the Male Role Norm Scale can be matched with your responses to the questionnaires. After matching your responses, the cover sheets with your names on will be removed and destroyed to ensure complete confidentiality.

Many of the statements which you responded to are what are known as 'rape myths' i.e. beliefs about rape that are false but still commonly held. These cultural beliefs and attitudes seem to support the sexual victimisation of women. The great majority (over 80 per cent) of rapes are committed by someone known to the victim and it has been estimated that 1 in 4 women will experience some form of sexual violence in their lifetime. Research like this helps us to gain a greater understanding of sexual violence in that only by gaining a greater understanding of cultural beliefs and attitudes can we bring about change.

Many of the statements are ones which you may have heard regularly but which are derogatory to both men and women. I apologise if you were offended or upset by these items. If this study has disturbed or upset you in any way, please do not hesitate to contact me (Grant Muir), or if you wish further information about the study or the issues raised, I shall be happy to talk with you either immediately after the study or at any time. Further information or advice on sexual violence issues can be obtained from myself, Ian McIntosh, Student Advisor or from Fife Zero Tolerance (see below).

I wish to emphasise that your responses are completely confidential but if you do not wish them to be included in the study then you are not required to return them. However, your responses are extremely valuable in taking forward our understanding of sexual violence.
I would also ask you not to discuss this study with other students who may be taking part in the study later in the week.
My phone No.: 01334 – 462092    E-mail: gm12@st-andrews.ac.uk

Ian McIntosh, Student Advisor: 01334 – 658817

Fife Zero Tolerance: 01592 – 414704

**APPENDIX V**

a) Ethics Committee Approval

b) Six scenarios and measures.

c) Debriefing Sheet.

From:

Switchboard: (01334) 476161
Extension:
Direct line: (01334) 46
Fax: (01334) 463042

**UNIVERSITY OF ST ANDREWS**
**SCHOOL OF PSYCHOLOGY ETHICS COMMITTEE**

29 November, 1999

Grant Muir
School of Psychology
University of St Andrews

Dear Grant

### Re: Masculinities and Sexual Violence (Study 4)

The above-named project has been read and approved by the School of Psychology Ethics Committee.

If, during the course of the proposed research, any important condition were to alter, then the Committee would wish to be informed.

Yours sincerely

Dr Hugh Morris
Convener

Dictated but not read

b) Thank you for your participation in this study which is concerned with sexual violence issues. If at any time you find the material disturbing or upsetting please do not continue.

Your participation is voluntary and the information you provide is **completely confidential.**

Name:- _____

Age:- _____

You will be asked to read some scenarios and to then answer some questions relating to the man in each scenario. There are no 'right' or 'wrong' answers.

**Situation 1. (Acquaintance Ignore)**

**Please read the following text carefully.**

Ben meets with up with some friends for a meal. With them is a woman, Kate, whom he has met before. They get on well and, after the meal, they agree to go back to her place for coffee. Back at her flat they chat, flirt a little and kiss. Ben suggests they move into the bedroom but she says she doesn't want to have sex with him and asks Ben to leave. He ignores her request and continues to kiss her. Despite the fact that she repeatedly asks him to stop and asks him to leave, he carries on and has sex with her.

**Situation 2. (Intimate Accept)**

**Please read the following text carefully.**

Bill and his girlfriend Laura have been sleeping together regularly for some time. The other night, rather than going out, they decided to have a quiet night in front of the television. They cuddle up on the sofa and start kissing and being intimate with each other. Bill makes it clear to Laura that he is enjoying himself and wants to have sex. Laura tells him that she is happy to just have a cuddle. Bill tries to persuade her to have sex but when she says no he accepts this and goes home.

**Situation 3 (Intimate Force)**

**Please read the following text carefully.**

Jim and his girlfriend Liz recently moved in together. After a night out at the cinema, they go back to their flat and sit around chatting about their day and about the movie. When they go to bed they kiss and are intimate with each other. Jim becomes aroused and wants to have sex, but Liz tells him that she doesn't want to. Jim gets on top of her and, despite her crying and asking him to stop, pins her to the bed and forces her to have sex.

## Situation 4 (Acquaintance Accept)

**Please read the following text carefully.**

Janet goes to a club to meet a girlfriend. Her friend doesn't turn up but she meets up with Gary who she knows from work. They dance for a while after which Janet says she is going home. Gary offers to walk her home and when they get back, Janet invites Gary in for a coffee. After coffee, they kiss for a while until Janet tells Gary it is time for him to go. Gary tries to persuade her to let him stay the night but, when she says no, he goes home.

## Situation 5 (Intimate Ignore)

**Please read the following text carefully.**

George and his long-term girlfriend Sarah go away for the day. They have a great time going for a walk and enjoying each other's company. When they return Sarah cooks a meal and afterwards they settle down in front of the TV. They kiss and cuddle and, after a while, George suggests they go to bed. Sarah says no and suggests George go back to his place. He does not accept this and continues to kiss her and, although she continues to say no and starts to cry, he takes her to bed and has sex with her.

## Situation 6 (Acquaintance Force)

**Please read the following text carefully.**

Robbie is at a party and meets Sarah who he knows from college. They chat, dance together and flirt. After the party he walks her home, and she invites him in. They both sit down on the floor and they start to kiss. That's absolutely fine by him, and now he wants more. He starts to undress her in order to sleep with her. She gets upset and says she wants him to stop now and asks him to leave, but using his weight, Robbie presses her to the floor, holds her down and then penetrates her.

Now please answer the following questions. There are no 'right' or 'wrong' answers and for each statement you should circle the number which best corresponds with your <u>opinion</u>, where 1 = 'not at all agree', 4 = 'moderately agree', and 7 = 'very much agree'.

1.Robbie's behaviour is typical male behaviour. **T/B**

2. In an average group of men, Robbie would be popular **L**

3. Robbie is a weak man **PM  (reverse scored)**

4.Robbie's behaviour is understandable **E/B**

5. I have a problem with Robbie's behaviour **E/B (reverse scored)**

6. Robbie is a real man **PM**

7. It is not surprising that Robbie acted the way he did **A/B**

8. I would probably get on well with Robbie **L**

9. Robbie is an ordinary guy **PM**

10. Most men would behave like Robbie **T/B**

11. Robbie is not manly **PM (reverse scored)**

12.Most men would see Robbie's behaviour as acceptable **A/B**

PM = Perceived Masculinity Index

**L = likeable**

**T/B = Typical + Behaviour Index**

**E/B = Excusable + Behaviour Index**

**A/B = Acceptable + Behaviour Index**

**c) Debriefing: Please read and detach this sheet before placing your completed questionnaire in the envelope provided.**

Thank you very much for your participation in this study. The purpose of the study is to consider the relationship between masculinity and attitudes to men who commit acts of sexual violence.

The Male Role Norm Scale, which you may have completed in the past few days, was not a separate study but was part of the present study which is being carried out in different educational institutions in Fife and Tayside. It was presented separately to avoid what is known as 'demand characteristics', i.e. when the presentation of one questionnaire may influence the responses to a second questionnaire. However, even if you did not complete the Male Role Norm Scale, your responses to the scenarios are still very important for the overall research project.

You were asked to put your names on the questionnaires so that your responses to the Male Role Norm Scale can be matched with your responses to the scenarios. After matching your responses, the cover sheets with your names on will be removed and destroyed to ensure complete confidentiality.

The scenarios presented to you were designed to represent situations which sometimes occur either in relationships or social interactions. I apologise if you were offended or upset by these scenarios. However, the great majority (over 80 per cent) of rapes are committed by someone known to the victim and it has been estimated that 1 in 4 women will experience some form of sexual violence in their lifetime. Research like this helps us to gain a greater understanding of sexual violence in that only by gaining a greater understanding of cultural beliefs and attitudes can we bring about change.

If this study has disturbed or upset you in any way, please do not hesitate to contact me (Grant Muir), or if you wish further information about the study or the issues raised, I shall be happy to talk with you either immediately after the study or at any time. Further information on sexual violence issues can be obtained from the Student Support Services Office in the Union building or from Fife Zero Tolerance (see below).

I wish to emphasise that your responses are completely confidential but if you do not wish them to be included in the study then you are not required to return them. However, your responses are extremely valuable in taking forward our understanding of sexual violence.

I would also ask you not to discuss this study with other students who may be taking part in the study later in the week.

My phone No.: 01334 - 462092

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Room No.: 2.02
Student Support Services: 01334-462720
Fife Zero Tolerance: 01592-414704

# APPENDIX VI

a) Ethic Committee Approval
b) Tough Ideal Items
c) Tough Actual Items
d) Women's Behaviour sub-scale of ACB Scale
e) Men's Right to control sub-scale of ACB Scale
f) Three scenarios varied by level of coercion (physical, verbal, agree) and measures of perceived masculinity.

From:

**UNIVERSITY OF ST ANDREWS**
**SCHOOL OF PSYCHOLOGY ETHICS COMMITTEE**

9 February, 2000

Grant Muir
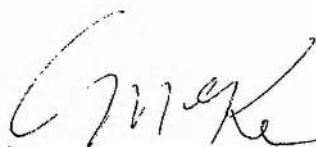School of Psychology
University of St Andrews

Dear Grant

### Re: Masculinity and attitudes to violence (Survey questions)

The above-named project has been read and approved by the School of Psychology Ethics Committee.

If, during the course of the proposed research, any important condition were to alter, then the Committee would wish to be informed.

Yours sincerely

Dr Hugh Morris
Convener

Dictated but not read

## b) Tough Ideal Items.

1.  When a man is feeling a little pain he should try not to let it show very much.

2.  A good motto for a man would be 'When the going gets tough, the tough get going'.

3.  I think a young man should try to become physically tough, even if he's not big.

4.  Fists are sometimes the only way to get out of a bad situation.

5.  A real man enjoys a bit of danger now and then.

## c)Tough Actual Items.

1.  When I feel a little pain I try not to let it show very much.

2.  The motto 'When the going gets tough, the tough get going' describes me well.

3.  I try to be physically tough.

4.  If fists were the only way to get out of a bad situation, I would use them.

5.  I enjoy a bit of danger now and then.

d) Women's Behaviour sub-scale.

1.  If a woman flirts with another man in public, she should not be surprised if her husband is physically abusive to her.

2.  If a man thinks his wife is spending too much time out of the house with her friends, he is entitled to deliberately keep her short of money.

3.  Women who are sexually harassed have often done something to cause it.

4.  When a woman deliberately makes her boyfriend jealous, she only has herself to blame if he responds violently.

5.  A woman who dresses provocatively to gain attention from men, is asking for trouble.

## e) Men's right to control sub-scale

1.  If a woman dresses provocatively, her boyfriend should be able to tell her to change the way she dresses.

2.  If a woman is a sexual tease, she shouldn't be surprised if a man tries to force her to have sex.

3.  It is alright for a man to hit his girlfriend if she is 'sleeping around'.

4.  It is acceptable for a man to verbally abuse his wife if she shows him up in public.

*f)* **This section presents situations which you may have encountered and we would like your views on how you perceive the man involved and whether you would intervene in a similar situation.**
After reading the following scenarios, please read the statements which follow them and circle the number which best corresponds with your opinion, where *1 = 'strongly disagree', 4 = 'moderately agree' and 7 = 'strongly agree'.*

### Scenario 1 (Physical coercion)

You see a man have an argument with his girlfriend in a club. He is upset because he has told her he wants to leave, but she tells him that she wants to stay and continue dancing. He then starts slapping her across the face and pulling her towards the door.

### Scenario 2 (Verbal coercion)

You see a man have an argument with his girlfriend in a club. He is upset because he has told her he wants to leave, but she tells him that she wants to stay and continue dancing. He then starts screaming violent abuse at her and telling her she has to leave with him.

### Scenario 3 (Agrees)

You see a man have an argument with his girlfriend in a club. He is upset because he has told her he wants to leave, but she tells him that she wants to stay and continue dancing. In the end he agrees to stay at the club.

1.  The individual involved is a weak man.

2.  The individual involved is a real man.

3.  The individual involved is an ordinary guy

4.  The individual involved is not manly.

# APPENDIX VII

a) Ethics Committee Approval.

b) Eight scenarios varied by four levels of challenge (2 x Anticipates, 2 x Accedes, 2 x Ignores, 2 x Challenges) and measures of Perceived masculinity (4 items); Feeling masculinity threat (2 items); Feeling in control (1 item). After the Challenge scenarios, participants were presented with items measuring Justified Behaviour and Physical Coercion Justified.

c) Debriefing Sheet.

**UNIVERSITY OF ST ANDREWS**
**SCHOOL OF PSYCHOLOGY ETHICS COMMITTEE**

20 November, 2000

Grant Muir
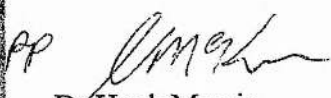School of Psychology

Dear Grant

### Re: Masculinity and sexual coercion (Study 7)

The committee has considered your application and approves it subject to the following:

1. As you explained on the phone on 17/11/00: that participants will be provided with a sheet, for psychology students participating in the department or similar material for e-mail participants, which sets out the background information and also covers the points included in the School of Psychology Volunteer Consent Sheet (available from Tracy McKee)
2. That you will make it clear to e-mail participants that, whilst you will handle information linking the return of the questionnaire to an e-mail address (provided for the prize draw) as confidential, the only way to achieve absolute anonymity would be not to provide such an e-mail address and that this would inevitably deny them entry into a prize draw.
3. That for those for whom you have no means of contact you would offer the provision of debriefing sheets from, say the Faculty Office or its equivalent.
4. That you will provide, as you describe to me, details of contact numbers for counselling services.

If, during the course of the proposed research, any important condition were to alter, then the Committee would wish to be informed.

Yours sincerely

pp

Dr Hugh Morris
Convener

Dictated but not read

b) Please read the following scenarios and then read the statements which follow them and circle the number which best corresponds with your opinion, *where 1 = 'strongly disagree', 4 = 'moderately agree' and 7 = 'strongly agree'.*

Jim and his girlfriend are out at a club together. She realises Jim is bored with the whole thing and wants to go home. She is really enjoying herself, but suggests that they leave.  **(Anticipates)**

Jim and his girlfriend are out at a club together. She realises Jim is bored with the whole thing and wants to go home, but she is really enjoying herself and continues dancing.   **(Ignores)**

Jim and his girlfriend are out at a club together. She realises Jim is bored with the whole thing and wants to go home. He tells her it is time for them to leave, but she is really enjoying herself and says that she is staying. **(Challenges)**

Jim and his girlfriend are out at a club together. She realises Jim is bored with the whole thing and wants to go home. He tells her it is time for them to leave. She is really enjoying herself  but accepts what he says. **(Accedes)**

George and his girlfriend are getting dressed to go out. She has a dress which she knows George doesn't like. She is especially fond of it, but when George tells her to change she puts on something else. **(Accedes)**

George and his girlfriend are getting dressed to go out. She has a dress which she knows George doesn't like, but she is especially fond of it and decides to wear it.
        **(Ignores)**

George and his girlfriend are getting dressed to go out. She has a dress which she knows George doesn't like. She is especially fond of it but decides to wear something else.                **(Anticipates)**

George and his girlfriend are getting dressed to go out. She has a dress which she knows George doesn't like. She is especially fond of it, and when George tells her to change she says she is going to wear it. **(Challenges)**

**Please circle the number which best corresponds with your opinion, *where 1 = 'strongly disagree', 4 = 'moderately agree' and 7 = 'strongly agree'.***

In this situation:

1.  George is a weak man           **(PM reverse scored)**

2 .  George is a real man           **(PM)**

3.  George is an ordinary guy          **(PM)**

4.  George is not manly                 **(PM)**

5. George was justified in behaving like this. **(JB)**

In this situation, George would be justified in:

6.  Physically coercing her to do what he wants. **(PCJ)**

In answering the following statements, please indicate how you would **feel** in a similar situation. Please circle the number which best corresponds to how you would feel **where 1 = not at all, 4= moderately and 7 = very much.**

7.  Would you feel that your masculinity had been threatened.    **(FT)**

8.  Would you be concerned how others might see you as a man.   **(FT)**

9.  Would you feel in control.                                  **(FC)**

**PM** = Perceived Masculinity
**JB** =  Justified Behaviour
**PCJ** = Physical Coercion Justified
**FT** = Feel Threat to Masculinity
**FC** = Feel in Control

*c) Debriefing*

Thank you for participating in this study which is one in a series of studies addressing the issue of masculinity and sexual coercion.

The great majority (over 80 per cent) of rapes are committed by someone known to the victim and it has been estimated that 1 in 4 women will experience some form of sexual violence in their lifetime. Research like this helps us to gain a greater understanding of sexual violence, in that only by gaining a greater understanding of cultural beliefs and attitudes can we bring about change.

We propose that in terms of masculinity and sexual coercion that there is a paradox. That is, the desire to assert one's masculinity is in contradiction with the acts through which one does it. In our previous studies, we have produced support for our paradox that a) sexual coercion could be seen as a way of asserting masculinity for the individual, and b) sexual coercion could be seen as undermining masculinity – the act is repudiated in terms of public masculinity, and men who are coercive are seen as less masculine.

We have also considered the effect of threat or challenge to masculinity and its role in the likelihood to be coercive. In the present study, the scenarios presented to you were designed to represent situations which sometimes occur either in relationships or social interactions, and to address the second half of the paradox. The scenarios present different situations where a woman challenges a man (a threat to his masculinity) and the responses measure how masculine the man is perceived. The hypothesis is that a man, who is challenged by 'his' woman is perceived more negatively by other men in terms of his masculinity than when the woman accedes to him.

If you wish further information about the study or the issues raised, I shall be happy to talk with you either immediately after the study or at any time. Further information on sexual violence issues can be obtained from the Student Support Services Office in the Union building or from Fife Zero Tolerance (see below).

I wish to emphasise that your responses are completely confidential but if you do not wish them to be included in the study then you are not required to return them. However, your responses are extremely valuable in taking forward our understanding of sexual violence.

Again, many thanks for taking part in this study.

Grant Muir

My phone No.: 01334 – 462092     E-mail: gm12@st-andrews.ac.uk

Room No.: 2.02 (School of Psychology)

Student Support Services: 01334-462720

Fife Zero Tolerance: 01592-414704

# APPENDIX VIII

a) Ethics Committee Approval.

b) Six scenarios varied by Public or Private context and measures of Feeling masculinity threat; Behave like; Combined Do Something; Feel like hitting; Combined feel like doing something.

c) Debriefing Sheet.

**UNIVERSITY OF ST ANDREWS**
**SCHOOL OF PSYCHOLOGY ETHICS COMMITTEE**
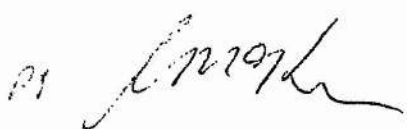
23 October, 2000

Dear Grant

**Re: Masculinity and Sexual Coercion (Study 6)**

The above-named project has been considered and approved by the Ethics Committee subject to the following provisions:

1. We note that in section 8b Participants will be advised very clearly that research is about violence against women and that participants are free to withdraw immediately or at any time during the study. We assume that this advice will be provided on the Information Sheet, which is provided to potential participants. We would welcome seeing a copy of the completed Information Sheet.

2. Some concern was raised about participants being contacted by email and the committee would like to express their concerns about confidentiality. The committee requests your assurance that a suitable mechanism will be in place to ensure absolute confidentiality. We fell that it is necessary to ensure participants willingness to participate by email.

If, during the course of the proposed research, any important condition were to alter, then the Committee would wish to be informed.

Yours sincerely

Dr Hugh Morris
Convener

Dr. Hugh Morris
Conver...
School of Psychology Ethics Committee

24 October, 2000

Dear Dr. Morris

### *Masculinity and Sexual Coercion (Study 6)*

Thank you for your letter of the 23rd giving approval for the above study. Attached is a copy of the front cover of the questionnaire to be used, which advises students about the study and the voluntary nature of their participation. This information will also be provided orally to the undergraduate psychology students.

For the students contacted by e-mail, they will be advised of the nature of the study and asked to go to a specially constructed web-site where they can complete the questionnaire. On completion, their responses will be automatically returned to me. They will be asked to provide their e-mail address if they wish to be entered in the draw or they can choose to return their responses anonymously.

It trust this addresses the committee's concerns.

Yours sincerely

Grant Muir.

P.S. Study 7, which has no violent content, will be coming to you soon.

b) Please read the following scenarios and then read the statements which follow them and circle the number which best corresponds with your opinion, where *1 = 'strongly disagree', 4 = 'moderately agree' and 7 = 'strongly agree'.*

**Private context.**

Jim goes to a club with some of his friends and sees his girlfriend dancing and snogging with another guy. Later when they get home and are on their own they get into a row about it and he then slaps her.

While John and his girlfriend are out with some friends, in front of them all she tells John that she is finished with him. A couple of hours later, when they get home, they get into a row and he hits her.

Ian and his girlfriend go out with some friends. They sit around and chat and during the evening she starts making fun of Ian about his personal hygiene. After a while they go home and they start a row and he then slaps her.

**Public context.**

Jim goes to a club with some of his friends and sees his girlfriend dancing and snogging with another guy. Later in the evening they get into a row about it and he then slaps her in front of his friends.

While John and his girlfriend are out with some friends, in front of them all she tells John that she is finished with him. A couple of hours later, in front of everyone, they get into a row and he hits her.

Ian and his girlfriend go out with some friends. They sit around and chat and during the evening she starts making fun of Ian about his personal hygiene. After a while, they start a row in front of their friends and he then slaps her.

*Now please answer the following questions, by circling the number which is most applicable to yourself,* **where 1 = not at all likely, 4 = moderately likely and 7 = very likely**

In this situation, how likely would you be to:

Behave like Ian          **(BL)**

Demand an apology     **(CDS)**

Tell her you want nothing more to do with her  **(CDS)**

Forgive her

Do nothing

In answering the following statements, please indict how you would **feel** in a similar situation. Please circle the number which best corresponds to how you would feel **where 1 = not at all, 4= moderately and 7 = very much**

Would you feel that your masculinity had been threatened?          **(FT)**

Would you be concerned how others might see you as a man?          **(FT)**

In this situation, what would you **feel** like doing:

Hitting her?          **(FLH)**

Demanding an apology?          **(CFDS)**

Telling her you want nothing more to do with her?          **(CFDS)**

Forgiving her?

Doing nothing?


**BL** = Behave like
**CDS** = Combined Do Something
**FT** = Feel Masculinity Threat
**FLH** = Feel like hitting
**CFDS** = Combined Feel Like Doing Something.

## c) Debriefing.

**Thank you very much for your participation in this study which is part of an ongoing programme of research into the relationship between masculinity and violence against women.**

The scenarios presented to you were designed to represent situations which sometimes occur either in relationships or social interactions. I apologise if you were offended or upset by these scenarios. However, violence (including sexual violence) against women is a major problem in society. For example, the great majority (over 80 per cent) of rapes are committed by someone known to the victim and it has been estimated that 1 in 4 women will experience some form of sexual violence in their lifetime. Research like this helps us to gain a greater understanding of violence, in that only by gaining a greater understanding of cultural beliefs and attitudes, can we bring about change.

If this study has disturbed or upset you in any way, please do not hesitate to contact me (Grant Muir), or if you wish further information about the study or the issues raised, I shall be happy to talk with you either immediately after the study or at any time. Further information on sexual and domestic violence issues can be obtained from the Student Support Services Office in the Union building or from Fife Zero Tolerance (see below).

I wish to emphasise that your responses are completely confidential and are extremely valuable in taking forward our understanding of violence against women.
I would also ask you not to discuss this study with other students who may be taking part in the study later in the week.

Once again, thank you for taking the time to participate in this research.

My phone No.: 01334 - 462092

E-mail: gm12@st-andrews.ac.uk

Room No.: 2.02

Student Support Services: 01334-462720

Fife Zero Tolerance: 01592-414704