

**Masculinity and Drinking and Driving among male  
students at the University of KwaZulu-Natal,  
Pietermaritzburg**

**Catherine Ann Burnard**

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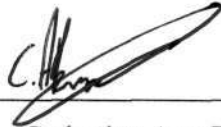
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## Declaration

I hereby declare that this dissertation is my own work, unless specifically indicated to the contrary in the text. It has not been submitted for any other degree or examination at any other university.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'C. Burnard', is written over a horizontal line.

Catherine Ann Burnard

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## **List of Abbreviations**

<b>BAC</b>	Blood Alcohol Concentration
<b>DALY</b>	Disability-adjusted life years
<b>DOH</b>	Department of Health (South Africa)
<b>DV</b>	Dependent variable
<b>IV</b>	Independent variable
<b>NCSA</b>	National Center for Statistics and Analysis (USA)
<b>NIAAA</b>	National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism (USA)
<b>PG</b>	Postgraduate
<b>PMB</b>	Pietermaritzburg
<b>SAPA</b>	South African Press Association
<b>SAPS</b>	South African Police Service
<b>SIRC</b>	Social Issues Research Centre
<b>UG</b>	Undergraduate
<b>UK</b>	United Kingdom
<b>WHO</b>	World Health Organisation



## **Abstract**

This study examines the relationship between hegemonic masculinity and drunken driving behaviour among male students. Hegemonic masculinity is the most dominant form of masculinity and can be described as an ideological model of what is considered to be a 'real man' (Kimmel 2000:11). According to Wetherall (1996:323) hegemonic masculinity is essentially 'robocop'; tough, assertive, aggressive, all-conquering, cool and big.

This research hypothesised that men who drink and drive are much more likely to display characteristics of hegemonic masculinity. Excessive drinking has always been synonymous with student culture and this research focuses on alcohol being viewed as a rite of passage for young male students into adulthood. Socialisation theories are used to explain how patterns of alcohol consumption among individuals are related to the socio-cultural context in which they live. These theories also explain how the ideals of hegemonic masculinity are acquired through the reproduction of norms, values and beliefs in a society or group of people. Thus this research project focuses on how alcohol consumption is considered part of the 'male domain' and due to this, men feel great pressure to drink in order to maintain their masculine identity.

The research involved male students at the University of KwaZulu Natal, Pietermaritzburg. Quantitative methods were used in the form of a survey questionnaire. The survey provided statistical information about the incidence of drunken driving relating to masculinity discourse. The sample consisted of male student drivers who drank alcohol. Overall the sample consisted of young adult males with 215 male students participating in the survey with an average age of 22 years.

The survey data was statistically analysed using a computer programme known as the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS). The data was divided into two groups, namely, the responses of sober male drivers and the responses of drunk male drivers. The sober drivers served as the control group while the drunk drivers served as the experimental group. The responses from these two groups were used to conduct independent samples t-tests and chi-square tests in order to assess which group

displayed more attributes of hegemonic masculinity and whether or not there was a difference. Student responses from the open-ended questions were included as direct quotes to highlight the findings in the related closed questions.

The findings reveal that the male students who drink and drive were more likely to display characteristics of hegemonic masculinity than the sober male drivers. These characteristics included: risk-taking, recklessness, strength, control and independence.

# Chapter 1

## Introduction

*"We drove at 90mph, eight of us in the car, the bottles clanking in the boot. Alcohol came to hold a new fascination. Now it was a field of male bravado and achievement, an exciting world of laughter, skylarking and physical excess, a world made all the more fascinating by the clandestine veil that seemed to enclose it."*<sup>1</sup>

This research project explores the phenomenon of drinking and driving, among young adult male students at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, as an indicator of hegemonic masculinity. The information that this research yields could provide a framework for future studies in the development of effective and practical drunken driving interventions which will not be based purely on punishment but rather behavioural and attitude change through correctly identifying the social and cultural influences to alcohol consumption and its general abuse.

Drinking and driving in South Africa as well as the rest of the world is a major problem. The South African Department of Transport estimates that motor vehicle collisions cost the country R13.8 billion per year (Ministry of Transport 2001:1) and alarmingly over 50% of these accidents are alcohol-related (Hammond 2004:2). Table 1.1. shows that driving whilst under the influence of alcohol or drugs in South Africa has increased with each year from 2002 to 2007 (South African Police Service 2007:6).

**Table 1.1. Number of people charged with drunken/drugged driving 2002-2007**

Year	Frequencies: 1 Apr to 30 Sept
2002	10 240
2003	12 264
2004	13 755
2005	15 193
2006	17 858
2007	23 990

<sup>1</sup> Phillips 1996:44

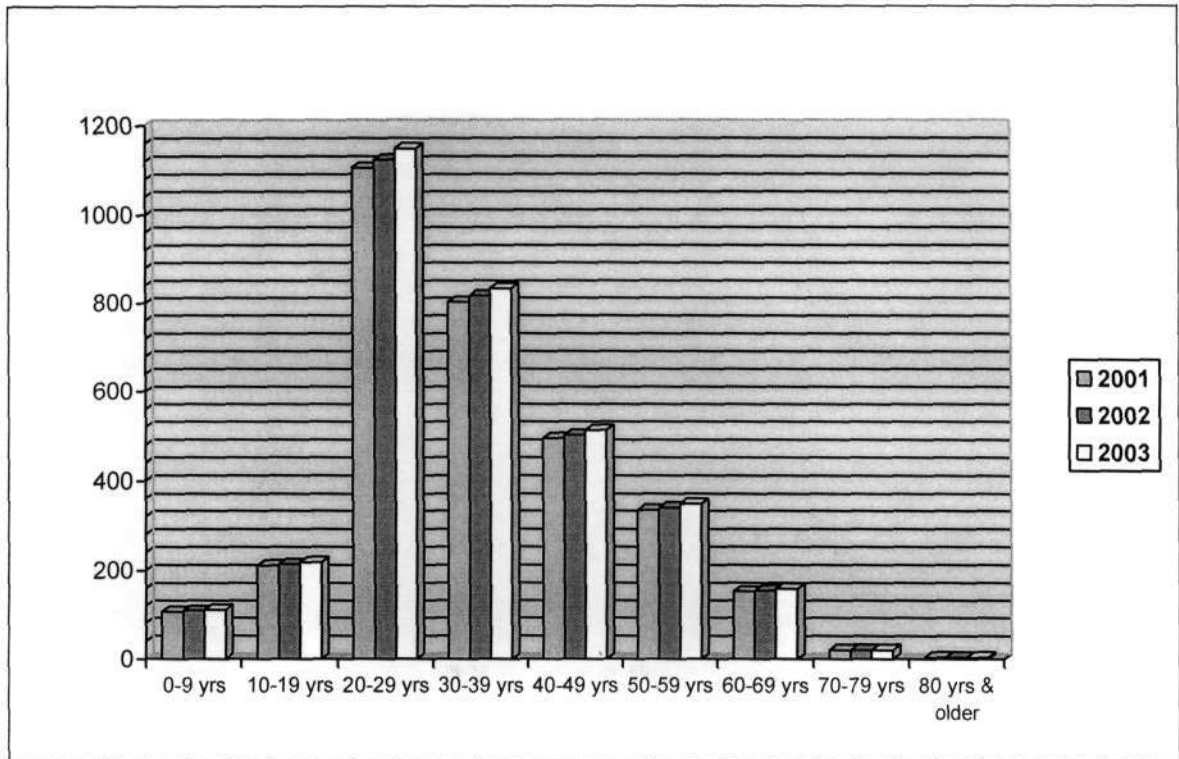
These figures point to the dangers relating to the excessive consumption of alcohol. It shows that not only do road accidents result in the loss of lives, but also the loss of a substantial amount of money which the South African economy cannot afford. The economic burden of these motor vehicle collisions include medical care, loss of a breadwinner and the loss of income due to disability (WHO 2004:1). Traffic injuries are the ninth leading cause of death and the eight leading cause of disability-adjusted life years (DALYs) lost globally (Nantulya & Reich 2003:1). Nantulya & Reich's (2003:1) report predicts that in 2020, if current trends persist, traffic-related injuries will be the third leading cause of DALYs lost.

Almost 3 times more men than women die in transport-related accidents with male drivers accounting for 80.6% of collisions in South Africa in 1998 (Statistics South Africa, 1998:1). In 1999 the ratio between male and female driver death was 8 to 1 highlighting the vast difference in transport-related fatalities between men and women (Butchart 2000:27). Police in Britain have created a profile of the typical drunk driver; young, male, on the way home from work via the pub and well versed in the dangers of penalties if caught (Drive and Stay Alive, 2004:1). The majority of drivers (85%) who were caught driving under the influence of alcohol in Britain in 2003 were male and half of them were aged between 17 and 30 years (Ibid). Meta-analyses of international longitudinal surveys by Wilsnack (2003:1) also found that, uniformly across cultures, men drank more than women. From this data it would appear that drunk driving is largely a male problem, especially among young males in their twenties and late teens. Turner and McClure's (2003:123) study in Queensland found that males show a substantially higher level of driver aggression and risk-taking behaviour than females. Males aged between 17 and 29 years were also twice as likely to have reported at least one accident when compared to males older than 50 years. This trend appears to be significant in almost every country and it is highlighted in the World Health Organisation publication which reveals statistics from 70 countries around the world which show that many more males under the age of 25 die in motor-vehicle accidents compared to females in the same age group (Jernigan 2001:11).

The highest proportion of drivers who die in car accidents in South Africa are between the ages of 19 and 30, and these reflect international statistics (Arrive Alive

webpage 2005:1). Figure 1.1. below shows the number of driver deaths per age group from 2001 to 2003. The graph also shows that from 2001 to 2003 in all categories except 70 years old and above, driver deaths have increased

**Figure 1.1. Number of Driver Deaths per Age group**



Alcohol appears to be a contributing factor in the majority of traffic related fatalities in South Africa and was present in the blood of 53% of drivers and 65% of pedestrians who died in motor-vehicles accidents (South African Press Association [SAPA] 2001:2). The current preventative measures in place to curb drunken driving, that is, the South African Arrive Alive Campaign, focus on punishment as a punitive measure. At present, if a person is caught driving a motor-vehicle over the legal limit in South African, he/she faces a fine (maximum R120 000), jail time (maximum 6 years) or the suspension/permanent cancellation of their driver's licence.

The South African 'Arrive Alive Campaign' (Department of Transport 2005:1) assumes that the penalty for drunk driving (a fine or jail sentence) is enough to deter people from driving under the influence of alcohol. This measure is in line with the basic principles of operant conditioning since it is using punishment as a method of

behaviour modification. But, in order for punishment to be effective and long-lasting, it needs to be constant and instantaneous (Goldstein 1994:259), that is, each time an undesirable behaviour occurs the punishment needs to be carried out immediately. In relation to drunken driving, every time an individual drives under the influence of alcohol he/she is not necessarily going to be stopped by a law enforcement officer and breathalysed. The perceived risk of being stopped is fairly minimal and therefore people will continue to drink and drive. Ideally the motivation behind choosing not to drive intoxicated should not be to avoid prosecution, but should be a result of social responsibility and respect for one's self and others. Evidence has shown that many programmes aimed to curb drunken driving have only educated and deterred the light or moderate drinkers, but have had minimal impact on the heavy or problem drinkers (Mann et al 2003:1532). In the United States, raising the legal drinking age to 21 years old successfully reduced teenaged vehicle collision deaths by 15% (Wagenaar et al 2001:801). Having lower blood alcohol concentration (BAC) limits for youth did not reduce overall drinking but did reduce the frequency of drinking and driving (ibid). In Australia, it was found that highly publicised programmes of random breath-testing are significantly more effective than sobriety checkpoints (Room et al 2005:526).

A few poster advertisements have been created by the Arrive Alive campaign in order to discourage drunken driving by highlighting that horrific accidents have been caused by drunk drivers (refer to Appendix 1.). These adverts, which use shock tactics, do assist in behaviour change with some individuals but studies have shown that success is heavily influenced on whether or not the viewer perceives the coping strategy as effective (in this case not driving whilst under the influence of alcohol) and whether or not the viewer sees himself/herself as being able to perform the recommended threat-coping action successfully, that is, either limiting their alcohol intake or not driving at all (Beck and Frankel 1981:204). School-based and university-based interventions aimed at students to abstain from alcohol or drink in moderation have largely been unsuccessful (Room et al 2005:525-526 and Hingson et al 2005:269). These education-based interventions do assist in the increase of knowledge about alcohol and its dangers, but actual alcohol use remains unchanged (Babor et al 2003:1137). In order for the interventions to have any kind of lasting effect, they need to be held on a regular basis. Scientific evaluations of these

programmes show that whilst students are attending the courses they reduce their alcohol intake marginally, but when they are not attending the courses, they revert back to their old patterns of behaviour (Ibid).

Individual behaviour is influenced by the society in which we live. Norms and values are attained from the groups we form a part of and therefore individual and collective human behaviour and action is linked to group association (Schaefer and Lamm 1992:76). These shared cultural beliefs are known as social representations and provide people with a shared reality that creates stability in their lives (Wetherell 1996:27). This shared 'identity' and stability allows people to communicate with one another and ultimately make sense of their existence (ibid). Social representations are made up of a mixture of concepts, ideas and images, and these representations are reproduced through conversations people have with each other, through social institutions and through and media (Wetherell 1996:138). There are many social representations of alcohol which influence the ways people view alcohol and the behaviours they engage in when intoxicated. In many instances alcohol is seen as a rite of passage, for example, a boy having his first beer is often perceived as the rite of passage into manhood (Rocha-Silva 1997:13). In a report issued by the World Bank (Pyne et al 2002:1), the use and abuse of alcohol is linked particularly to gender roles and the expectation of how men and women should act. Pyne et al (2002:1) found that men are likely to drink more often and more heavily than women. Thus the socio-cultural context in which drinking takes place needs to be explored in order to identify why drinking and driving occurs in such regularity and how it can be prevented.

Pyne et al (2002:v) insist that alcohol-related injury reduction must focus on changing the socio-cultural norms related to drinking, especially those which advocate high-risk drinking behaviours among males. Only then will modification of these behaviours be possible.

### **1.1. Research Hypothesis**

The high incidence of drinking and driving among young adult males in South Africa is related to hegemonic masculinity, definitions of masculinity and what is considered to be a 'real man'.

## **Chapter 2**

### **Theoretical Framework**

Various gender theories will be explored in this section since these models directly relate to the concept of hegemonic masculinity. Gender is defined as socially constructed differences between men and women which can change over time; gender is not fixed (Wodak 1997:3). Gender identity can be described as the self-concept of a person as being male or female (Schaefer and Lamm 1992:325), and masculinity and femininity refer to behaviours and attributes that are considered appropriate, in a specific society, for males and females respectively (Stanley and Wise 2002:273). Thus hegemonic masculinity is a form of gender identity, and therefore it is appropriate to explore theories on gender identity and acquisition in order to better understand the research topic.

#### **2.1. Gender theories**

There are a variety of different theories which attempt to explain gender. There is a continuous debate between the influences of 'nature' and 'nurture' in gender acquisition; many theorists argue gender is biological whilst others believe that gender is learned through a variety of social forces. Nevertheless, gender is a social classification which has huge implications for the opportunities of all individuals throughout their life-span (Hewstone et al 1994:56). In the realm of the social studies, a major distinction between sex and gender is noted; sex refers to the physiological and anatomical differences between males and females whilst gender refers to the social, cultural and psychological differences (Giddens 1998:91). Biological models argue that sex determines gender and the biological differences between males and females dictate differences in their behaviour (Kimmel 2000:47). These theorists argue that the differences dictate certain social arrangements and thus social inequalities are programmed into our physiological make-up (ibid). Expectations of men and women are often very different and all societies have 'rules' that state how individuals in that particular society should behave (Stanley and Wise 2002:274) and this is one such critique of biological theories of gender since these models cannot



explain the differences in the behaviours and identities of men and women in different cultures and societies.

The theorists who believe gender is socially constructed argue that gender norms are reproduced through socialisation, social learning and social structures in a variety of contexts (Wharton 2005:8), for example, in the family, religion, work, leisure, education, mass media and even the government. These structures and agents of socialisation affirm, reproduce and sometimes even change existing gender roles. Socialisation can be simply defined as the ways in which people learn the norms, beliefs and values of a particular group or society in which they live (Cockerham 1995:74). According to Kimmel (2000:95), the sociological perspective investigates the ways individuals interact with one another in a gendered manner within the realm of gendered institutions, and therefore there are two forces at play with regards to gendered behaviour; identity and structure. Thus, these theories not only look at individuals but also at the social structures which influence societies and thus the behaviour of individuals. This ties in with Anthony Giddens' concept of structure and agency in his structuration theory. Giddens argues that social structures enable social action to occur, but at the same time social action creates those very structures (Ritzer 1996:529). The structures that Giddens refers to are not something outside of social actors but are rather rules and resources that are produced and transformed by individuals in their social practices (Marshall 1998:648).

For the purposes of this research, the gender theories utilized to analyse the data will focus predominantly on the influence of the social environment and socialisation on gender acquisition and more specifically to the acquisition of a hegemonic masculine identity. Some of the more prominent socialisation theories which apply to gender acquisition are:

- Social learning theory
- Cognitive-developmental theory
- Gender Schema theory

### **2.1.1. Social learning theory**

This theory proposes that gender is not innate, but it is rather learned through rewards, reinforcements and punishments (Walum 1977:37). If a child is rewarded for a particular behaviour he/she is more likely to engage in that behaviour again. This reinforcement of gender-related behaviours on boys and girls is unwittingly carried out by parents/teachers etc, as a result of their own gender stereotypes which are often subconscious (Bem 1993:134). Therefore once adults become aware of an infant's sex, they begin to treat the child in a manner that is concurrent with a 'gender-appropriate' model, thereby encouraging the development of gender identity in the child (Fausto-Sterling 2000:244). For example, a teacher praises a male child for carrying a heavy desk across the room and remarks on how strong he is. Or, on the other hand, a boy is reprimanded harshly by his father for playing with dolls, he is unlikely to play with dolls again. Punishment and reward, however, do not explain gender acquisition in its entirety. Social learning theorists thus proposed that observational learning and imitation are two additional learning processes which can be used to explain gender identity (Doyle 1985:71). These theorists argue that young children spend vast amounts of time observing behaviours of same-sex adults (especially caregivers/family) and in doing that replicate what they have seen (modelling). Children therefore develop these sex-typed behaviours because they themselves choose to copy the behaviours they have seen (Stockard 1999:217).

The basis of social-learning theory is that a child will model a same-sex adult more so than an opposite-sex adult, but other factors seem to be more significant with regards to who the child chooses to imitate (Doyle 1985:71). The apparent warmth, power and dominance of the model from the child's perspective, has a profound influence over whether or not he/she will imitate that particular person (ibid).

A relatively modest support base has been established for the significance of modelling in the development of gender identity (Stockard 1999:217-218) and this is one such critique of social learning theory. Examples given by Stockard (ibid) reveal that parents of children who have highly stereotypical views on gender roles do not necessarily have children who are more likely to demonstrate these stereotypical behaviours. Maccoby (1992:1008) also found that when researchers attempted to

modify the gender-associated models or reinforcements that children were exposed to, the changes in the children's actions and behaviours were transitory. Once a specific behaviour is learned, it is difficult to 'unlearn' that behaviour since it becomes habitual. Therefore, even though the children observed new scenarios which did not depict stereotypical gender roles, they still reverted back to the ones they had first been exposed to. Walum (1977:38) argues that the behaviours that children imitate in early life are very difficult to change and these behaviours are generally reinforced by cultural and parental expectations.

### **2.1.2. Cognitive-developmental theory**

This theory is based upon the work of J. Piaget (Kimmel 2000:73) and L. Kohlberg (Archer and Lloyd 1982:206) who suggested that children are active in their own socialisation and not merely passive recipients of social stimuli. Piaget did not directly analyse gender roles but his theory of cognitive development provided Kohlberg with a base upon which he could build a theory on the acquisition of gender roles (Doyle 1985:72). As an interactionist approach<sup>2</sup>, cognitive-developmental theory proposes that gender identity is not directly taught by others but rather ideas about sex-roles are a result of the child's active formation of his/her own experience (Walum 1977:38). Therefore the child will classify herself/himself as male or female. According to Wallum (*ibid*) this occurs at about the same time language is acquired. Children's initial gender identities are determined by physical cues like dress, hair style and body size (Kimmel 2000:73). By using these cues, children are able to categorize the world into two genders. As young children believe that physical characteristics determine one's gender, they also believe that gender can be changed by changing those physical attributes (*ibid*). For example, a boy may believe he can become a girl if he wears a dress. The realisation that gender is constant, that is the understanding that one is either a boy or a girl, is only evident when children are about 6 years old (Stockard 1999:218).

The main difference between this theory (cognitive-developmental) and social learning theory is that the cognitive-developmental model regards imitation and reinforcement as being influenced by the child's knowledge of the meaning and

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<sup>2</sup> The interactionist approach examines the way in which people interact in their everyday lives and how they make sense of these interactions and behaviours (Popenoe et al 1998:13).

importance of these events (Archer and Lloyd 1982:207). This means that the child firstly forms a gender identity and then begins to engage in behaviours that 'fit' and are acceptable to his/her gender (Doyle 1985:73). Therefore, this theory regards the child as a much more active participant in his/her own gender acquisition.

Additionally, cognitive-developmental theory describes how a child's understanding of gender identity changes as his/her cognitive abilities become more developed (Stockard 1999:218). This explains the fact that younger children tend to have a much more stereotypical view of gender appropriate behaviours as they do not have the ability to engage in complex thought since their cognitive capabilities aren't as flexible as an older child or adult (ibid).

A major criticism of this theory is that Kohlberg's study focused on males only and therefore does not take into account that females possibly may differ in their cognitive development (Doyle 1985:73). In addition, Kohlberg hypothesized that children's desire to engage in gender-typed behaviours becomes most important when they reach gender constancy at the age of about 6 years. Other studies, however, have revealed that children as young as 2 or 3 prefer to play with 'gender appropriate' toys and same-sex playmates (Stockard 1999:218). This shows that the gender differences in the choice of toys and playmates emerges long before the cognitive-developmental model predicts.

### **2.1.3. Gender Schema Theory**

Gender schema theory was developed by Sandra Bem and is based on Kohlberg's cognitive-developmental theory. Like cognitive-developmental theory, gender schema theory extends the notion that children are active participants in their own gender acquisition. A schema can be defined as a cognitive framework that organises and processes information that people are exposed to (Stockard 1999:219). Therefore gender schemas categorise gender-related behaviours and actions into frameworks of reference. According to this theory, people learn a multifaceted system of gender-related ideas and symbols as a cultural manifestation of norms and values (Lippa 2002:91). Thus human beings view their world in gendered terms, for example, 'roses' are feminine and 'tractors' are masculine. When people have formulated

gender schemas they tend to perceive their own behaviour and other's behaviour in terms of these schemas (ibid).

Bem (1993:125) argues that gender schemas emerge from a highly polarised society in terms of its discourse and social institutions. Therefore children become gender schematic almost subconsciously and as a result of this become typically sex-typed. Certain ways of behaving are evaluated according to the cultural definitions of gender appropriateness, and consequently certain behaviours that do not correspond with that particular sex are rejected (ibid). Gender schemas not only encourage people to act in a manner that is appropriate to their own gender roles, but in addition these frameworks shape the way in which people view their own and others' behaviour (Lippa 2002:91).

Gender schemas are intricate and multidimensional and are made up of a variety of different components (Stockard 1999:219). Children acquire these schemas in many different ways and the components which make up the schemas include not only *'cognitive knowledge and stereotypes, but also affective and evaluative components, and even metaphoric qualities, such as strength, danger, or gentleness'* (ibid). The concept of the gender schema can also explain why children or adults choose to model certain behaviours while not to model others. If a child or adult comes across behaviours that do not fit into their gender schemas, they will choose to ignore those behaviours or attempt to assimilate them into their existing gender schemas (ibid). This explains why children are more likely to copy the actions of models that they believe reinforce their gender schemas.

To conclude, gender schemas involve the internalising of gender polarization in any given culture (Bem 1993:125). This involves enforcing a system of gender-based classification on social reality whereby people, attributes, behaviours and other things are sorted according to polarized definitions of what is considered masculine and feminine in a particular culture or society (ibid). This leads children and adults to become habitually sex-typed and thus explains the ways in which people gain their gender identities.

#### **2.1.4. Masculinity theories**

Masculinity theory is a theory of gender which concerns the acquisition of gender identity and practice for men and boys. There is a large debate amongst academics concerning the definitions of masculinities and what it means to be a man. Morrell (2001:7) suggests that masculinities are dynamic and fluid and should not be viewed as being 'owned' by one group of men over another. Masculinity is therefore not inherited or attained momentarily but is rather constructed over time according to a variety of factors such as race and class (Morrell 2001:9). On one level the notion of masculinity is a form of identity that influences and shapes attitudes and behaviours, but it is also an ideology that represents the cultural ideals that indicate the expected roles and values that men must adhere to (Leach 1994:1). These masculine identities are constructed politically, socially and historically and thus cannot be viewed as innate phenomena (Ibid). Socio-biologists, however, argue that the masculine nature does in fact stem from the biological, genetic and physiological make-up of men (Whitehead 2002:11). The critique of this approach is that it does not explain differences in the definitions of masculinity between different cultures and how these definitions have changed over time. Sex-role theorists are more social constructionist in their approach to gender and focus on the way in which masculinity and femininity are learned through socialisation (Leach 1994:1). Therefore, according to this approach, boys would 'learn' how to be masculine through agents of socialisation such as the family, peers, educational facilities and the media. Arguably the most appropriate sociological definition of masculinity would be *'a complex set of behaviours with different meanings culturally and historically, and regulated by interactions with other men, women, and power structures in society.'* (Imms 2000:155)

Connell (2005:68.70) reveals that some definitions of masculinities are constructed in relation to femininities; masculinity is, to all intents and purposes, defined as not-femininity. Connell (2005:71) suggests that in order to make sense of masculinity we need concentrate on the processes and interactions through which males and females manage their gendered lives instead of attempting to define masculinity as a natural character type, behavioural standard or norm. Masculinity and femininity represent different things to different groups of people at different times and therefore it can be

argued that there is not just femininity and masculinity but rather *femininities* and *masculinities* because of these differences in definition (Kimmel 2000:11). Connell (2005:76) argues that not all masculinities and femininities are considered to be equal in the hierarchy of gender, but some dominate. With reference to masculinities, the most dominant form is referred to as 'hegemonic masculinity' and according to Kimmel (2000:11), this is the masculinity that provides an ideological model of what it is to be a 'real man'. Hegemonic masculinity is relational and is constructed in such a way that it dominates other forms of masculinity. It is based on the assumption that real men have greater physical and mental proficiency than women which therefore puts them at the top the gender hierarchy (Jackson and Scott 2002:27-28). Most men, however, do not live up to this stereotype and are therefore seen as lacking in their masculinity and thus not 'real men' (ibid). Connell (2002:61) also argues that hegemonic masculinity does not reflect the personalities of most men, but rather is rather like the masculinity of a fantasy figure such as a film character played by Arnold Schwarzenegger. These media representations of what is considered to be a real man are generally an unattainable ideal to the average male. There are three categories of masculinity that are secondary to hegemonic masculinity and they are: subordinate, complicit and marginalised masculinity (Morrell 2001:7). For the purposes of this research, hegemonic masculinity is discussed in more detail than the other subordinate masculinities because the topic of this research project is mainly concerned with the phenomenon of hegemonic masculinity.

#### **2.1.4.1. Secondary masculinities**

Subordinate masculinities refer to those masculinities that are viewed as 'inferior' to hegemonic masculinity in terms of status and prestige (Demetriou 2001:341). This intolerance leads to economic, cultural, political and legal discrimination of these men (ibid). Connell (2005:78) argues that the most common example of subordinate masculinity in contemporary American and European society is that of homosexual men. He suggests that gay men are subordinated by heterosexual men in a variety of different ways including political, cultural and religious exclusion, violence, economic prejudice and personal sanctions. Certain heterosexual males are also included in this group and are often subject to ridicule and name-calling, for example: sissy, wimp, nerd and mommy's boy to name a few (ibid). These men do not live up

to the 'ideal' role that hegemonic masculinity puts forward. Effeminate men also fall into the category of subordinate masculinity (Carrigan et al 2002:110).

Complicit masculinity refers to those men who act in collusion with the ideals of hegemonic masculinity but do not actually engage in most of those behaviours that embody those ideals (Connell 2005:79). Connell refers to these forms of masculinities as '*slacker versions of hegemonic masculinity – the difference between the men who cheer football matches on TV and those who run out into the mud and do the tackles themselves.*'.

Marginalised masculinities refer to those masculinities that are considered inferior to hegemonic masculinities with particular reference to class, ethnicity and race (Connell 2005:80). For example, in South Africa in the apartheid era, the hegemonic view of the ideal man would be the white Afrikaner boer (the dominant group), while the black African masculinities would be considered inferior and were thus considered inferior and secondary to the 'ruling class' norm.

#### **2.1.4.2. Hegemonic masculinity**

Connell (2006:76) defines hegemonic masculinity as '*the masculinity that occupies the hegemonic position in a given pattern of gender relations, a position always contestable.*'. It is a cultural ideal, the dominant position in society compared to other masculinities and women (Toerien and Durrheim 2001:51). Hegemonic masculinity is therefore not fixed or stable but can rather change over time according to social and cultural influences. It is an ideology which is transmitted through social interaction and social institutions. According to Wetherall (1996:323) hegemonic masculinity is essentially 'robocop'; tough, assertive, aggressive, all-conquering, cool and big. Reckless and dangerous driving, for example, may be an attempt to define a man's level of masculinity as it embraces risk. These behaviours are displays of power over the environment and the dangerous feat is, in a sense, displayed like a badge of honour (Courtenay, 2000a:1389). Hegemonic masculinities also tend to be associated with competitiveness which is evident in male drinking culture whereby men often challenge each other to see who can down their drink the fastest. The winner is seen as a hero amongst his peers.



McCreary et al (cited in Capraro 2000:308) believe that masculine gender-role stress occurs when a man believes that he is unable to fulfil the society's demands of what is accepted as normal behaviour for a man or has to react to a certain situation in a feminine manner. In terms of hegemonic masculinity, most men find it hard to live up to this ideal because it is masculinity based in fantasy and therefore they feel alienated since they cannot fully attain that identity. This highlights the paradox of masculinity; on the one hand men are viewed as powerful yet on the other, in many ways, their actions make them powerless, for example, men can reject hegemonic masculinity and risk the possibility of being branded less of a man or they can embrace hegemonic masculinity and attempt to attain these superhuman virtues which are largely unattainable (Boon 2005:301). Hegemonic masculinities and the roles they convey, place burdens on men as well as women and can be the cause of much harm (Whitehead 2002:21). Gender role conflict is defined as a state in which gender roles have harmful effects on the individual person or on others (Capraro 2000:309). Gender role-strain, conversely, refers to inconsistency between the real self and the gender role, and this can be a result of either conforming or rebelling from the traditional male role (Ibid). Gender role-strain occurs when men feel they cannot live up to the social and cultural group ideals of what is considered to be a 'real man' (Capraro 2000:310).

Although transient, hegemonic masculinity in contemporary society can be said to embody the following features:

- Risk-taking/Sensation-seeking/Recklessness
- Strength/toughness
- Aggression
- Autonomy/Independence/Control
- Competition

Many of these characteristics overlap in the discussion that follows since each of them is related to the other, for example, risk-taking is related to control and strength, since the act of taking risks and being reckless proves control and power.

#### 2.1.4.2.1. Risk-taking and hegemonic masculinity

*'To engage in dangerous behaviour... may demonstrate a man's control over the emotions of fear, vulnerability and anxiety, proving to others and himself the expanded limits of his control of self and the body.'*<sup>3</sup>

The quote suggests that risk-taking behaviour is coupled with dominant forms of masculinity. In studies carried out by Miedzian (1991:90), young boys tended to provoke each other into taking more risks highlighting the peer influence on identity. According to the SIRC (2004:3) sensation-seeking and risk-taking behaviours are much more common in men than in women and this underlying aggression has a considerable effect on encouraging competitive and reckless driving. When these behaviours are exacerbated by alcohol consumption, the hazards become even more acute since one of the symptoms of alcohol intoxication is impaired judgement. Being afraid and vulnerable is seen as severe weakness and therefore if males are to be viewed as bona fide men, they learn to take unnecessary risks that will jeopardise their own and others health and safety (Miedzian 1991:197). Miedzian goes on to say that these messages conferred at an early age can lead to driving cars at excessive speeds, going off to war and sending others to war.

Risk-taking behaviour is more evident among young males than females and when coupled with alcohol the problem worsens. Dula & Ballard (2003:263) in their study found that males reported significantly more aggressive, risky and angry driving than did females. Girls are more likely to stress the importance of keeping others in their care safe and taking the necessary precautions to avoid an accident than are boys (Green 1997 cited in Lupton 1999:158). Wheaton (cited in Benwell 2003:208) argues that men's magazines promote an ethos of high-risk yet care-free consumption which focuses on varying types of excessive behaviour. Risk is subjective and therefore a behaviour that may be considered risky by one individual may not be considered risky by another. Often young people's subjective awareness of risk is not inevitably the same as official definitions (Crawshaw 2004:228). Thus the behaviour of driving under the influence of alcohol may not be seen as risky to some individuals. This

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<sup>3</sup> Lupton 1999:160

creates a whole new host of problems in curbing drunk driving if it is not considered to be an undesirable act. According to Courtenay (2000a:1397) risk-taking is viewed as a way to demonstrate that men are the 'stronger' sex and thus recklessness is considered desirable for some men.

#### **2.1.4.2.2. Control and hegemonic masculinity**

The manifestation of hegemonic masculinity requires a man to be autonomous, strong, robust, in no need of assistance, deny any vulnerability, in constant search of sexual fulfilment, aggressive and dominant (Courtenay 2000a:1389). According to this explanation a prominent feature of hegemonic masculinity is independence and control. Research has shown that if men feel their masculinity is being threatened they will engage in much more bravado in order to compensate (Aloi, 2005:1). Hegemonic masculinity discourses say that a man should be in control and be able to handle any situation no matter what the circumstance and therefore if someone questions this, he is much more likely to assume more macho attitudes or engage in more reckless and risk-taking behaviour in affirmation of his 'power'. Lancaster (2002 cited in Adams and Savran 2002:42) argue that the definition of machismo is two-fold; firstly, machismo serves as a means by which men can prove their masculinity and virility to other men and secondly, to themselves in order to affirm their self-identity. Hegemonic masculinity is about controlling the environment, technology, yourself and others.

#### **2.1.4.2.3. Strength and hegemonic masculinity**

Hegemonic masculinity is associated with toughness, determination, aggression, and success (Buchbinder 1994:12). Gilmore (1990:220) argues that manhood is 'earned' and 'achieved' and there are therefore various practices which can be performed in order to gain status as a man. Proving physical and mental strength is one of them. According to Crawford (2003:1) competitive sport is a means by which men reinforce a traditionally masculine identity since it teaches the values and social practices associated with strength, competition, aggression, determination and tolerating pain. Drinking excessively is also a means to affirm masculinity since it proves personal power and strength but also provides a competitive arena by which men can challenge each other in terms of the quantities consumed. *'The greater the risk, the greater the proof of manhood.'* (Miedzian 1991:91).

#### **2.1.4.2.4. Health-related beliefs and hegemonic masculinity**

*“Doing health is a form of doing gender.”<sup>4</sup>*

The hegemonic male figure is independent, resilient, strong, forceful and autonomous and it is argued by Courtenay (2000a:1388) that health-related attitudes can be recognised as demonstrations or constructions of gender. In numerous ways, because of the stereotypes of what it is to be a man, many men adopt attitudes which ultimately lead to unhealthy behaviour. Thus, too often, men and boys reject healthy behaviours in their pursuit of manhood. This kind of reckless behaviour can include drinking excessively and driving whilst under the influence of alcohol.

Women’s magazines tend to promote health whereas men’s magazines tend to promote unhealthy habits such as excessive alcohol consumption almost exclusively (Courtenay 2000:7). This essentially continues the risk-taking behavioural cycle which favours recklessness above caution. Drinking is tied to socio-cultural context and the way and the amount in which it is consumed relates to identity and gender roles (World Bank 2002:3). It is thus very important to focus and analyse the norms which encourage risk-taking behaviour among males and to openly identify and target the belief systems which socialise both genders about drinking and intoxication.

## **2.2. Conclusion**

This chapter has explored various theories and explanations which show how gender identity is formed in children and adults and how socialisation encourages specific gender roles in men and women. These gendered behaviours and beliefs form part of a person’s identity and shape the ways in which they interact with their environment and other people. The socialisation theories discussed can be used to explain how the ideals of hegemonic masculinity are acquired in groups of people and societies. This study sees masculine identity and its related phenomena as a product of all of these theories. Men are socialised into a gender role, but are also active agents of their socialisation. Bob Connell’s (2005:76-81) definitions of masculinities (hegemonic and non-hegemonic) will be used to understand the relationships between various

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<sup>4</sup> Saltonstall (1993 cited in Courtenay 2000a:1388)

masculine identities and how this affects the socialisation of boys with particular reference to drinking and driving norms.

## Chapter 3

### Literature Review

This chapter focuses on the body of literature that has already been produced on this subject in order to contextualise this research topic. This not only includes literature on drinking and driving as a social problem, but also on the general negative affects of the excessive consumption of alcohol and risk-taking behaviour as related to masculinities.

#### 3.1. General alcohol consumption

*Alcohol, my permanent accessory*

*Alcohol, a party-time necessity*

*Alcohol, alternative to feeling like yourself*

*O Alcohol, I still drink to your health<sup>5</sup>*

In South Africa almost half of adult men (45%) and almost one-fifth of women (17%) currently consume alcohol (DOH, 1998:238). Adult per capita absolute alcohol consumption is approximately 10 litres per year which ranks South Africa as one of the highest alcohol consuming nations in the world (Parry, 1997:1). With reference to alcohol use and socio-economic status, people in the lowest socioeconomic categories and people in the highest socioeconomic categories tend to consume the most alcohol (Rocha-Silva, 1997:7). In terms of age, 35.5% of men and 15.9% of women aged 15 – 24 years old reported that they had, at some time, consumed alcohol. The statistic almost doubled for men and women aged 25 – 34 years old where 65.7% and 24.5% respectively had consumed alcohol at some point in their lives (Ibid). These figures reveal that men in these age groups are on average 2.46 times more likely to have consumed alcohol than their female counterparts. Drinking alcohol, it would appear, is mostly a male-dominated activity and this is highlighted by Rocha-Silva's study (1997:13). Men are more likely than women to drink to get drunk or drink to escape reality (Capraro 2000:2).

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<sup>5</sup> Extract from the song 'Alcohol' by Barenaked Ladies

Alcohol is a major risk to young adults and adolescents with 36% and 41% of deaths in Latin America and Eastern Europe respectively were a direct result of alcohol use (World Bank Alcohol Publication 2003:1). This region has the world's highest percentage of deaths attributable to alcohol. In most countries in Africa, young males are much more likely to drink than young females, although drinking increases with both sexes as age increases (Jernigan 2001:18).

Research in the USA has shown that people who start drinking at a young age are more likely to have alcohol misuse problems later in life and are also at risk of being injured (for example: car accidents, drowning, burns) as a result of being intoxicated (Jernigan 2001:6). In terms of disability the consequences of alcohol consumption are not only chronic but also acute. It may cause death or disability later in life due to damage to the body but intentional or unintentional injuries are very common in acute cases (Jernigan 2001:5). According to Jernigan binge drinking has increased across the globe and this behaviour is spreading from the developed world into the developing world. In sub-Saharan Africa Strijdom (1992 cited in Jerigan 2001:18) found that most youth believe that one cannot have an enjoyable time without consuming alcohol and when they drink, the purpose is to become intoxicated. Studies by Eide et al (1998 in Jernigan 2001:6) show that young Zimbabweans who identify with a Western culture rather than a traditional one, are more likely to drink alcohol and to drink more heavily.

In the 1998 Australian National Drug Strategy Household Survey showed that 56% of adolescents born between 1980 and 1984 had reported alcohol use by the age of 15 compared to 16% of people born between 1940 and 1944 (Jernigan 2001:7). This shows a substantial increase in the consumption of alcohol among young people. A survey done in the USA in 1998 showed that the average age of first use of alcohol was 13.1 years. More than half of 11 years olds in 23 European countries had tried alcohol by the age of 11. This study also found that by 13, boys were much more likely to be drinking on a weekly basis than girls (Jernigan 2001:8). The Canadian Alcohol and Other Drugs Survey in 1994 showed that alcohol-related harm is more than twice as high for young people than the rest of the population (Ibid:10).

In 1996 Rocha-Silva et al (cited in Jerigan 2001:21) in their survey of South African black urban and rural drinkers aged 10-21 found that 4.4% of urban males and 1.9% of urban females and 7.8% of rural males and 1.8% of rural females were drinking on average 3.4 beers per day. This is considered to be a great health risk. In a survey in the Cape it was found that among high-school going males, whites were the most likely to drink heavily<sup>6</sup> followed by blacks and then coloureds. A similar study performed by Flischer et al (1993 cited in Jerigan 2001:21) showed that English speaking high-school students were more likely to drink heavily than their Afrikaans and Xhosa-speaking counterparts.

Peltzer and Phaswana (1999:1), in their study on first year university students' substance abuse, found that 79% of male students and 26% of female students drank alcohol. This shows that male students are 3 times more likely to drink than female students. The majority of students in this study received their first drink from a peer, highlighting peer influence in the initiation into alcohol use. In the general South African population, 23.5% of males aged 15-24 and 51.8% of males aged 25-34 drink alcohol as compared to 8.5% of females 15-24 and 15.6% of females aged 25-34 (Parry 2001:1). These statistics were based on the South African Demographic and Health survey in 1998 and reflect the population as a whole.

### **3.2. Alcohol and masculinity**

A pioneering article by Lemle & Mishkind (1989 cited in Capraro, 2000:2) suggested that drinking was a representation of manhood and that many men may in fact drink to affirm their masculinity and be viewed by others as manly. Men on average tend to drink more often and in greater quantities than women (Pyne et al 2002:1). One reason why gender differences in alcohol consumption may be culturally magnified is that differences in drinking behaviour may be a useful way to signify more general differences in gender roles and to make gender role differences more salient. Thus, many societies with major differences in men's and women's roles have also largely prohibited women (but not men) to drink (McDonald 1994 cited in Wilsnack 2003:2). Alcohol consumption is therefore often restricted to the male social sphere and is thus bound up with masculine identity. This provides us with clues as to why alcohol

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<sup>6</sup> Defined as consuming five or more drinks in one sitting at least once in the past 2 weeks.



misuse is more evident in males than females and also partly explains why the incidence of drunk driving is more common among men than women.

Traditional indicators of masculinity such as success, power and competition are notably associated with male university students' self-reported alcohol consumption (Capraro, 2000:4). Drinking heavily in men is linked to personalised power in that men feel empowered by alcohol. Heavy drinking according to McClelland (cited in Capraro, 2000:6) makes men feel strong and assertive and these feelings create a sense of belonging in the world of real men. Capraro (Ibid) argues that men drink heavily because of two separate but related motivations. The first being in compliance to the traditional worldview that men are expected to drink and the second being as a result of men's perceived inadequacies from their own viewpoint or from the viewpoint of society.

Alcohol consumption among men in many circumstances appears to be related to rites of passage. Drinking, as well as smoking, is seen by many as the means of access into adulthood (Rocha-Silva, 1997:13). Alcohol is used as a means of initiation from boyhood to maturity. The marketing of alcohol through advertising campaigns also has a huge impact on alcohol consumption, especially amongst young people (Jernigan 2001:10). Advertisers attempt to market their product as part of a lifestyle so that the product is intrinsically linked to the target market's identity (Ibid). In this way advertisers promote alcohol consumption as an affirmation of masculinity when their target market is young men.

There are various explanations about alcohol use which attempt to identify the motivations and reasons behind people's drinking. Socialisation plays an enormous part in the initiation into and the maintenance of alcohol use and this will be discussed further in the next section.

### **3.2.1. Socialisation and alcohol use**

With respect to drinking alcohol, socialisation is very much a part of the initiation into alcohol use. How much and how often an individual drinks is heavily influenced by peers, family, the media and the government. Alcohol discourse is bound up in

everyday life and becomes almost subconscious in its reproduction. With respect to age, it has been shown that individuals who are initiated into alcohol use before the age of 15 are four times more likely to become alcoholics than those who began drinking at 21 (American Academy of Pediatrics 2001:185). Drinking has often been referred to as a 'male domain', that is, it is male centred, male dominated and male identified (Capraro 2000:308). Alcohol is considered a rite of passage into manhood and a sign of maturity. It can therefore be argued that for those males who have a hard time living up to the ideals of hegemonic masculinity, alcohol provides them with a feat that is more easily accessible than other forms of hegemonic masculinity, for example, extreme athleticism and tremendous physical strength. Drinking thus permits them to become a part of that masculine domain and allows them more readily to be accepted by their peers. Lemle and Mishkind (1989 cited in Lillak 1999:2) suggest that often alcohol use amongst men is an attempt to gain power since heavy drinking represents toughness, risk-taking and virility.

#### **3.2.1.1. Family**

Children are heavily influenced by their parents in terms of the quantity of alcohol they consume and the frequency of that consumption. Arata et al (2003:577) noted in their study of adolescent alcohol use that children who were prone to problem drinking (drinking frequently and in excess) had parents who were more accepting of teenage drinking, drank excessively themselves and were more lenient in their general parenting tactics. Patterns of drinking in families and parental attitudes and behaviours regarding alcohol are generally an accurate indication of how children in these families will treat alcohol. The home is often the major source for adolescents to obtain alcohol (American Academy of Pediatrics 2001:187) since it is illegal to buy alcohol if you are under 18 years old (in South Africa) or under 21 years old (in the USA). Alcohol consumption differs between different cultures and in some families, the initiation into the consumption of alcohol begins at a young age, yet not all of these families encourage heavy drinking. In other families, heavy drinking may be encouraged, particularly amongst males (young or old). This emphasises the consumption of alcohol as a masculine trend signifying maturity, bravado and valour (ibid). A study conducted by Hawkins et al (1997:280) revealed that children of parents who drink, are less likely to be aware of the dangers of alcohol consumption and are more likely to start drinking at a younger age.

### **3.2.1.2. Peer Group**

Rocha-Silva (1997:14) shows that initiation into alcohol use in South Africa is heavily influenced by pressure from friends. This phenomenon appears to be universal. The American Academy of Pediatrics (2001:187) revealed that 30% of children from grade 4 to grade 6 felt pressure from their classmates to drink beer. These writers argue that excessive drinking is more likely to take place outside the home with peers than with family. Reasons for this could be that the family may be more disapproving of heavy drinking than are peers. Research on drinking cultures undertaken by Skog (1985 cited in Kypri et al, 2002:457) revealed that people's drinking habits tend to match those of their peers. Bot et al (2007:929) in their study on social drinking found that modelling, that is, imitating another person's behaviour, significantly influences individual drinking. Thus the social network in which a person belongs will heavily influence his/her behaviour. Smith and Winslade (1997:2) suggest that drinking practices amongst males are highlighted by stories of masculinity which provide templates of behaviour and identity that young men can model themselves against. Some examples the authors give are, drinking after work, stag parties, reciprocal rituals for buying drinks and drinking games. These two authors go on to say that these behaviours are confirmed by popular phrases that are used to encourage young men to participate in drinking rituals, for example, 'One for the road', 'A real man holds his beer' and 'He's a man's man'. These discourses associate drinking with positive experiences, male-bonding and group solidarity. Research conducted by Crawford and Novak (2007:49) shows that males are more heavily influenced by social pressures that encourage heavy drinking. It can be argued that the reason for this is that their identities as men are bound up in drinking culture.

Recent studies have revealed that male students are likely to drink more excessively than males in the general population (Gill 2001:114). Excessive drinking in this case, refers to more than 21 units of alcohol per week. Drinking is often the central activity at most student events throughout the academic year and this can lead to excessive consumption (Kypri et al 2002:462). Drinking and sport often go hand in hand and serving alcohol as punishments for indiscretions on the sports field is one such example (ibid). Those sports players who did not play well are forced to drink large amounts of alcohol to make up for their lack of performance in the game. These traditions are encouraged by peers and the coaches and other sports authorities tend to

turn a blind eye, thus reinforcing their behaviours. A study carried out on college students by Garlington and Derrico (1977:207) found that the effect of modelling on alcohol consumption had a profound effect on the quantities consumed. The study revealed that when participants were paired with a confederate (a college student trained by the researchers), they drank approximately the same amount as the confederate regardless of whether the confederate was consuming one drink or several drinks. This highlights the impact of peer influence on the quantities of alcohol consumed.

### **3.2.1.3. Mass Media**

In modern societies the media is a very powerful tool in information dissemination. It is inevitable that all these images and experiences will impact on the lives of individuals and groups (Gauntlett 2002:2). The media contains many images of and messages about what males and females should be and this inevitably influences the identities of individuals. Men's magazines considerably influence masculinity discourses which are either affirmed or reconstructed. Tim Edwards (cited in Benwell 2003:138) suggests that many magazines aimed at men encourage a man-only world of wheeling and dealing, one-night stands, heavy drinking and male-bonding. The female exists only as an object of sexual desire. With reference to alcohol adverts in South Africa, the majority are aimed at men although recently low-alcohol content drinks known as 'coolers' are increasingly being marketed at women, for example, Archer's Aqua with their slogan: 'Archer's Aqua, something for the ladies'.

The way in which alcohol use is represented in the media can have a direct affect on alcohol consumption. In South Africa, as mentioned above, the majority of adverts selling alcoholic beverages depict males. This is evident on TV, in magazines, and on billboards and posters. Popular 'coming of age movies', for example, *Sorority Boys*, *Tom Cats*, the *American Pie* trilogy and *Van Wilder: Party Liaison*, all depict alcohol as being very much a part of youth culture especially among young males. Although the student population has always been seen as notorious drinkers, it is questionable whether these movies are merely depicting reality or whether they are creating a new reality and a culture of drinking in which young men will imitate. It may be both in varying degrees. Capraro (2000:316) suggests that, with regards to male drinking at university, the students' misperceptions about drinking and its occurrence may in fact

increase the levels of drinking since, if the students believe that other male students consume vast amounts of alcohol when they are at university, they in turn may consume more alcohol than they normally would in an attempt to fit the norm. The media often represents alcohol as a defining feature of manhood and in doing so reproduces and reinforces that social and cultural stereotype. Alcohol advertisers promote the message that 'real' men drink beer, have fun and are successful. Very rarely are the true consequences of alcohol depicted such as, disease, addiction, injury and death (Davidson et al 2003:13).

In the vast majority of countries around the world, alcohol is a drug that is legal and socially acceptable. Alcohol is easily accessible in that you can walk into a liquor store and are greeted by aisles of flavoured drinks which are for sale and for the taking. In the media, more and more, young people are targeted in alcoholic beverage marketing and it has become very much a part of the youth culture. According to Jernigan (2001:16) marketing alcohol to youths embeds it in their daily lives and lifestyles. The globalisation of alcohol is becoming more evident due to aggressive world-wide marketing strategies. Specific brands of alcohol are now available in many different countries around the globe and not only in their country of origin. These brands and their defining logos have attached themselves to youth culture creating a homogenous buying power. Peer pressure also influences youth spending considerably since 'keeping-up-with-Joneses' becomes incredibly important in staying hip and cool and ultimately accepted amongst peers (Klein 2000:68). Large companies are now marketing products not as commodities but rather as concepts, experiences and lifestyles (Klein 1999 cited in Jernigan 2001:15). Jernigan (ibid) goes on to say that a relatively inexpensive product like a Heineken beer is now almost a rite of passage into a global youth culture. The most recent Heineken advert shown on South African television depicts a young man in a space control centre dressed in trendy bright clothing among middle-aged men dressed in plain brown/grey/black attire. He is operating a specially designed space vehicle as it lands on the moon. As soon as the craft touches down, a mechanical arm reaches into a compartment and pulls out a bottle of Heineken beer, opens it and guides it towards the space vehicle's 'mouth' and takes a sip (all of which is being operated by the young man). The older men seem quite appalled by this and look over at the young man who shrugs and says, 'While we wait?'. Immediately afterwards the advert states, 'Heineken, meet you

there'. This advert isn't merely selling the Heineken beer but also a particular lifestyle of innovation, creativity, fun and endless possibilities. It is also interesting that the young man is dressed in bright clothing suggesting vibrancy and vitality while the other older men are dressed in plain and boring suits.

Successful youth brands manage to embed themselves in youth subculture and construct themselves as part of the subculture's defining features. In the USA, for example, it was found that 82% of beer manufacturers' websites were targeting youth by using media strategies such as competitions, contents, games, cartoons and slang (Jernigan 2001:16). Cutty Sark Scotch in the USA embarked on a similar endeavour which specifically targeted youth by becoming official rock concert sponsors. They came up with the theme, "Booze, Babes and Bands". In South Africa music festivals such as Splashy Fen and Oppikopi are sponsored by major beer companies, for example, Heineken or Castle Lager. At these events alcohol is advertised through competitions and promotions (for example, handing out free beer/beer mugs). Alcohol is also advertised extensively at clubs youth patronize, for example, in Pietermaritzburg the club 'Crowded House' periodically hosts promotions and giveaways of certain brands of liquor such as Jack Daniel's and Southern Comfort. The promotions invariably involve scantily clad girls handing out bottles of alcohol and mingling with patrons in the club. This suggests that most of the advertising is aimed at heterosexual males. These brands of alcohol ensure that they are highly visible to the student and youth population, and through this repetition encourage the consumption of that particular brand. In the United States, children from the age of two to eighteen years will see approximately 100 000 beer adverts on TV in that time and this is the period where the acquisition of social norms is most pronounced (Miedzian 1991:189). A quarter of all music videos on MTV depict the use of alcohol and tobacco (Davidson et al 2003:13). MTV is the top-rated network in the 12 to 24 year old demographic (Downey 2005:1), which means that the majority of viewers are under the legal drinking age but are being exposed to indirect alcohol advertising.

### **3.3. Male driving behaviour**

According to the South African Arrive Alive Campaign, people aged 20 – 29 years old are most affected by traffic fatalities and this appears to be a trend worldwide. In

all studies in many different countries around the globe the result have been the same, that is, men have a higher rate of vehicle collisions than women do. This gender difference is most evident in the driving population under the age of 25 years. Waller et al (2001 cited in SIRC, 2004:4) show that male drivers are likely be involved in their first motor-vehicle crash at an earlier age than female drivers and are more likely to be at fault. Males are also more likely to engage in their first traffic offence at a younger age.

Some may argue that more men have accidents since generally in all countries men have more drivers' licences and drive more often than women do. Studies have shown however that this is not the case since when male and female driver vehicle collisions are measured in comparison to mileage (kilometres travelled), men still tend to have more collisions than females (SIRC, 2004:5). In 2002 the World Health Organisation noted that masculinity is in many ways hazardous to health since it is related to risk-taking behaviours, for example, excessive consumption of alcohol, drug-use, aggressive behaviour to assert control over situations and risky driving (WHO, 2002:3).

Home Office statistics (2004:3) in the United Kingdom (UK) show that in 2002, the majority of all driving offences (88%) and speeding offences (83%) were committed by men. Some theorists have argued that speeding by young men is just an extension of their tendency to engage in deviant and anti-social behaviour, so traffic violations are viewed as a demonstration of this broader social pattern (SIRC, 2004:11).

Research studies in Germany and the United States have found that female drivers are significantly less likely to be involved in accidents whereby speeding or veering off road lanes were the cause (Ibid). This is supported by Yagil's study (1998 cited in SIRC, 2004:11) in Israel of university students. This study revealed that females are more likely to view traffic laws as positive and are more committed to abide by these laws. Women viewed non-compliance with these laws as risky while men tended to over-estimate their driving abilities and felt more confident in selecting which laws they would obey and which they would violate.

### **3.3.1. Aggressive driving**

A study of police and news reports found that men are much more likely to engage in aggressive driving than are women (Mizell, 1997 cited in SIRC, 2004:8). Marsh and Collett (1986 cited in SIRC, 2004:9) argue that aggression in driving is caused by a 'territorial imperative', that is, the car is compared to a man's territory or turf and if this territory is invaded, a man will lash out in an aggressive manner. The motor vehicle becomes, in a sense, a weapon used to assert dominance over others. These theorists argue that the 'territorial imperative' is typically only adopted by young men since it is usually the only sign of independence that they possess (they do not yet own a house etc) and it is something that they themselves can control. Evolutionary psychologists argue that people's 21<sup>st</sup> century skulls actually hold stone-age brains since 99% of our evolution as human beings were to meet the requirement of survival in hunter-gatherer societies (SIRC 2004:3). Thus the brain's neural pathways are 'wired' accordingly. These evolutionary theorists argue that this explains why men tend to engage in risky and reckless driving. The following extract from the SIRC paper highlights this belief:

*'Stone-age man did not drive. But the legacy of his hunting, aggressive and risk-taking past – qualities that enabled him to survive and mate, thereby passing on his genes to future generations – are still evident in the way in which he typically drives his car'.<sup>7</sup>*

### **3.3.2. Drinking and driving**

Male drivers worldwide, especially young males, are more likely to drive a vehicle after drinking alcohol (SIRC, 2004:12). This occurrence is affirmed by the World Health Organisation in their Gender and Traffic Injuries publication in 2002 and they state that men are prone to drive or walk on the road in an intoxicated state (WHO 2002:3). In the USA 27% of male drivers involved in crashes had been drinking as opposed to 11% of females (NCSA 2002:1). The study also showed that, when intoxicated, drivers are less likely to use seatbelt. Seventy-seven percent of young (15 to 20 years old) drunk drivers killed were not wearing seatbelts at the time of the

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<sup>7</sup> The Social Issues Research Centre 2004:3



accident. Failure to wear a seatbelt while intoxicated was also noted by an SIRC study (2004: 12) and the authors elaborated that this action is often associated with other deviant behaviours such as drug and alcohol use. An article published in the *Natal Witness* highlights the harsh reality of driving intoxicated. In Atlanta in the USA after an evening of drinking, a 21 year old man drove home drunk with his friend in the passenger seat. On the way home they hit a curb and the man's friend was decapitated by a guide wire from a payphone. The driver was so drunk that he did not even realise what had happened. He got home and fell asleep only to awake the next morning to be told that his friend was decapitated in the passenger seat of his car (*The Natal Witness*, August 31, 2004).

In the UK in 2002, 72 444 men were convicted for driving under the influence of alcohol as opposed to the 8 989 women. In the UK 9 out of 10 convictions (90%) for drunk driving are male and males aged 20-24 years have the highest rate of drunk driving road accidents (Institute of Alcohol Studies 2004:4). In 2004 the UK 97% of the drunk-driving offences were committed by men (SIRC 2004:12). A survey carried out in England and Wales in 2002 showed the over one quarter of young men aged 16 to 29 years who participated in the study said that they had driven while being 'over the limit' (Institute of Alcohol Studies 2004:7). In 2004 29% and 25% of all drivers killed in Sweden and Europe respectively were as result of drunk-driving (SAAB 2005:1). A study conducted in 2002 (Schumacher et al 2002:1) among university students found that men who often binge drink are much more likely to drink and drive.

According to the National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism in the USA the risk of a fatal car crash increases significantly as blood alcohol concentration (BAC) increases and the risk is even more severe with drivers under the age of 21. The cost of underage (under the age of 21) drinking in the USA in 1994 was \$58.4 billion (Jernigan 2001:11). The relative risk<sup>8</sup> of a fatal single-vehicle crash with drivers with a blood alcohol concentration (BAC) of between 0.08 and 0.10 percent is 11% for drivers 35 years and older and 52% for males aged 16 to 25 (NIAAA 2001:1). These

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<sup>8</sup> In this case refers to the comparison of drives with a positive BAC to other drivers.

statistics show that young male drivers are at particular risk of fatally injuring themselves and others in vehicle crashes due to alcohol intoxication.

A BAC increase of 0.02 percent more than doubles the relative risk for a single-vehicle fatal crash for males under the age of 21. Women in this age group, however, have a lower relative risk than men do at every BAC (NIAAA 2001:1). This shows that a high BAC is not the only cause of accidents among young males and there are other factors at play. In another study ethnic differences in drinking and driving were compared in the USA, it was found that young Latino men were much more likely to drink and drive than other young men from different ethnic backgrounds (Walker 2004:5). The study also showed that all males were much more likely to ride in a car with a drunk driver than females.

In South Africa, N. Nunstu (2004) completed a study of 110 university students from the University of the North. The sample consisted of both male and female students with ages ranging from 17 to 24 years. Out of this sample 10.9% of students admitted to driving drunk of which 7.9% were male and 3% female (Nunstu 2004:18). The vast majority of students (74.3%) had ridden in a car with a drunk driver and of this number 44.6% were male and 29.7% were female. The above information shows that male students are much more likely to drive drunk and to ride in a vehicle with a drunk driver than are female students. Nunstu (2004:20) showed that more of the male students believe that drunken driving is a desirable behaviour (11.8% of males compared to 2.9% of females). A higher percentage of male students (9.6%) than female students (1.9%) also felt that it was safe to drive drunk (Ibid). Both male and female students who drove drunk were much more likely than the students who didn't drive drunk to engage in other reckless driving behaviours (Nunstu 2004:22). The male students, however, engaged in these reckless driving behaviours more frequently than females (Ibid).

### **3.3.2.1. Strategies and responses to reduce drunken driving**

Most of the strategies put into place with regards to curbing drunken driving have been based on deterrence, for example, fines, incarceration and printing offenders' names in local media, but these strategies have largely been unsuccessful (Nunstu 2003:130). Various road safety initiatives in South Africa and Africa aimed at

reducing the carnage caused by drunken driving have also resulted in little success (Odero 1998:710; Peden and Van der Spuy 1997:213; Strauss 1991:361). The strategies involved lowering BAC limits, confiscating driver's licences, road blocks and raising the legal age to purchase alcohol (Nunstu 2004:15). These initiatives are often ineffective because they attempt to prevent the action of drunken driving after it has occurred (Ibid). South Africa's Arrive Alive campaign is based mostly on deterrence and therefore, according to the evidence presented here, will not be effective in reducing drunken driving unless they put some other projects into place. Nunstu's 2003 study on peer intervention at curbing drunken driving students revealed that students frequently intervene to prevent their peers from driving drunk and are largely successful (Nunstu 2003:137). This is a huge step in the right direction concerning aims to reduce drunken driving since the deterrence based methods enforced by government agencies have been mostly ineffective.

Educational approaches aimed at reducing youth drinking and its associated consequences, such as injury and drunken driving, have been largely ineffective on a worldwide scale (Jernigan 2001:43). Hingson et al (2005:269) point out that there is very little evidence supporting the effectiveness of information-based approaches in curbing drunken driving. Information approaches would include revealing statistics on alcohol-related fatalities, images of wounded passengers and damaged vehicles, and the number of drinks it takes to be over the legal blood alcohol concentration limit. Experimental and evaluation research, however, has revealed that enforcing a minimum drinking age, increasing tax on alcohol, and regulating alcohol advertising has had some effect in reducing alcohol-related harm (Jernigan 2001:43). There is a substantial amount of evidence showing that increasing the legal drinking age does reduce alcohol-related fatalities. Longitudinal research conducted in the USA has shown that raising the legal drinking age from 18 to 21 years, has substantially decreased alcohol-related traffic collisions among people younger than 21 (Hingson et al 2005:270). In the USA price increases in alcohol have also resulted in a decrease among traffic-related injuries and fatalities (Hingson et al 2005:271).

### **3.3.3. Driving and the mass media**

The mass media has a profound effect on how people view driving and cars. Cars are not only used as a mean to get from A to B, but are also viewed as status symbols. More and more people's actions and behaviours with regard to driving are bound up in an emerging 'car culture'. Car culture can refer to different things; on the one hand car culture refers to the way in which cars are becoming increasingly important to people, not only as a means of transport but as a reflection of owner's reputation and identity. On the other hand, car culture refers to the use of a vehicle to perform risky and dangerous 'stunts' which reinforce masculinity (Martino & Pallotta-Chiarolli 2003:266). This provides a platform upon which males can compete for positions in the masculinity hierarchy. According to Connell (2000:185) when young men drink and drive they are doing it, not because of testosterone or unmanageable hormones, but because it is a masculine way to behave. This risk-taking behaviour affirms their masculinity and ensures a masculinised car culture. The mass media also tends to promote alcohol and cigarettes in association with fast cars (ibid:186) and this inevitably, consciously and subconsciously, links the two in people's minds.

Increasingly, people from around the globe are beginning to view their cars as a statement and reflection of who they are as individuals. A car has become very much a part of the owner's identity and a tool for self-expression. People are beginning to accessorise their cars in similar ways to how they accessorise themselves. Marsh (1987:1) suggests that people identify so closely with their vehicles that many view them as an extension of their homes. In many instances the car has taken over from the house as a symbol of prestige and status. Mag-wheels and personalised number plates are just two examples of this and are clearly visible on South African roads. The media has had a profound influence on this newly emerging car culture, from movies (eg. *The Fast and the Furious*) to computer games (eg. *Need for Speed Underground*, *Grand Theft Auto* and *Carmageddon*). Many of the computer games which involve racing cars are particularly violent. Points are awarded for extreme risk-taking and recklessness, which includes running over pedestrians and driving other cars off the road. It is questionable whether this kind of behaviour is replicated on the roads around the world. Many of these games have very impressive and realistic graphics, so while playing the game it almost feels real. The movies too,

depict those who drive at speed and perform very risky manoeuvres as heroes and almost always the driver who performs these dangerous acts is male and tends to 'get the girl' because of this 'courage' and 'bravery'. This reinforces the widespread belief that women like risk-taking/reckless men and, in turn, assures men that if they act in this way they will be popular with the ladies. An extract from the song, Fast Cars, by Craig David highlights this phenomenon:

*Fast cars,  
Fast women, Speed bikes with the nitro in them,  
Dangerous when driven,  
Those are the type that I be feeling...*

According to a recent study performed by Professor G.W. Farthing (Manlove 2006:1) women in fact *do not* like men who are prone to taking excessive risks and ironically it would appear that the only people who are impressed by these 'feats' of recklessness are other men.

A Google<sup>9</sup> search on 'car culture' was performed and thousands of sites appeared which are solely dedicated to improving the street credibility/looks/speed of your car. Some of the more popular websites being, SoCal Car Culture and LA Car . MTV's prime time programme 'Pimp my Ride' is an example of this growing trend (MTV 2007:1). In this programme people's cars are transformed into a 'pimping ride' with all the latest accessories from mag-wheels and powerful engines to sound systems and built-in dvd players. When the new car is finally revealed to the guest, they almost always say something along the lines of, 'this car really reflects who I am' or 'now people will take me seriously and I will move up in the world'. These statements highlight how vehicles are increasingly becoming not just a commodity but a lifestyle and ultimately a reflection of a better life for the owner.

*I remember we were driving, driving in your car  
The speed so fast it felt like I was drunk  
City lights lay out before us...*

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<sup>9</sup> Internet search engine

*And I had a feeling that I belonged,  
And I had a feeling I could be someone, be someone...*<sup>10</sup>

Due to the new-found interest in accessorising the motor-vehicle, competition between car drivers becomes more prominent and the most important features of vehicles to those embedded in this car culture seems to be the speed and obviously the appearance (Shi 2000:1). Speed can bring with it a host of traffic-related problems, most specifically losing control of the vehicle and possibly fatally injuring the driver or innocent bystanders.

### **3.4. Conclusion**

From the literature it is evident that the misuse of alcohol is a growing problem especially among young people and can be attributed to many deaths around the globe, especially fatalities in motor-vehicle accidents. Men are already more prone to aggressive, risk-taking and sensation-seeking driving behaviours than women and when combined with alcohol, which drastically reduces inhibitions, these behaviours worsen. Although penalties for drunk driving have become more severe<sup>11</sup>, deterrence is minimal and people continue to drive intoxicated.

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<sup>10</sup> Extract of a song, Fast car, by Tracy Chapman

<sup>11</sup> For example, the South African Arrive Alive campaign's zero tolerance policy. Offenders can face a maximum fine of R120 000, six years imprisonment or even licence suspension.

## **Chapter 4**

### **Research Methodology**

#### **4.1. Methodology**

Quantitative methods were used in this project. Quantitative methods are based on a positivist paradigm which involves hypothesis testing by the statistical analysis of numbers (Neuman 2000:66). Quantitative data gathering methods allow a researcher to gain the opinions of respondents on a large scale. The data gathered is mainly expressed in numbers and this allows for numerical analysis, that is, the responses can be statistically analysed, tested and validated. This sort of data is often referred to as 'hard data' as it is in the form of numbers (Neuman 2000:122).

#### **4.2. Methods**

##### **4.2.1. Quantitative Methods**

The quantitative data collection method used was in the form of a self-administered survey due to the sensitive nature of this research. One of the advantages of self-administered surveys is that they provide considerably more privacy for the respondent than face-to-face interviews (Dane 1990:133). Often if questionnaires are administered by the researcher, the respondent may not feel comfortable enough to share certain information and possibly could censor details as it may be embarrassing to them or they may believe the researcher will view them in a negative light. This is known as the social desirability bias and respondents may feel the need to give what they believe to be a normative or socially desirable answer (Neuman 2000:257). According to Dane (1990:133) the advantage of using self-administered questionnaires is that they provide greater privacy for the respondent. One of the disadvantages, however, is that the researcher is not available to answer any questions which may arise and this could lead to incomplete responses (*ibid*). This was partly controlled in this research as a fieldworker was in the vicinity to answer any questions the respondents may have had. The fieldworker was not, however, standing with the respondent as to give them adequate privacy. Having self-administered questionnaires also controls for the interviewer bias, which can be defined as the intentional or unintentional prompting by a researcher which affects the participants' responses

(Marriott 1990:101). Respondents also feel more anonymous if they are not being interviewed face-to-face (Neuman 2000:272). With respect to informing participants about the nature of the research, the questionnaire cover sheet explained why the research was being performed and also assured them of confidentiality.

The questionnaire underwent various pre-test processes. Firstly six questionnaires were piloted and, from the information gathered, a number of items were either modified, added or totally eliminated. Thereafter the questionnaire was re-adjusted four times in consultation with the project supervisor. The pilot questionnaire and the final questionnaire can be viewed in Appendix 2.

### **4.3. Sampling**

#### **4.3.1 Sample for the Questionnaire**

The sample for the questionnaire consisted of male students from the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg campus who were drivers and were also not teetotallers<sup>1</sup>. As the size of the young male driving population on campus was not known, the size of the sample depended on the number of students who agreed to participate in the study.

Non-probability purposive sampling was used since no statistics on the student driving population and student alcohol consuming population existed and therefore a purely random sample was not feasible. Purposive sampling can be used when attempting to study a smaller subset of a larger population where members of this subset are easily identifiable (Babbie 2002:178). In this case the larger population was students at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg, and the subset of this population was students who drink alcohol and also drive a motor-vehicle. This sampling method involved seeking out students on campus who fit the given requirements to participate in this research, that is, they must be drivers and must drink alcohol. In order to get student responses from a variety of areas/disciplines across the University, a selection of students from each faculty were considered for the survey. The number of students registered by course, faculty and gender was accessed from the Division of Management Information webpage on the University of

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<sup>1</sup> People who do not drink alcohol at all



KwaZulu-Natal Website, <http://www.ukzn.ac.za>. This information was based on the figures for the 2005 academic year.

In 2005 there were a total of 2546 undergraduate male students and 953 postgraduate male students registered at the University's Pietermaritzburg campus. Table 4.1. shows the number of undergraduate and postgraduate male students by faculty in 2005:

**Table 4.1. Undergraduate Male students in each faculty.**

<b>Faculty</b>	<b>Number of male students (Undergraduate)</b>	<b>Number of male students (Postgraduate)</b>
<i>Engineering</i>	<b>63</b>	17
<i>Management</i>	<b>738</b>	137
<i>Law</i>	<b>167</b>	6
<i>Humanities</i>	<b>658</b>	304
<i>Education</i>	<b>272</b>	128
<i>Science &amp; Agriculture</i>	<b>648</b>	361
<b>Total</b>	<b>2546</b>	<b>953</b>

The number of male drivers who are not teetotallers could not be predicted and many of the male students approached could not complete a questionnaire as they were non-drinkers, non-drivers or both. Overall, 215 male students participated in the survey. Originally 252 students filled out the questionnaire but 37 of these questionnaires were unusable since the students who filled them out were either non-drivers or non-drinkers.

The age of the respondents in the sample ranged from 18 years to 46 years, with a mean of 22 years, a median of 21 years and a mode of 19 years (SD = 3.87). Figure 4.1. shows the respondents' ages reduced into categories of 3 years. In terms of race, more white students participated in the study than any other race group (39.1%). This was followed by black students (30.7%), Indian students (20.5%) and coloured students (7.9%). Refer to Figure 4.2. for a full racial breakdown.

Figure 4.1. Age of Respondents

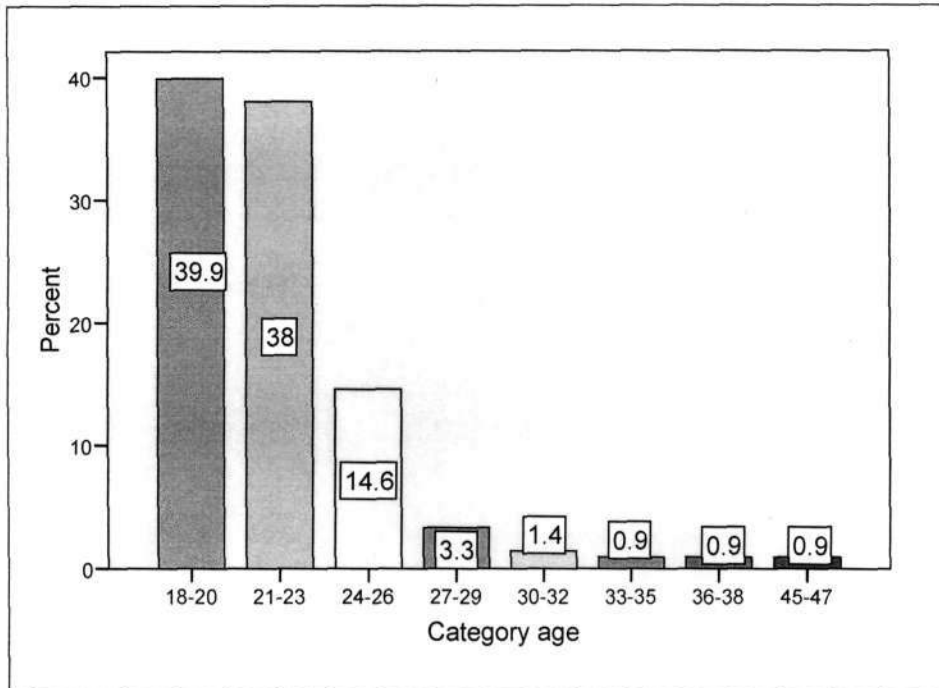
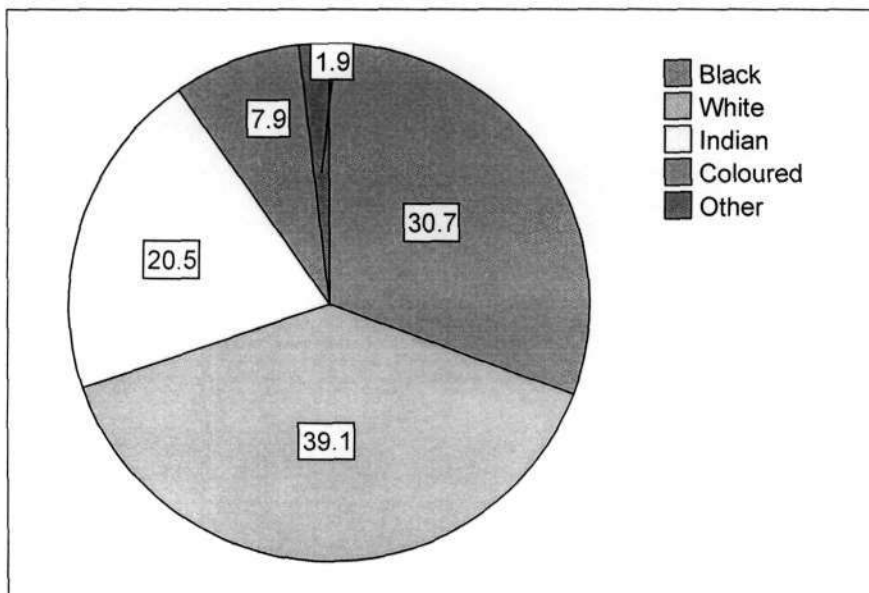


Figure 4.2. Race of the Respondents (%)



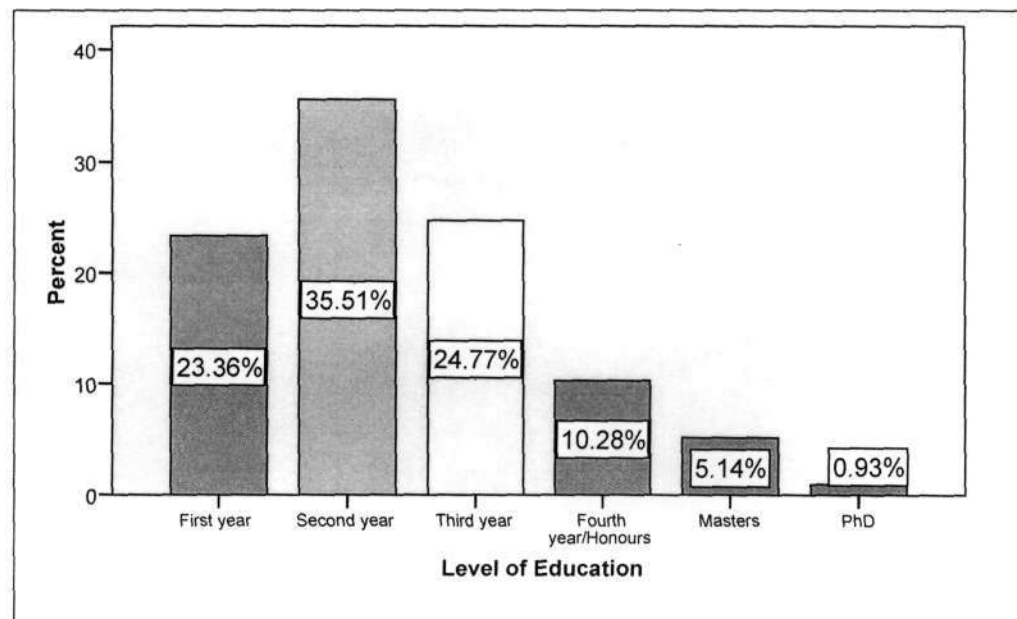
The majority of the participants (67.4%) were Christians (see Table 4.2.). No Muslims participated in the study since Islam prohibits the use of alcohol. Most of the participants (94.4%) were also single, 1% were married and 3.7% were living with their partners. In terms of educational attainment, the majority (96.3%) were full time

students at the university. Most were also undergraduates (83.3%), with the largest proportion of students being in second year (refer to Figure 4.3. for the complete breakdown).

**Table 4.2. Religion of Respondents**

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Christian	145	67.4
	Hindu	31	14.4
	Secular humanist	2	.9
	None	19	8.8
	Other	5	2.3
	Unspecified	13	6.0
	Total	215	100.0

**Figure 4.3. Level of Education of Respondents (%)**



#### **4.4. Data collection – instruments and procedures**

##### **4.4.1. Survey data collection**

In terms of the distribution of the questionnaires, classes from the various faculties/schools (Engineering, Management, Law, Humanities, Education and Science & Agriculture) in the University were identified and the lecturers were contacted and asked if they would be willing to give 10 minutes at the end of their

lecture so that any male drivers who also drank alcohol could fill in the questionnaire if they were willing to do so. It was expected that many more students would fill out questionnaires if they were distributed 10 minutes before the end of a lecture than if they were given out after the lecture. In this way it is less likely that respondents will feel that their time is being wasted since they will complete the questionnaire in the lecture period when they would have been working. Unfortunately it was impossible to know in advance whether or not there were male drivers within the class who drink alcohol and would be willing to complete a questionnaire. Many of the lecturers were not willing to give up lecture time as predicted, so students were also approached between lectures on the 3 different campuses in Pietermaritzburg (Main campus, Science/Agriculture Campus and Commerce/Arts Campus). The questionnaires were also distributed at the Hex Coffee shop, the Cafeteria in the Chemistry block, the Law Library, the Main Library and the different residences on campus (Brucian, Robleigh, William O'Brien, Petrie and Malherbe) to ensure that the questionnaires were not being distributed in one place to only one group of people, for example, all drama students.

It is very difficult to control all extraneous variables when investigating human behaviour. An extraneous variable is a variable that is not accounted for or predicted. They can influence the outcome of research, but they are not variables that the researcher is trying to measure (Cohen 1995:1). To ensure validity, all extraneous variables must try to be controlled. Often this is impossible since certain variables are completely random and therefore cannot be helped, for example, in the middle of administering questionnaires a fire-drill occurs, thus disrupting data collection. When someone is filling out a questionnaire there are so many factors that could influence the way in which that person answers the questions and what he/she will either omit or include. These influences consist of, amongst others; the participant's mood, where they are, what is going on around them, who they are with, the questionnaire items themselves, and the characteristics of the researcher, for example, whether the research is male or female, how friendly they appear or how they are dressed. In an attempt to control some of these extraneous variables, a number of measures were put into place:

- Fieldworkers were to ensure that while the participant filled out the questionnaire there was adequate distance between them and the participant as to not make the participant uncomfortable.
- When participants handed back the questionnaire it was immediately put away and not read since, if the participant or a potential participant sees the researcher reading the answers directly after it has been handed in, it could be viewed as a threat to confidentiality. This may cause great discomfort to the participant, and a potential participant may in fact refuse to take part in the study because of this.
- Participants were asked to answer the questions individually since people around them could influence the way in which they answered, especially if it was a significant other.
- Although the cover page of the questionnaires covered issues of confidentiality, each participant was reassured that the study was confidential.
- Usually incentives are used to attract and motivate people to participate in the study. It was decided, however, that incentives would not be used in this project. The reasoning behind it was that if a person is given, for example, a soft-drink to fill out a questionnaire, he/she may write down what they think the experimenter wants to hear (the experimenter effect and demand characteristics). If something is given to the participants afterwards, their answers would not have been influenced in any way by this 'incentive'. Therefore either a chocolate or a soft-drink was given to the participants *after* they had completed the questionnaire, not as an incentive (since they didn't know they were getting the chocolate or drink) but as a thank you for participating.

## **4.5. Data analysis**

### **4.5.1. Survey data analysis**

The data from the survey questionnaire was analysed using a statistical computer package known as the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS). A basic analysis was carried out by running frequencies to ensure that all the questionnaire items had been coded properly and that the data had been entered correctly.

Once the data had been cleaned (checked for errors), the data was divided into two groups, namely, responses of sober drivers and response of drunk drivers. The sober drivers served as the control group while the drunk drivers served as the experimental group. The responses from these two groups were used to conduct independent samples t-tests and chi-square tests in order to assess which group displayed more attributes of hegemonic masculinity and whether or not there was a difference. A t-test assesses whether or not there is a statistically significant difference between two means (Trochim 2006b:1). It is the appropriate test in this case because this study is comparing two groups, namely, the sober driving group and the drunk driving group. Chi-square also tests for significance between groups, more specifically whether distributions of categorical data differ from one another (Walker 2002:265). In this study Pearson's chi-square test was used as it measures significance in terms of the strength of the relationship between two groups.

The indicators of hegemonic masculinity were found in many of the questionnaire items and were compared between the two groups in order to find any relationships and correlations. It was hypothesised that the respondents in the drunken driving group would display higher levels of hegemonic masculine identity than the control group comprising of sober male drivers. The hegemonic indicators used were derived from theoretical explanations of hegemonic masculinity and included risk-taking, recklessness, aggression, competition, perceived control and independence and perceived bravery. Examples of hegemonic masculinity indicators which were tested for in the questionnaire are:

- 'Driving very fast shows courage' – control and bravery
- 'When I drive I am invincible' – control
- 'When I drive I feel independent' – independence
- 'How often do you drive recklessly' – recklessness and risk-taking
- 'I feel challenged to drink larger quantities of alcohol when I am with my male friends' – competition
- 'Drinking a lot shows strength' – control and strength
- 'A real man always handles his drinks' – control and strength

The responses from the open-ended questions in the survey were incorporated into the findings as direct quotes which provided more detail to the related closed questions.

#### 4.6. Measures

The survey questionnaire included items on demographic information, motor vehicle use and perceptions of driving, alcohol use, effects of alcohol on driving, and knowledge of road safety interventions. The demographic information included age, religion, marital status, race, study status, degree/diploma studying, level of education, respondent occupation and monthly income, and parental occupation and monthly income. Each of these items (except age and monthly income since these are already numeric values and thus can easily be statistically analysed) were coded in a similar manner, for example, race was coded as; Black = 1, White = 2, Indian = 3, Coloured = 4 and 'Other' = 5 and study status as; Full time = 1 and Part time = 2.

Sixteen items were solely based on driving, that is, questions relating to frequency of driving, number of years licensed, perceptions of behaviours while driving, risk-taking on the road and traffic offences. The majority of these items were in the form of Likert scales and were coded accordingly, for example, frequency of driving was measured on a 8-point ordinal response scale from 'Everyday' to 'Never'. The coding was as follows: 1 = Everyday, 2 = A few times a week, 3 = Once a week, 4 = Twice a month, 5 = Once a month, 6 = Every few months, 7 = Once a year, and 8 = Never.

Self-reported driving experience was also assessed using Likert scaled items where students were presented with a statement and were given the options of, Strongly disagree (coded as 1), Disagree (coded as 2), Neutral (coded as 3), Agree (coded as 4) and Strongly Agree (coded as 5). Examples of these statements include: '*I am a good driver*', '*When I drive I am invincible*' and '*When I drive I am in control*'.

Thirty-eight items investigated alcohol consumption. Items included frequency and quantity of alcohol consumption among parents, friends and respondents, age of first alcoholic drink, place where first alcoholic drink was consumed, reasons for drinking alcohol, self-reported feelings of drunkenness, differences in alcohol consumption depending on place and company, alcohol as a masculine endeavour, injuries sustained as a result of intoxication, and general drinking culture.

Eighteen of the survey items examined drinking and driving from the perceived effects of alcohol on the students own driving, to frequency of driving drunk. Drunk driving was measured by asking respondents if in the past 30 days they had: driven a vehicle after drinking one drink, driven a vehicle after drinking two drinks, driven a vehicle after drinking three drinks, driven a vehicle after drinking more than three drinks and ridden in a car with a drunk driver. The same question was asked except it measured how often respondents had driven after drinking in the past year. In order to assess whether or not students drove while over the legal blood alcohol limit (more than 2 drinks) the items 'driven after drinking three drinks' and 'driven after drinking more than 3 drinks' were collapsed into one category namely 'Drunk driving' which was coded as Yes (code = 1) or No (code = 2).

## **4.7. Limitations of the Study**

### **4.7.1. Sample**

The sample consisted of students studying at the University of KwaZulu-Natal (Pietermaritzburg), therefore the findings cannot be generalised across the entire young male driving population in South Africa but it still provides valuable insight into the phenomenon of drunken driving amongst male students.

### **4.7.2. Instrumentation**

Many of the participants in the survey felt that the questionnaire was too long. In retrospect it should have been condensed since if a questionnaire is very time-consuming, respondents are quite likely to skip out certain items or simply not complete it. This unfortunately does affect the study since missing data appears within the data set and statistical analysis becomes more difficult in terms of ensuring validity. Some of the questionnaire items were also essentially useless in answering the research question and thus could have been eliminated. Reliance on self-reported behaviour is often problematic especially when dealing with an awkward subject such as alcohol consumption and drunk driving. Therefore it is difficult to establish whether or not the respondents were completely truthful in their responses. If they were not, the validity and reliability of study are questionable.



For future research in similar topics, it is also recommended that both males and females be studied in order to create a comparison between the two genders because hegemonic masculinity is defined in relation to femininity.

#### **4.8. Consent/Access**

As the sample was made up of students, permission to conduct research was needed from the University of KwaZulu-Natal's ethics committee. An ethical clearance form was submitted and the ethics committee agreed that the study could be carried out without breaching the ethical guidelines stipulated by the university. Permission ultimately relied on whether or not the individual students wished to participate in the study. No one was forced to participate. The students were assured of confidentiality and anonymity verbally by the fieldworkers and in writing on the cover sheet of the questionnaire.

## Chapter 5

### Findings

The survey questionnaire had 3 distinct sections; the first looked at general driving behaviour amongst male students, the second looked at alcohol consumption, and the third at drunken driving behaviour. Each of these sections examined these specific drinking/driving/drunken driving behaviours and related them, where applicable, to hegemonic masculinity.

#### 5.1. Demographic profile of drunk and sober student drivers

The frequency of drinking and driving was measured by asking participants how many times in the past 30 days and in the past year they had driven after drinking varying amounts of alcohol. The incidence in the past 30 days *and* in the past year were measured because a respondent may not have driven after drinking in the month prior to the survey but may in fact driven drunk every month before that. In South Africa 0,05 grams per 100 millilitres is the legal blood alcohol concentration level. This translates into approximately 2 units<sup>12</sup> of alcohol for the average person. Therefore drinking three drinks in a time period of *less than* three hours will push them above the legal blood alcohol limit. It takes roughly one hour for the effects of one alcoholic drink (1 unit of alcohol) to wear off, there are, however, personal differences (age, weight, sex, metabolism etc).

For the purposes of this research and the statistical analysis, if a respondent had driven in the past year after consuming 3 drinks or more, they were considered to be driving over the legal alcohol limit and were considered to be drunk drivers. As mentioned above, using the item about drunk driving in the past year was a much more accurate indication of the respondents' drinking and driving. Please also note that when a respondent in this analysis is referred to as a 'drunk driver' it means that they drove after consuming three drinks or more in the past year and if a respondent is referred to as a 'sober driver' it means they *did not* drive after drinking three drinks or more in the past year.

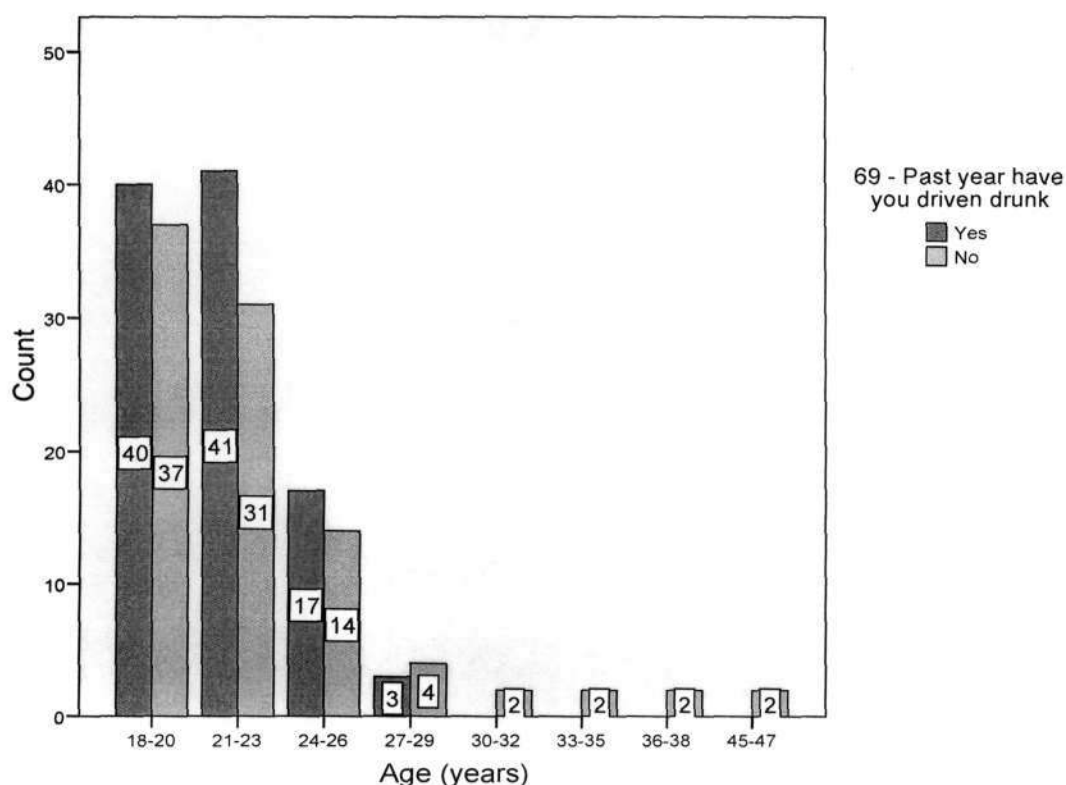
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<sup>12</sup> One unit of alcohol is approximately one tot of spirits or 330ml of beer/cider

### 5.1.1. Age

More than half of 18-20 years olds (51.9%) drink and drive, 56.9% of 21-23 year olds drink and drive, 54.8% of 24-26 year olds drink and drive, and 42.9% of 27-29 year olds drink and drive. None of the respondents aged 30 plus drink and drive. This data shows that the majority of respondents aged 18 to 26 years old drink and drive. From the age of 27, the rate of drinking and driving decreases in this sample. This data suggests that as people mature emotionally, the likelihood of them driving whilst intoxicated decreases. These differences in the drunk driving rate with reference to age are statistically significant,  $t(193) = -2.24, p < 0.05$ . Refer to Figure 5.1. for a pictorial view of these results.

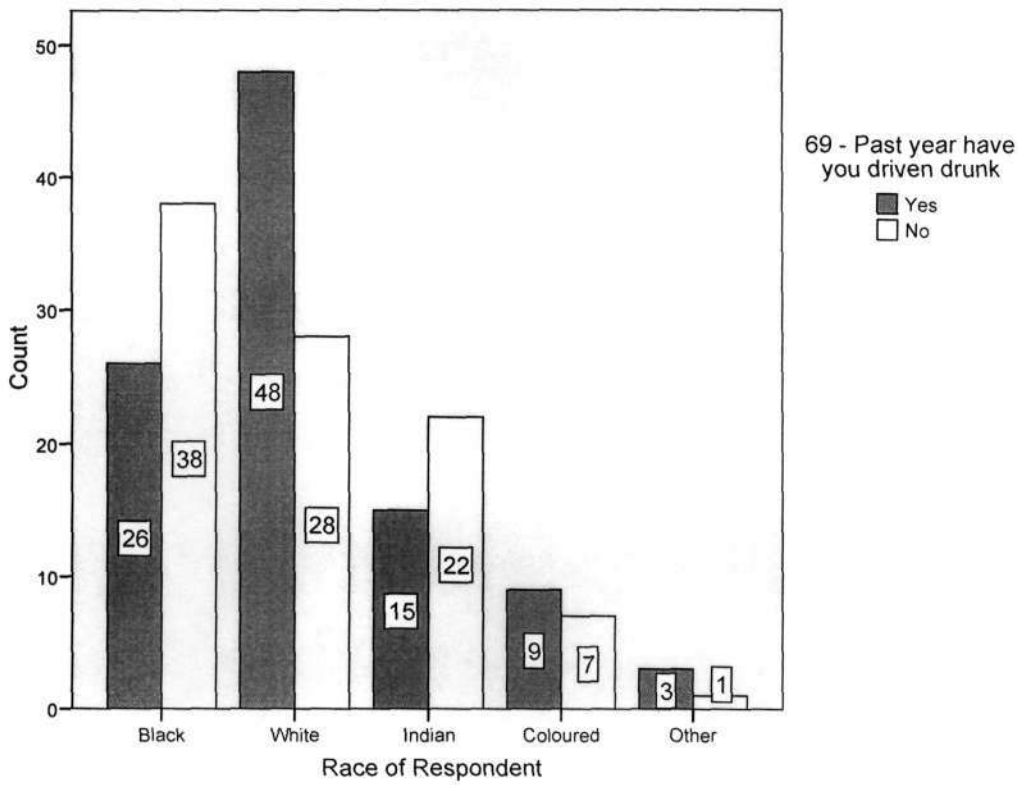
Figure 5.1. Age differences in the incidence of drunk driving



### 5.1.2. Race

The majority of white respondents (63.2%) and coloured respondents (56.3%) admitted to driving drunk compared to 40.6% of black respondents and 40.5% of Indian respondents. In this sample, more white and coloured participants appeared to drive drunk compared to the other races. These differences were found to be statistically significant,  $\chi^2(4, N = 197) = 9.97, p < 0.05$

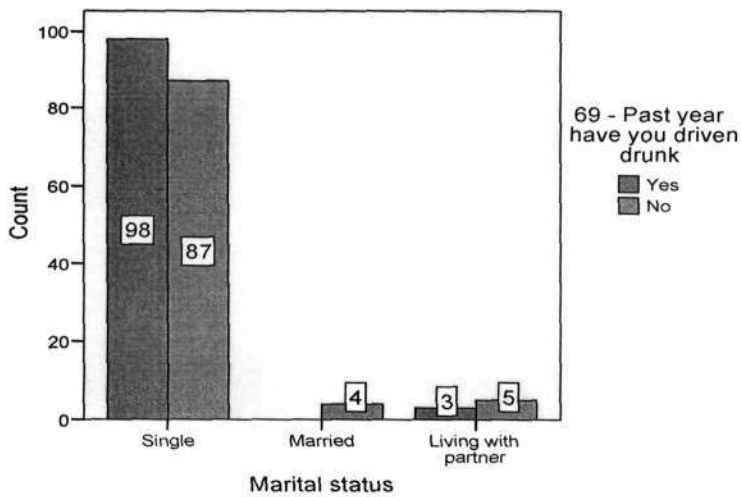
**Figure 5.2. Racial differences in the incidence of drunk driving**



**5.1.3. Marital Status**

The bar chart below (Figure 5.3.) shows that none of the respondents who are married drink and drive. Three out of the 8 respondents who live with their partners drive drunk and the majority of single respondents (53%) drink and drive.

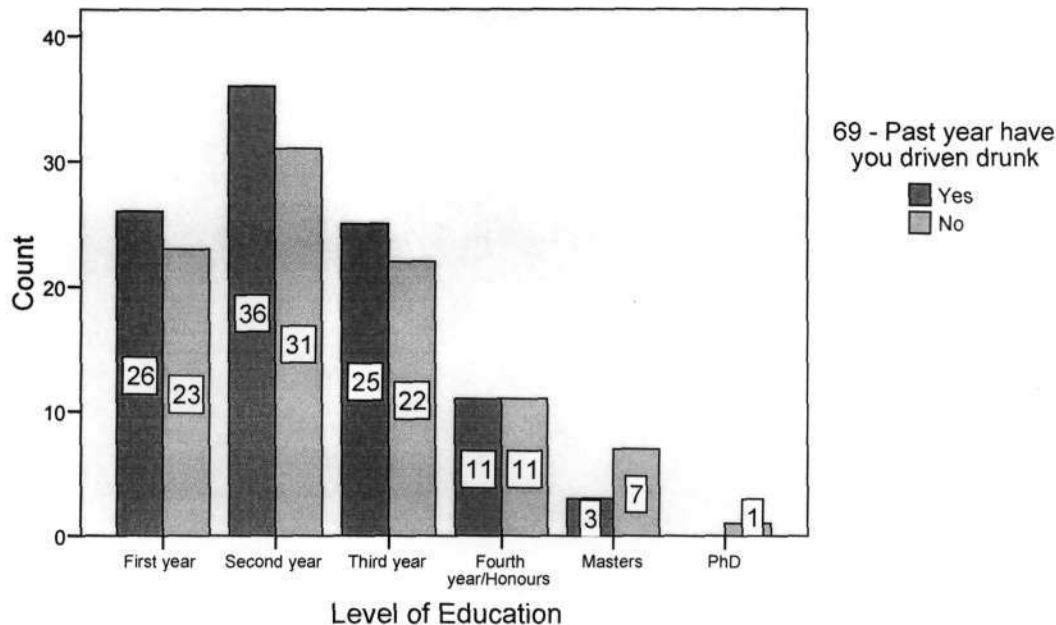
**Figure 5.3. Marital status and the incidence of drunk driving**



### 5.1.4. Level of study

The graph below (Figure 5.4.) reveals that undergraduates in the sample tended to drink and drive at a higher rate than postgraduates. Statistically significant differences between the drunk driving and sober driving groups were not found,  $p > 0.05$ .

Figure 5.4. Level of study and drunk driving



### 5.1.5. Driving frequency

An independent samples t-test revealed that more of the drivers who tended to drink and drive, drove more frequently than those drivers who did not drink and drive,  $t(194) = -3.55, p < 0.01$ . Of the drunk drivers 66% drove everyday compared to 47.9% of sober drivers. Just 2% of the drunk drivers drove every few months compared to 15.6% of sober drivers.

### 5.1.6. Possession of driver's licence

More of the sober drivers did *not* have a driver's licence compared to the drunk drivers (25% and 15% respectively). This difference however was not statistically significant,  $t(194) = -1.76, p > 0.05$ . Unfortunately the questionnaire did not have an item on whether or not the respondent had a learner's licence. Thus, some of the respondents could have said they do not have a licence when they in fact had a learner's licence.

### **5.1.7. Income**

The majority of students (50.7%) did not earn a monthly salary, but of those who did, income ranged from R50 per month to R40 000 per month. The respondents' income and their parents' income did not influence whether or not they were likely to drink and drive,  $p>0.05$ . This item was included in the questionnaire to assess whether the socio-economic status of the respondents influenced their tendency to engage in drunken driving behaviours. These items were difficult to accurately assess since a large number of the respondents revealed their parents' occupation but not their income (79 did not reveal their mother's income and 90 did not reveal their father's income).

## **5.2. Hegemonic masculinity and driving**

### **5.2.1. Risk-taking/recklessness and driving**

*'The dangerous driving is a resource for their making of masculinity.'*<sup>13</sup>

The ideology behind the dominant forms of masculinity (hegemonic masculinity) encourages risk-taking behaviour (Courtenay 2000b:1392). Men exhibit higher levels of sensation-seeking and risk-taking behaviour and this influences patterns of alcohol consumption and driving behaviours (SIRC 2004:3). Therefore, items in the questionnaire were developed in order to measure risk-taking behaviour whilst driving and whether or not the respondents who drove drunk were more likely to engage in these behaviours.

The following questionnaire items measured the respondents' tendencies to engage in risky driving behaviours (the first 4 items were in the form of a 5 point Likert scale ranging from Strongly disagree to Strongly agree and the rest of the items were in the form of a 4 point Likert scale ranging from Never to Very often):

- Driving very fast in a car gives me an adrenaline rush
- It is safe to drive very fast (20km/h or more over the speed limit) with passengers in the car
- It is safe to drive very fast (20km/h or more over the speed limit) when I am alone in the car
- Driving very fast shows courage
- Use of a cellphone without the hands-free kit while driving
- Drive without a seatbelt for any length of time
- Drive more than 20km/h over the speed limit

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<sup>13</sup> Connell (2000:185)

- Drive recklessly
- Race with other cars on the road

Just over half of both drunk and sober drivers (56.4% and 55.2% respectively) agreed that driving very fast gave them an adrenaline rush. A difference was however noted between drunk and sober drivers in that only 20.8% of drunk drivers disagreed with the statement (Driving very fast gives me an adrenaline rush) compared to the 30.2% of sober drivers. Therefore drunk drivers were much more likely to remain neutral in answering that particular questionnaire item. When a chi-square test was run, a statistically significant difference between the drunk and sober driving groups for this item was not evident  $\chi^2(4, N = 197) = 6.52, p > .05$ .

Speeding is related to hegemonic masculinity since it is linked to risk-taking and sensation-seeking. If a person is speeding, he/she is more likely to lose control of the vehicle and possible have an accident. If an accident were to occur at a high speed, the damage to those involved is also likely to be more severe and thus the risk is evident. Approximately equal numbers of drunk and sober drivers (21.8% and 20.8% respectively) agreed that it was safe to drive more than 20km/h over the speed limit with passengers in the car. Fewer drunk drivers, however, disagreed with the statement than sober drivers (51.5% compared to 58.3%). One fifth of sober drivers remained neutral compared to the 26.7% of drunk drivers. The differences between drunk and sobers drivers were not statistically significant as  $\chi^2(4, N = 197) = 1.48, p > .05$ .

A similar item on speeding was covered which looked at speeding when driving alone and the differences were evident. Half (49.9%) of drunk drivers and 39.6% of sober drivers agreed that it was safe to speed when alone in the car. When compared with the item above on speeding with people in the car, it shows that more drivers (drunk as well as sober drivers) believe that it is safer to speed when they are alone. With respect to the differences between drunk and sober drivers for this particular item (speeding alone), a statistically significant distinction was noted,  $t(195) = 2.07, p < 0.05$ . This suggests that more drunk drivers than sober drivers believe it is safe to speed. Both these items on speeding also measure the respondents' beliefs about what is considered safe behaviour and unsafe behaviour. These two items also show that people believe it is safer to speed when they are alone in the car than when they have passengers in the car. It can be argued that this is because people feel that when they are alone in the car, they are the only ones being affected by their speed

or the manner in which they drive; it is like being in an insular world. In reality, however, there are other cars/pedestrians on the road which could be affected by the actions of other drivers.

Courage, that is, being daring and brave, is a characteristic of hegemonic masculinity (Soulliere 2006:2). Courage is thus related to risk-taking since taking risks is considered brave and audacious in the ideological framework of hegemonic masculinity. With reference to the questionnaire item ‘Driving very fast shows courage’, just under one-fifth of drunk drivers (16.8%) agreed with the statement compared to the 14.6% of sober drivers. The difference between these two groups is not very great and a statistically significant difference was not evident ( $p > 0.05$ ).

Those respondents who drove drunk were also more likely to use cell phone without a hands-free kit while driving. Only 14.9% of drunk drivers compared to 41.7% of sober drivers said that they *never* use a cell phone without a hands-free kit while driving. Of those respondents who drove drunk 12.9% said that they very often drive whilst talking on their phones without a hands-free kit, whilst only 5.2% of sober drivers said that they engage in the same behaviour. In order to assess whether or not the difference between the drunk and sober drives was statistically significant, an independent samples t-test was run, and this revealed that the difference was in fact statistically noteworthy on the 0,01 level,  $t(195) = 3.12, p < .01$ .

Those who reported driving drunk were also more likely to drive without wearing a seatbelt. One third of the respondents who did not drink and drive said that they *never* drive without a seatbelt compared to 19.2% of drunk drivers. Only one-fifth of sober drivers said that they drive without a seatbelt very often compared to the 35.4% of drunk drivers (see Table 5.1. below for the other statistics). When an independent samples t-test was run, a statistically significant difference was noted as  $t(192) = 2.55, p < 0.05$ .

**Table 5.1. Crosstab: Drive without seatbelt for any length of time \* Past year have you driven drunk**

		Past year have you driven drunk	
		Yes	No
Drive without seatbelt for any length of time	Never	19.2%	29.5%
	Occasionally	27.3%	33.7%
	Fairly often	18.1%	15.8%
	Very often	35.4%	<b>21%</b>
Total		100%	100%



A statistically significant difference was noted between drunk and sober drivers with respect to frequency of speeding,  $\chi^2(3, N = 193) = 10.49, p < 0.05$ . Fewer drunk drivers said they *never* speed than sober drivers (3.2% and 11.6% respectively). More than half of the sober drivers (52.5%) revealed that they sped occasionally compared to the 45.9% of drunk drivers. Approximately half of the drunk drivers (51%) said that they very often or fairly often speed compared to the 35.8% of sober drivers.

Respondents were asked how often they drive recklessly, with possible answers ranging from *Never* to *Very Often*. A significant difference was noted between those respondents who drink and drive and those respondents who drive sober,  $\chi^2(3, N = 194) = 13.57, p < 0.05$ . More than half of the sober drivers (60%) said that they *never* drive recklessly compared to the 36.5% of drunk drivers. The table below (Table 5.2) shows that a slightly larger percentage of sober drivers said that they drive recklessly very often, but ultimately the drunk drivers admitted to driving recklessly more frequently than the sober drivers.

**Table 5.2. Crosstab - Drive recklessly \* Past year have you driven drunk**

		Past year have you driven drunk	
		Yes	No
Drive recklessly	Never	36.5%	60%
	Occasionally	54.5%	33.6%
	Fairly often	8%	3.2%
	Very often	1%	3.2%
Total		100%	100%

45.4% of those respondents who drive drunk said that they *never* race other cars on the road compared to 62.4% of sober drivers. This item also highlights the hegemonic masculine indicator of competition and more of the respondents from the drunk driving group said they race their cars compared to the respondents from the sober driving group. The table below (Table 5.3.) shows the distribution of results for this item. Although there are quite a few marked differences, when an independent samples t-test was run in SPSS, it showed that the difference was not statistically significant,  $t(190) = 1.58, p > 0.05$ .

**Table 5.3. Crosstab - Race with other cars on the road \* Past year have you driven drunk**

		Past year have you driven drunk	
		Yes	No
Race with other cars on the road	Never	45.4%	62.4%
	Occasionally	40.4%	25.8%
	Fairly often	7.1%	5.4%
	Very often	7.1%	6.4%
Total		100%	100%

The following item is related to the consequences of risky driving but does not adequately fit under this theme. The respondents were asked how often they had been stopped by law enforcement officers and out of the drunk drivers, 32.7% had *never* been stopped before compared to the 54.8% of sober drivers. This shows that the drivers who have the tendency to drink and drive are more likely to have been pulled over by police/traffic police than those who do not drink and drive. When a t-test was administered, it showed that the difference was statistically significant  $t(192) = 2.16, p < 0.05$ .

Ironically, the only person who had their licence confiscated because of being drunk was someone who was not considered to be a drunk driver (ie. they had not driven drunk in the past year). They are possibly a little more wary of driving drunk since they could lose their licence again.

### **5.2.2. Control and independence and driving**

Being independent and in control are stereotypes which inform the characteristics of dominant forms of masculinity (Doyle 1985:158). Thus, being completely autonomous and having power over oneself and the environment are features of hegemonic masculinity. The following items in the questionnaire were used to measure the respondents' perceived control they have over themselves and their environment (these items were in the form of a 5 point Likert scale ranging from Strongly disagree to Strongly agree):

- I am a good driver
- Driving makes me feel independent
- When I drive I am invincible
- The rules of the road restrict my driving
- When I drive I am in control

A slightly higher percentage of drunk drivers (83.2%) agreed that they are good drivers as compared to the 79.2% of sober drivers. A small percentage from the drunk driving and sober driving groups disagreed (4% and 3.1% respectively). A statistically significant result was not shown however when a chi-square test was run  $\chi^2(4, N = 197) = 1.19, p > 0.05$ .

A t-test revealed a statistically significant difference between sober and drunk drivers with the item 'Driving makes me feel independent',  $t(195) = 2.2, p < 0.05$ . A cross-tabulation found that 83.2% of drunk drivers agreed with the statement compared to 73.96% of sober drivers. A small percentage of drunk drivers and sober drivers felt that driving did not make them feel independent (4% and 5.2% respectively). See Table 5.4. for the results of the t-test.

**Table 5.4. Independent samples t-test: Driving independence and drunk driving**

		Independent Samples Test									
		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	Lower		
18 - Driving makes me feel independent	Equal variances assumed	1.100	.295	2.203	195	.029	.279	.127	.029	.528	
	Equal variances not assumed			2.204	194.876	.029	.279	.126	.029	.528	

More drunk drivers (18.6%) agreed with the statement that they feel invincible when they are driving than the sober drivers (14.9%). When a t-test was run in order to assess whether or not this difference was statistically significant, it showed that it was in fact not,  $t(189) = 0.09, p > 0.05$ . Just under half of the drunk drivers (42.6%) felt that the rules of the road restricted their driving compared to the 31.6% of the sober drivers. A chi-square test however, did not reveal a statistically significant difference ( $p > 0.05$ ).

The majority of both drunk (83.2%) and sober (84.4%) drivers agreed that they were in control when they were driving and no statistically significant difference was noted  $\chi^2(4, N = 197) = 0.34, p > 0.05$ .

### 5.2.3. Aggression and driving

With respect to the item 'I get impatient when I drive', a statistically significant difference was not noted between drunk and sober drivers ( $p > 0.05$ ). There were, however a few differences although not statistically noteworthy. Only 5.8% of the drunk drivers said that they *never* get impatient while

driving compared to 9.4% of sober drivers. Also more drunk drivers (23.7%) than sober drivers (16.6%) said they always or often get impatient when driving.

### **5.3. Hegemonic masculinity and drinking**

#### **5.3.1. Drinking norms and drunk driving**

Alcohol, for many men and boys, is seen as a rite of passage into adulthood (Rocha-Silva 1997:13). Mac an Ghail (1996:114) argues that drinking alcohol is deeply embedded in masculinity discourse, and therefore drinking is an affirmation of men's gender identity. Socialisation into this 'drinking culture' plays a huge part in adopting these drinking norms as part of one's identity. The socialising agents which appear to be most influential with regards to drinking norms are the family, peers/friends and the mass media (ICAP 2005:5; Klingemann and Gmel 2001:5,53-55; Courtenay 2000b:8).

##### **5.3.1.1. Initiation into alcohol use**

Students who start drinking alcohol before the age of 19 years are significantly more likely to drink and drive (Hingson et al 2003:23). In this study, in order to assess whether or not the age the respondents were when they consumed their first alcoholic drink affected the tendency to drive drunk, a t-test was run and a statistically significant difference was noted between the two groups, that is, drunk drivers and sober drivers,  $t(189) = -2.22, p < 0.05$ . A cross-tabulation revealed that only 4.1% of the drunk drivers waited until the South African legal drinking age of 18 to consume their first drink whereas 20.4% of the sober drivers waited until they were 18. From whom the respondents got their first drink from did not seem to affect the tendency to drink and drive,  $t(191) = 0.545, p > 0.05$ . The majority of respondents (52.9%) were given their first drink by a friend or relative of the same age.

##### **5.3.1.2. Parental alcohol consumption**

The respondent's fathers' alcohol consumption did not affect whether or not the respondents were likely to drink and drive,  $t(177) = -1.64, p > 0.05$ . Although more of the drunk drivers' fathers drank more often than the sober drivers' fathers, the difference was not statistically significant. Almost half (48.9%) of the drunk drivers' fathers drank *at least* once a week compared to 41.6% of the sober drivers' fathers.

The respondents' mothers' alcohol consumption did affect the incidence of drunk driving quite notably,  $t(191) = 2.68, p < 0.01$ . Cross-tabulations revealed that 63.2% of the sober drivers' mothers *never* drank, compared to 40% of the drunk drivers' mothers. A larger percentage of the drunk drivers' mothers (29.6%) drank *at least* once a week (this includes a few times a week and everyday) compared to 18.9% of the sober drivers' mothers.

In terms of quantity consumed, 14.1% of the drunk drivers' mothers had 3 or more drinks a day compared to 6.5% of the sober drivers' mothers. Just under half (42.4%) of the drunk drivers' mothers had 1 or 2 drinks daily, in contrast to 29% of the sober drivers' mothers. When a t-test was administered it showed a significant difference in drunk driving rates and with reference to the respondents' mothers' drinking,  $t(183) = 3.55, p < 0.001$ . This suggests that the respondents are more likely to drink and drive if their mothers drink frequently and in large quantities.

#### **5.3.1.3. Friend's alcohol consumption**

Research conducted by Crawford and Novak (2007:49) shows that males are more heavily influenced by social pressures that encourage heavy drinking. In my study, a t-test revealed that those respondents who drive drunk have friends who drink more frequently than the sober drivers,  $t(191) = -5.20, p < .001$ . The statistics show that 94.9% of the drunk drivers' friends drank at least once a week whilst only 66.3% of sober drivers reported that their friends drank at least once a week. The least that the drunk drivers' friends drank was every two weeks (5.1%) whilst 3.2% of sober drivers' friend *never* drank.

Almost half of the drunk drivers' friends (48.2%) drank 10 or more drinks in one sitting compared to 31.6% of the sober drivers' friends. The most alcohol that the sober drivers' friends consumed in one sitting was 24 drinks compared to 48 drinks consumed by the drunk drivers' friends. The difference between the drunk and sober drivers with reference to the quantity of their friends' alcohol consumption was statistically significant at the 0.01 level,  $t(169) = 3, p < 0.01$ .

#### **5.3.1.4. Frequency of alcohol consumption**

Respondents' frequency of alcohol consumption affected whether or not they were prone to drink and drive,  $t(192) = -7.23, p < 0.001$ . As  $p < 0.001$ , this shows a profoundly significant difference between sober and drunk drivers. Only 4 respondents from each group drank everyday, however 38.4% of the drivers who drive drunk, drank a few times a week, compared to 9.5% of sober drivers.

The statistics also reveal that the majority of drivers who drive drunk (81.8%) drink *at least* once a week whilst only 40% of the sober drivers drink at least once a week.

### 5.3.1.5. Drinking in different social situations

The social environment can influence alcohol consumption. Certain social settings will encourage heavy drinking behaviours and according to McClelland et al (1972:89,334-335) heavy-drinking societies promote excessive drinking in order to feel a sense of personal power. This is most evident amongst men.

Eight questionnaire items explored the influence of the social environment of drinking and were analysed to assess whether there was a difference between the sober and drunk driving groups. The first item looked at the frequency of alcohol consumption when outside of the home. The remaining items established whether or not the number of drinks a respondent consumed is influenced by the people he is with or the social situation he is in. These items also explored the phenomenon of binge drinking which can be defined as the consumption of 5 or more drinks in one sitting for men and 4 or more drinks in one sitting for women (Clapp et al 2001:1 & Gill 2001:109). Table 5.5. shows the incidence of binge drinking in sober and drunk drivers with reference to context.

**Table 5.5. The incidence of binge drinking (5 or more drinks) in sober and drunk drivers**

Context	Drunk drivers (%)	Sober drivers (%)
Drinking alone	13	2.2
Drinking with family	11.1	11
Drinking with friends	71.7	47.8
Drinking at pub or club	82.8	47.2
Drinking at party	79	48.8
Drinking at mealtimes	0	1.1

These results show that drunk drivers are much more likely than sober drivers to binge drink in a variety of different settings with the exception of drinking at mealtimes and drinking with their families.

The table below (Table 5.6) shows that the respondents who drink and drive are more likely to drink more frequently when they go out. A chi-square test revealed that the difference between the drunk driving group and sober driving group was statistically significant at the 0.01 level,  $\chi^2(4, N = 197) = 46.91, p < 0.01$ .

**Table 5.6. Crosstab: I drink when I go out \* Past year have you driven drunk**

		69 - Past year have you driven drunk	
		Yes	No
I drink when I go out	Always	41.6%	9.3%
	Often	39.6%	29.2%
	Sometimes	14.9%	34.4%
	Rarely	3.9%	19.8%
	Never	0%	7.3%
Total		100%	100%

There was a statistically significant difference between drunk and sober drivers with reference to drinking alone,  $t(189) = 2.53, p < 0.05$ . Most of the sober drivers (60.4%) don't drink when they are alone compared to the 49% of drunk drivers. Approximately one-quarter (24%) of the drunk drivers had 3 or more drinks when they were alone compared to the 11% of sober drivers. The highest number of drinks a drunk driver reported drinking alone was 20 and the highest number of drinks for a sober driver for this category was 10. Two of the respondents in the sober driving group and 13% ( $n=13$ ) of respondents in the drunk driving group drank 5 drinks or more when alone and thus would be classified as binge drinkers.

More than half of the sober drivers (52.2%) said they *never* drink with their family compared to the 20.2% of drunk drivers. Almost one-third of the drunk drivers (29.3%) drank 3 or more drinks when with their family compared to the 17.8% of sober drivers. These differences were statistically significant at the 0.01 level,  $\chi^2(15, N = 189) = 34.48, p < 0.01$ .

The majority of both drunk and sober drivers consumed 3 drinks or more when they are with their friends (89.9% and 68.1% respectively). These statistics also show that drunk drivers are much more likely than sober drivers to drink larger amounts of alcohol with their friends. The differences were statistically significant at the 0.01 level,  $t(188) = 2.9, p < 0.01$ . The highest number of drinks a respondent in the drunk driving group claimed to consume with his friends is 120, compared to 20 in the sober driving group.

Most of the drunk and sober drives have 3 drinks or more when they are out at a pub or club (93.9% and 62.5% respectively). As noted from these statistics, more drunk drivers than sober drivers consume more than 2 drinks when they are out. These differences are statistically relevant at the 0.01

level,  $t(185) = 3.71, p < 0.01$ . The highest number of drinks a respondent in the drunk driving group claimed to consume when out at a club or pub is 144, compared to 20 in the sober driving group.

A larger percentage of drunk drivers than sober drivers (94% and 67.1% respectively) consumed 3 or more drinks when at a party. The highest number of drinks a respondent in the drunk driving group claimed to consume when out at a club or pub is 168, compared to 30 in the sober driving group. These differences were statistically significant when a t-test was administered,  $t(183) = 3.49, p < 0.01$ .

There was not a significant difference between drunk and sober drivers with reference to drinking at mealtimes,  $t(188) = 0.96, p > 0.05$ .

The majority of both drunk and sober drivers agreed that the amount they drink is dependent on who they are with. A chi-square test showed a significant difference between the drunk driving group and the sober driving group,  $\chi^2(1, N = 196) = 6.6, p < 0.05$ , with 74.3% of the drunk drivers admitting that their alcohol consumption depends on who they are with compared to the 56.8% of sober drivers. When the respondents were asked to explain, a variety of reasons were given, some of which are highlighted here. Most of the respondents said that they drink more with their friends/peers:

*'Drink more with friends than others'*

*'Especially when I'm with my friends'*

*'Don't drink without friends'*

*'I drink a lot when I'm with my friends'*

*'Friends a lot'*

*'If with a lot of friends'*

*'More with peers'*

*'I drink much when I meet my friends'*

*'With mates you want to have a jol and talk some shit, so I drink more then'*

*'With my friends I drink a lot'*

Several of the respondents said that their alcohol consumption depends on *which* friends they are with, that is, some friends drink a lot and some friends drink a little:

*'because some friends like to drink all night long, while others have a few drinks and want to rest'*

*'differing friends drink different amounts, some are social, others drink to get drunk'*



*'if I am with friends who drink a lot or not. And the intentions of these friends'*

*'Some friends are more accepting of drinking than others'*

*'depends on what friends'*

*'Different people have different personalities. Some you can just get drunk anytime, others just one'*

Several of the respondents also stated that they do not drink a large quantity when with their parents and other family:

*'If I am out to dinner with my parents, I don't drink a lot'*

*'I don't drink with my parents much'*

*'I drink a lot with my friends, less with my parents'*

*'More with friends, less with close family'*

*'If I'm with my parents I drink reasonably (not to get sloshed)'*

*'Dad and mom – little or none'*

*'Less if with elderly people or parents'*

A number of respondents also said that they drink very little when with their girlfriends or other females:

*'If I'm with my girlfriend, I would drink a very limited quantity'*

*'If I'm with my girlfriend I'd drink less'*

*'If it's a girl I don't drink much'*

*'None with females'*

*'When with my girlfriend, less'*

*'When I'm with my girlfriend I don't like to drink'*

*'I wouldn't drink a lot on a date'*

*'If I am with my girlfriend I do not drink'*

*'When I am with my female friends I don't drink much'*

*'I don't drink in front of my mother'*

Several of the respondents also said that they drink more when with their male friends:

*'It is only with my male friends that I drink a lot.'*

*'Because most of the time when I'm drinking with my friends we challenge each other to the last man standing to see who passes out first, so basically we buy a lot of alcohol.'*

*'Guys can handle'*

Some of the respondents said that money influences how much they drink:

*'...it depends on how much money there is to spend on alcohol'*

*'...how much money I have'*

*'Money is the deciding factor'*

*'It usually depends on the money I have at the time'*

*'At the end of the month you get a lot'*

For some of the respondents the occasion determines the amount of alcohol consumed:

*'Depends on the occasion.'*

*'Depends on the situation.'*

*'Depends on function and social responsibilities.'*

*'Certain occasions call for different behaviour.'*

#### **5.3.1.6. General reasons for drinking**

*'Drinking behaviour is related to the wider social transition towards adulthood.'*<sup>14</sup>

People drink alcohol for a variety of different reasons, some of which are not purely related to entertainment. Drinking has often been referred to as a 'male domain', that is, it is male centred, male dominated and male identified (Capraro 2000:308). Drinking discourse is often linked to positive experiences such as friendship, good times, group solidarity and male bonding (Smith and Winslade 1997:2).

Just under half (43.6%) of the respondents who drove drunk agreed that they drank alcohol with the sole purpose of getting drunk. Only 20.8% of sober drivers agreed that they drink to get drunk. The majority of sober drivers disagreed (60.4%) compared to 26.7% of drunk drivers. A t-test was administered and a statistically significant difference noted at the 0.01 level,  $t(195) = 5.76, p < 0.01$ . When the respondents were asked how they felt when they are drunk, several said they felt strong and self-assured which relates to hegemonic masculinity:

*'Courageous and not shy. I love being drunk'*

*'Very strong, confident, very charming and very good'*

*'Superman, the best dancer'*

*'Powerful and independent'*

*'Happy and confident. I feel like I can do anything'.*

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<sup>14</sup> Klingemann (2001:126)

*'Like the god (superman)'*

All of the above responses were made by students in the drunken driving group.

More than half (56%) of those respondents who drink and drive, agreed that drinking makes them feel more confident. Only 32.6% of sober drivers agreed. A t-test revealed that this difference was significant at the 0.01 level,  $t(193) = 4.82, p < 0.01$ . In the open-ended question about being drunk, a large proportion of the respondents said that it makes them feel confident:

*'Confident and relaxed'*

*'Confident, not scared of anything'*

*'A little more confident, a lot actually'*

*'Confident. I feel I can do anything'*

Almost half (47.5%) of the respondents who drink and drive said that they *do not* enjoy themselves when they are at a party unless they've had something to drink compared to the 37.5% of sober drivers. This difference was statistically significant at the 0.01 level,  $t(195) = 3.25, p < 0.01$ . This item also relates to the previous item on confidence since it highlights insecurities.

The respondents who drink and drive were also more likely than the sober drivers to agree that drinking helps them when they are stressed (48.5% and 30.2% respectively). A t-test confirmed that this difference was statistically significant,  $t(195) = 3.02, p < 0.01$ . A large number of respondents also said in the open-ended question on drunkenness that they feel more relaxed when intoxicated. There were some of the responses given by the students who drink and drive:

*'Relaxed, not a care in the world'*

*'Happy, relaxed, easy-going'*

*'Relaxed, mellow, stress free.'*

*'I feel I'm safe with myself'*

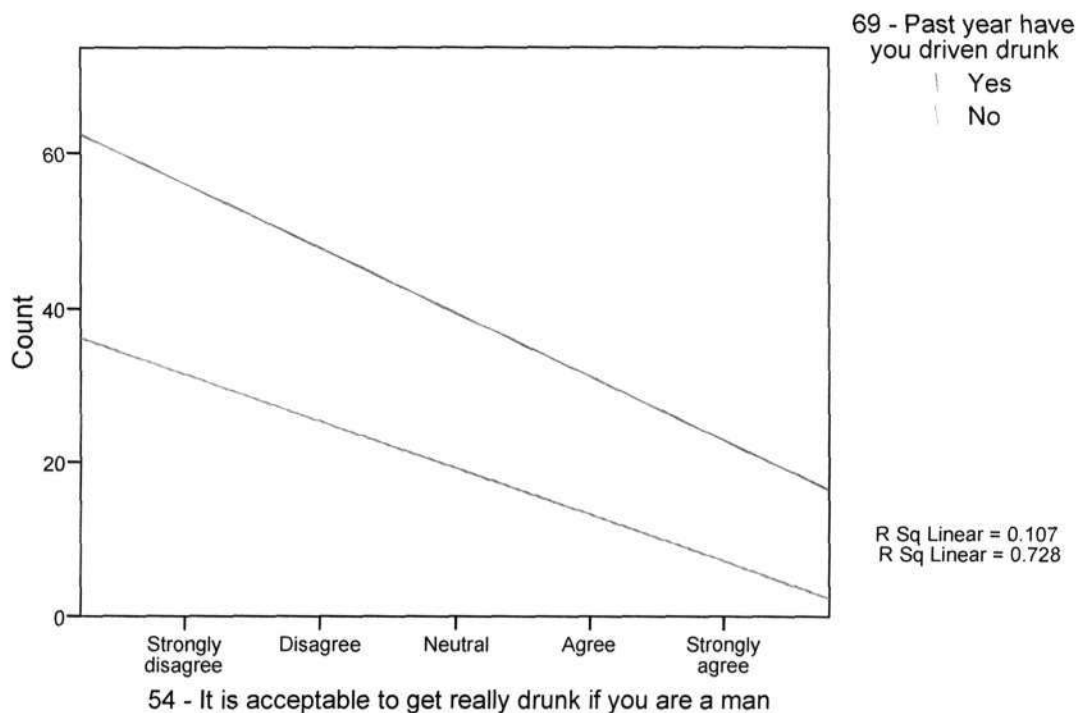
With reference to the questionnaire item 'I feel challenged to drink larger quantities of alcohol when with male friends', a statistically significant difference between the sober and drunk drivers was not shown,  $t(195) = 1.5, p > 0.05$ . About a third of the respondents from each group (34.7% of drunk drivers and 32.3% of sober drivers) agreed that they do drink larger quantities when with male friends. A larger percentage of the sober drivers than drunk drivers, however, disagreed (53.1% and 32.3% respectively). This shows that more of the drunk drivers tended to remain neutral on this item when compared with the sober drivers.

Although slightly more of the respondents who drink and drive (13.9%) agreed that drinking large amounts of alcohol shows strength when compared to sober drivers (11.5%), a statistically significant difference was not evident ( $p > 0.05$ ).

The majority of sober drivers (59.4%) disagreed with the statement 'It is acceptable to get really drunk if you are a man' compared to the 38.6% of drunk drivers. This difference is statistically significant,  $t(195) = 2.6, p < 0.05$ , and shows that the level of agreement is much higher amongst the drunk driver group than the sober driving group. 6.9% of the drunk drivers strongly agreed and 18.8% agreed, whilst 4.2% of the sober drivers strongly agreed and 12.5% agreed. More of the drunk drivers remained neutral in this item than the sober drivers (35.6% and 24% respectively). Figure 5.5. below shows a graphic representation of the difference between sober and drunk drivers with respect to this item.

Table 5.7. shows that more of the drunk drivers than sober drivers agreed that students in Pietermaritzburg drink more than students elsewhere (50.5% compared to 34.3%),  $t(195) = 3.06, p < 0.01$ . This highlights the perception amongst students who drink that Pietermaritzburg is a 'drinking town'.

**Figure 5.5. The relationship between drunk driving and acceptability of men to get drunk**



**Table 5.7. Crosstab - Students in PMB drink more than students elsewhere \* Past year have you driven drunk**

		Past year have you driven drunk	
		Yes	No
Students in Pietermaritzburg tend to drink more than students elsewhere	Strongly disagree	4.9%	8.3%
	Disagree	10.9%	23%
	Neutral	33.7%	34.4%
	Agree	29.7%	26%
	Strongly agree	20.8%	8.3%
Total		100%	100%

A statistically significant difference was noted in between the drunk and sober driving groups with reference to the item ‘If someone gets me a drink, it is rude to refuse it’,  $t(195) = 3.81, p < 0.01$ . 13.9% of the drunk drivers strongly agreed to the statement compared to 4.2% of the sober drivers. 32.7% of drunk drivers agreed compared to 20.8% of sober drivers. Therefore, in overall agreement (strongly agree and agree), 46.5% of the drunk drivers agreed compared to the 25% of sober drivers.

The majority of respondents (63.7%) disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement: Drinking a lot at one time is just part of being a man. More of the drunk drivers remained neutral on this item than the sober drivers (26.7% and 14.6% respectively). A larger proportion of drunk drivers (16.8%) agreed with the statement when compared to the sober drivers (10.4%). A t-test revealed that there was in fact a significant difference between the sober and drunk driving groups,  $t(195) = 2.68, p < 0.01$ . Overall more of the sober drivers (75%) disagreed with the statement compared to the drunk drivers (56.5%).

With reference to the questionnaire item ‘Guys who drink a lot of alcohol are more popular’, there was not a significant difference in responses between the sober driving group and the drunk driving group ( $p > 0.05$ ). A quarter of both sober and drunk drivers agreed with the statement.

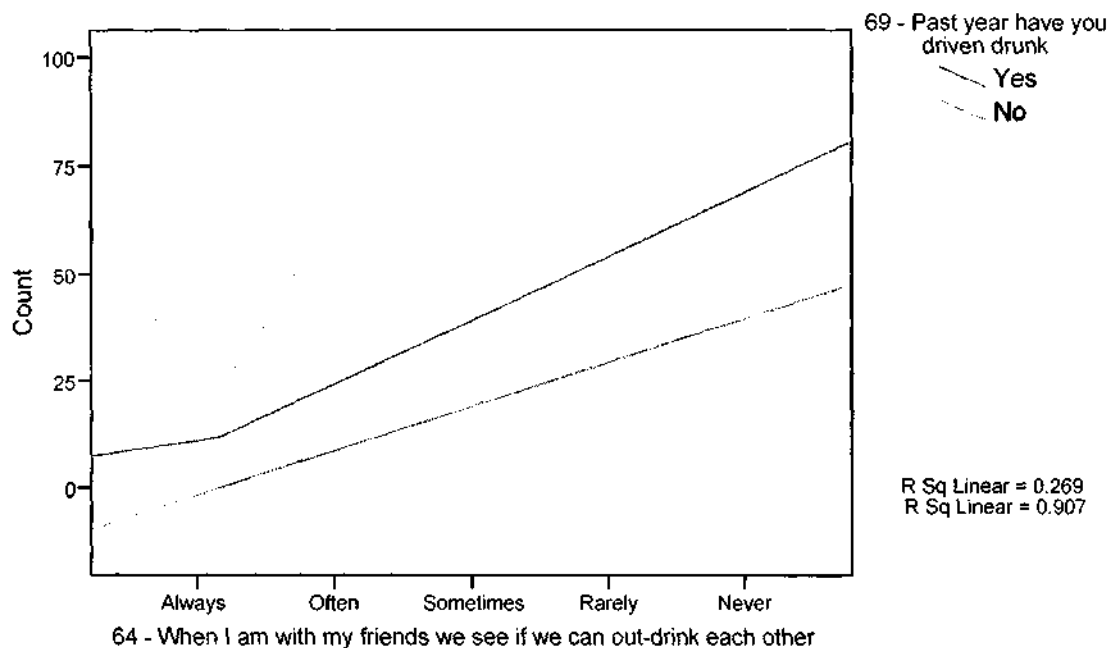
Overall the majority of the respondents (58.9%) did *not* agree that drinking large quantities of alcohol was impressive, but a statistically significant difference was noted between sober and drunk drivers with reference to the level of agreement,  $t(195) = 2.92, p < 0.01$ . Over one-third (34.7%) of the respondents who said they drink and drive, agreed that it was impressive to be able to drink a lot of alcohol whereas fewer of the sober drivers (13.5%) agreed.

More of the drunken driving respondents than sober driving respondents (38.6% and 28.1% respectively) believed that it is more important for men to have a high drinking fitness or alcohol tolerance than women. These results, however, were not statistically significant,  $t(195) = 1.59, p > 0.05$ .

Just over a third of the drunk drivers (35.6%) agreed with the statement 'A real man always handles his drinks' compared to the 21.9% of sober drivers agreed. This difference was statistically significant on a 0.05 level,  $\chi^2(4, N = 197) = 9.96, p < 0.05$ .

A statistically significant difference was noted between drunk and sober drivers in this questionnaire item 'When I am with my friends we see if we can out-drink each other',  $t(194) = -4.21, p < 0.01$ . The majority of sober drivers (69.5%) said that they never or rarely compete with their friends when it comes to alcohol compared to 48.5% of drunk drivers. Just over a third of drunk drivers (37.6%) and 24% of sober drivers said they sometimes try and out-drink their friends. More drunk drivers than sober drivers said they always or often try to drink more than their friends (13.9% and 6.3% respectively). Overall these statistics reveal that more of the drunk drivers compete with their friends in terms of who can drink the most (see Figure 5.6.).

Figure 5.6. The relationship between drunk driving and competitive drinking amongst friends



### 5.3.1.7. Levels of intoxication

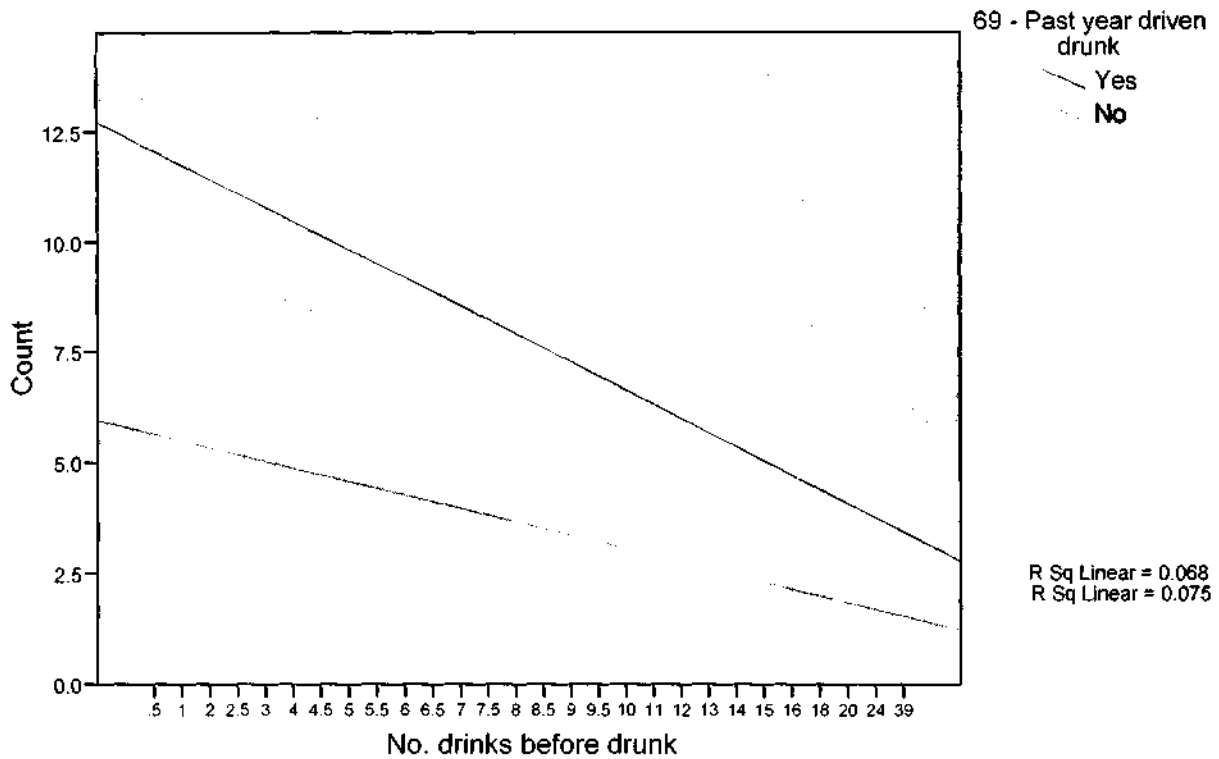
Three questionnaire items were used to assess whether or not the respondents' reported alcohol tolerance affected the rate of drinking and driving. Binge-drinking or excessive drinking is related to hegemonic masculinity discourses since the consumption of alcohol is a way in which masculinity and adulthood can be 'proven' (Hamilton 1996:1). Thus, the more alcohol consumed, the greater the proof of manhood.

Respondents were asked how many drinks it takes for them to get drunk and a significant difference was noted between drunk drivers and sober drivers,  $t(170) = 2.18, p < 0.05$ . The most frequently occurring number of drinks (the mode) for the drunk driving and sober driving groups was 6 drinks (22.4% and 18.9% respectively). Almost a third (30.6%) of the drunken driving group needed 5 drinks or less to become intoxicated compared to 46% of the sober driving group. The majority of sober drivers (66.2%) needed 6 drinks or less to feel drunk compared to the 55.1% of drunk drivers. The highest number of drinks needed to get drunk was 39 drinks in the drunk driving group and 20 drinks in the sober driving group. The vast majority of drunk drivers (82.7%) needed 5 drinks or more to feel drunk whereas 72% of sober drivers needed 5 drinks or more to feel drunk. The results revealed that generally the drunken driving group needed more alcohol to get drunk than the sober driving group and this is evident from Figure 5.7. below. It should be noted, however, that these figures may not reflect actual quantities consumed, but are rather the students' versions of events.

The majority of the drunk drivers (65.3%) said that they have to drink more to get the same effect from alcohol whereas only 36.6% of sober drivers had to do the same. This difference was statistically significant,  $t(195) = -4.16, p < 0.01$ .

Respondents were asked to rate their 'drinking fitness' or alcohol tolerance on a scale of 1 to 10 with 1 being very unfit and 10 being very fit. A statistically significant difference was noted between the drunk driving and sober driving groups,  $t(188) = 2.92, p < 0.01$ . Almost one-fifth of the sober driving group (18.9%) rated themselves 1 or 2 whilst a much smaller percentage of drunk drivers believed themselves to be on this level (3%). The majority of drunk drivers (55%) rated their drinking fitness 7 or above compared to the 36.6% of sober drivers.

Figure 5.7. The relationship between drunk driving and number of drinks to get drunk



### 5.3.1.8. Consequences of alcohol intoxication

Excessive alcohol consumption can lead to reckless and risky behaviours which increase the likelihood of serious injury (to the consumer of alcohol and to innocent bystanders). In developing nations alcohol is ranked as the fourth cause of disability amongst men (Pyne et al 2002:v). Often masculinity is exemplified through bodily performance and therefore the assault of the body (self-inflicted or inflicted by others) is purely for the sake of affirming masculinity (Connell 2005:54,58).

Just under half of the respondents who drive drunk (45.5%) said that they had been injured as a result of alcohol intoxication. Only 26.3% of the sober drivers had been injured,  $t(194) = -2.84, p < 0.01$ . Injuries ranged from falling down stairs to being in car accidents. Ten of the respondents had a car accident whilst driving drunk and seven fell down a flight of stairs. Twelve respondents got into fights, three of which were over women:

*'I gave a girl a rose and her boyfriend hit me in my neck'*

*'We were fighting for chicks after the party was over'*

*'Involved in a fight over a chick'*



Two of the respondents were mugged whilst intoxicated:

*'I got mugged and I was beaten until I ended up in hospital'*

*'I was mugged by maybe 11 guys and I was so drunk that I could not fight back and they took everything I had with me'*

The majority of all respondents said that they engaged in behaviours when they were drunk that they normally wouldn't when they were sober. There was, however, a statistically significant difference between the sober and drunk drivers,  $t(192) = -2.26, p < 0.05$ . Three quarters (75.2%) of drunk drivers said that they do things out of character when they were sober compared to the 60.2% of sober drivers. An open-ended question asking the respondents to explain their answer was included in this questionnaire item. A number of the respondents who drink and drive said that they become more reckless when intoxicated:

*'Lose sight of the consequences.'*

*'Bush diving, stealing road signs, bush jumping, cow tipping.'*

*'Dutch courage – enough said.'*

Some of the drunk driving students also said that when intoxicated they are no longer afraid of talking to females:

*'Go up to girls, whether the same race or not.'*

*'Go up to girls.'*

Increased aggression and wanting to pick fights was mentioned by some of the drunk driving respondents in their explanation. This indicates uninhibited recklessness when drunk:

*'Fight to aid friends'*

*'Swearing and fighting'*

*'We act more immature than usual and often we get very violent very quickly.'*

One of the drunk driving respondents said:

*'Sometimes drive recklessly'*

Increased confidence was mentioned by some of the respondents:

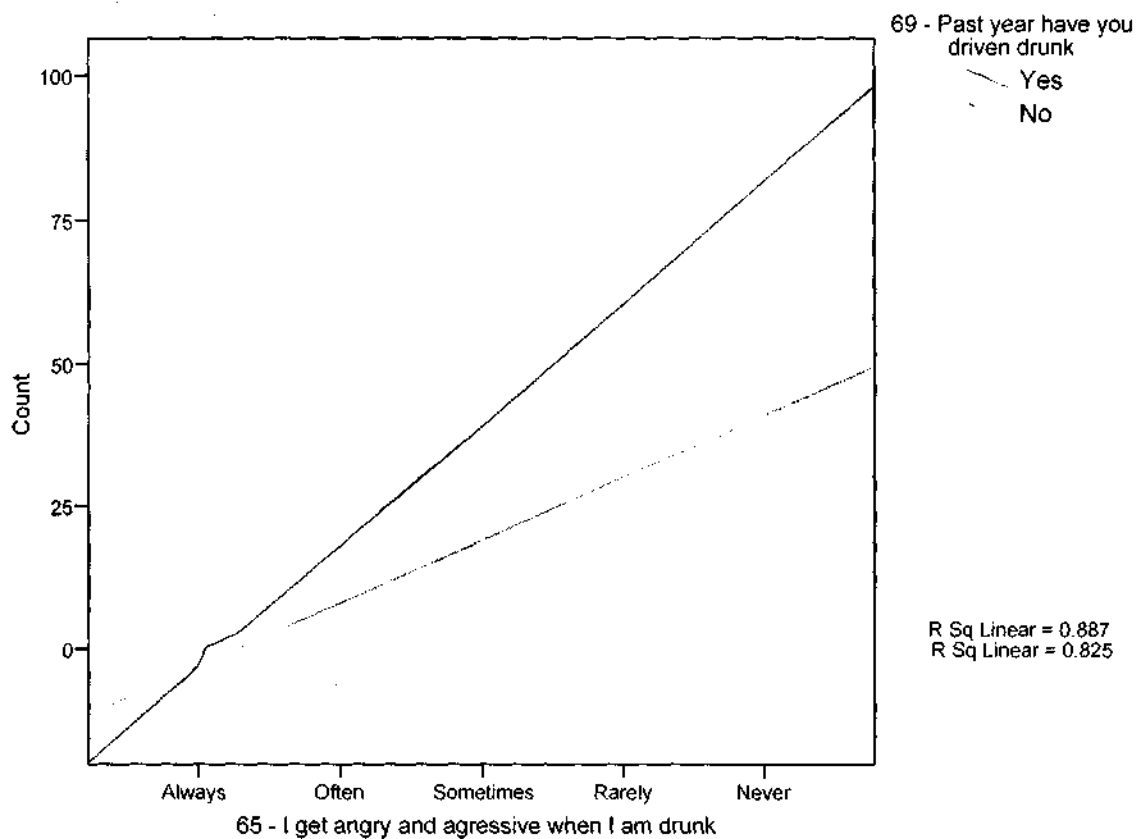
*'Confidence'*

*'Confidence levels are higher when drinking'*

About the same number of respondents from each group strongly agreed with the statement ‘When I am drunk I take more risks’ (11.9% of drunk drivers and 11.5% of sober drivers). More of the drunk drivers, however, agreed with the statement (55.4%) than the sober drivers (33.3%) Therefore, overall, a larger percentage of drunk drivers agreed with the statement than sober drivers (67.3% and 44.8% respectively). This difference was statistically significant,  $t(195) = 3.03, p < 0.01$ .

Only 3 respondents overall said that they *always* get angry and aggressive when drunk. One of these respondents was from the drunk driving group and the only two from the sober driving group. Twelve of the respondents said that they *often* get angry and aggressive, 7 of which were from the sober driving group and the remaining 5 from the drunk driving group. More than half of the sober drivers, however, (53.7%) said that they *never* get angry or aggressive when drunk compared to the 34.7% of drunk drivers and this was a statistically significant difference,  $\chi^2(4, N = 196) = 11.04, p < 0.05$ . Overall more respondents from the drunk driving group than sober driving group displayed aggressive tendencies when drunk (see Figure 5.8.).

Figure 5.8. Relationship between drunk driving and reported aggression when drunk



More sober drivers than drunk drivers (31.2% compared to 20.8%) said that they *never* regret what they did when they were drunk. There was not, however, a statistically significant difference between the sober and drunk drivers,  $t(192) = -0.92, p > 0.05$ .

#### **5.3.1.9. Gender perceptions of alcohol consumption**

Hegemonic masculinity is fundamentally related to men's domination over women which perpetuates institutionalised patriarchy (Carrigan et al 2002:112). Its construction is in relation to women and other subordinate masculinities and therefore if alcohol consumption is a prerequisite to being accepted into the corridors of hegemonic masculinity, then men will not necessarily want women to drink because it would undermine their position of domination. In this study, the majority of respondents (62.6%) believed that men drank more than women. Almost one-third (32.8%) believed that both men and women drink the same amount and the remaining respondents (4.6%) believed that women drank more than men. More of the drunk drivers (69.3%) believed that men drank more than women compared to the 55.3% of sober drivers. Although fairly large, this difference was not statistically significant,  $t(193) = -1.67, p > 0.05$ .

### **5.4. Hegemonic masculinity and drunken driving**

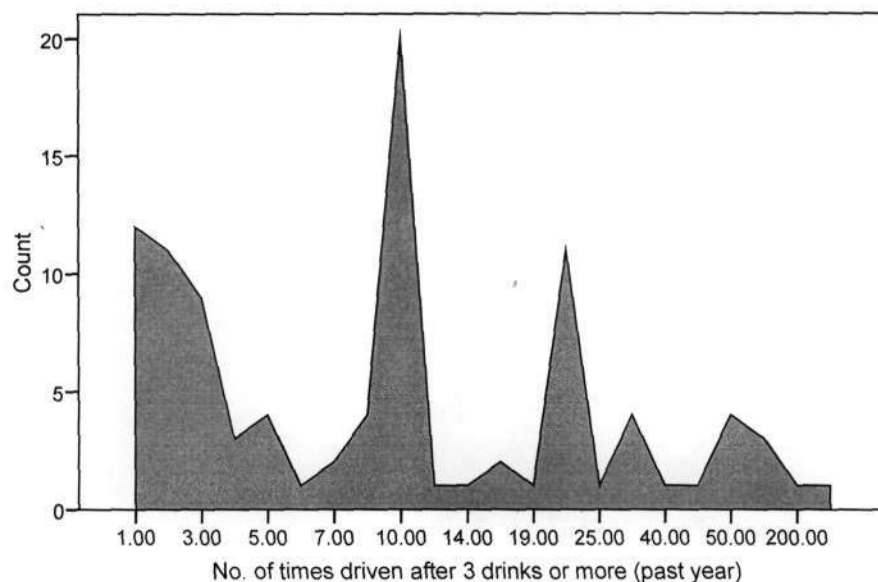
The questionnaire items in this section attempted to measure the respondents' perceptions of how alcohol affects their driving and how often they drink and drive. Various studies performed in different countries over the years have all revealed that men drink and drive more often than women (Schumacher 2002:1; IAS 2004:4; Kypri et al 2002:460; Room et al 2005:520; Powell-Griner et al 1997:5). Connell (2000:185) suggests that when young men drink and drive they are doing so in order to affirm their masculinity. The risk-taking behaviours serve to actively construct their male identity.

#### **5.4.1. Frequency of drunk driving**

In the 30 days prior to the study, those students who drink and drive did so an average of 3.61 times ( $SD = 4.42$ ). Responses ranged from once to 30 times. Only 13.3% said that they drove drunk on 8 occasions or more in that previous month. In the year prior to this study, on average, those students who drove drunk did so 20 times ( $SD = 54.48$ ), but answers ranged from once to 500 times. A relatively small percentage of the drunk drivers (9.2%) said that they drove drunk 50 times or more

in that past year. Figure 5.9. shows the number of times the drunk driving respondents drove drunk in the year prior to the data collection.

**Figure 5.9. Number of times respondents had driven drunk (year prior to data collection)**



### 5.4.2. Risk-taking relating to drunk driving

Alcohol affects  $\gamma$ -aminobutyric acid and serotonin brain receptors in such a way that intoxication greatly reduces feelings of fear and anxiety and this could lead to increased risk-taking behaviours (Room et al 2005:521). This coupled with sensation-seeking behaviours which form part of hegemonic masculinity exemplifies the dangers of excessive alcohol consumption. Three questionnaire items were formulated in order to measure perceptions about risk-taking and alcohol. Two of the items involved the incidence of riding in a car with a drunk driver and the other involved the effects of peer pressure on risk-taking.

More than half of the drunk drivers in the study (56%) had ridden in a car with a drunk driver in the 30 days prior to this research. In contrast, 31.9% of sober drivers had engaged in the same behaviour. This difference was statistically noteworthy,  $t(192) = -3.46, p < 0.01$ . Of the drivers who drove drunk, 79.6% said that in the past year they had been a passenger in a car driven by someone over the legal limit. A smaller percentage of sober drivers (35.1%) had engaged in the same behaviour. A statistically significant difference was noted when a t-test was administered,  $t(190) = -6.15, p < 0.01$ .

A statistically significant difference was noted between the drunk and sober groups with reference to the item 'When I am with my friends I am more likely to drive after drinking alcohol',  $t(195) = 6.31$ ,  $p < 0.01$ . More of the drunk drivers (45.5%) agreed that they were more likely to drive after drinking if they were with friends, compared to the sober drivers (10.4%).

### **5.4.3. Perceived control over the vehicle and environment**

Research on driving behaviour has revealed that, in general, males tend to exaggerate their own driving ability and see less risk in a range of dangerous driving situations (Leung et al 2003:51). Masculinity is often cited as being connected to the control over nature and technology (Mellström 2002:462) and therefore relates to this research with reference to the control over a motor-vehicle as well as oneself. Seven questionnaire items were constructed in order to assess the extent to which the respondents believed they controlled their environment when driving drunk. The first 5 items were based on a Likert scale response system:

- I am likely to get caught if I drink and drive
- People who know me are impressed by how well I drive when I'm over the legal blood alcohol limit
- A real man can drink and still drive safely
- Drinking does not affect my driving ability
- What effect, if any, does alcohol have on your driving?
- How much would you feel comfortable drinking before driving a vehicle?
- What would worry you the most if you were driving over the legal blood alcohol limit?

Almost half of the sample (49.2%) agreed that they were likely to get caught if they drink and drive. A quarter (25.1%) of the entire sample disagreed and 25.6% remained neutral. With reference to differences between the drunk driving and sober driving groups, no statistically significant variations were noted,  $t(193) = -1.7$ ,  $p > 0.05$ , but overall more of the sober drivers (55.8%) than the drunk drivers (43%) agreed that they were likely to get caught if they drove drunk.

A larger proportion of the drunk drivers than sober drivers agreed with the statement 'People who know me are impressed by how well I drive when I'm over the legal blood alcohol limit' (26% and 9.4% respectively). This difference was significant at the 0.01 level,  $t(194) = 3.24$ ,  $p < 0.01$ .

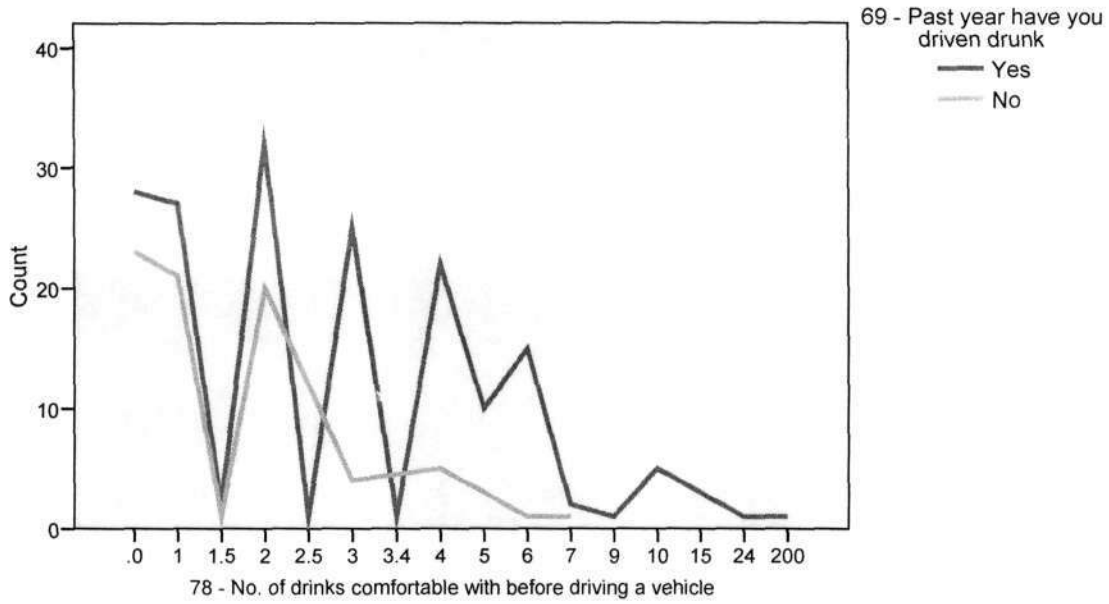
Most of the respondents (74.1%) disagreed with the statement 'A real man can drink and still drive safely'. A slightly higher percentage of the drunk driving group (11.8%) agreed with the statement compared to the 9.4% of sober drivers. This difference, however, was not statistically significant,  $t(195) = 1.3, p > 0.05$ .

Although the majority of respondents (62.2%) disagreed with the item 'Drinking does not affect my driving ability', there was a significant difference between the sober driving and drunk driving groups,  $t(194) = 2.3, p < 0.05$ . Almost one-quarter (22.8%) of the respondents who drove drunk agreed that alcohol does not affect their driving ability compared to 9.5% of the sober drivers.

Only one respondent said that alcohol made his driving a lot better. Eleven respondents (5.8%) said that alcohol made their driving a little better. Just over a quarter of the respondents (27%) said that drinking alcohol has no effect of their driving abilities. No significant differences were found in this item between the drivers who did not drink and drive and those drivers who did drink and drive,  $t(187) = 0.24, p > 0.05$ . Almost one-third (30.7%) of the sober drivers said that alcohol has no effect on their driving compared to 23.8% of drunk drivers. More respondents from the drunk driving group (54.5%) said that alcohol made their driving a little worse as compared to 39.8% of the sober driving group. More of the sober drivers (22.7%) than drunk drivers (15.8%) said that alcohol made their driving a lot worse.

When respondents were asked how much alcohol they would feel comfortable drinking before driving a vehicle, 29.1% of the sober drivers said that they would not drink *at all* before driving compared to the 5.2% of drunk drivers who felt the same. More than half of the sober driving group (53.2%) said that they would feel comfortable drinking 1-2 drinks before driving, whilst 19.6% of drunk drivers said the same. A statistically significant difference was noted between the drunk and sober driving groups,  $t(174) = 2.14, p < 0.05$ . In the sober driving group, the highest number of drinks was 7 compared to 200 in the drunk driving group. The most frequently occurring scores for the sober and drunk driving groups were 0 drinks and 3 drinks respectively. These results show that generally, the drunk drivers feel much more comfortable driving after drinking larger quantities of alcohol when compared to the sober drivers (see Figure 5.10.).

Figure 5.10. No. of drinks comfortable with drinking before driving a vehicle



The following table (Table 5.8.) shows the respondents' concerns over driving drunk. The majority were worried about being caught by law enforcement officers.

Table 5.8. Respondents' concerns about driving over the legal blood alcohol concentration (BAC)

% of respondents	Comment
48.8%	Getting caught by cops
28.9%	Having an accident
17.9%	Harming someone
3%	Dying
0.5%	Another drunken driver
0.5%	Unable to watch out for other vehicles and traffic signs
0.5%	Being impotent
0.5%	Breaking my own rules
0.5%	Getting more alcohol
1%	Driving safely with passengers
0.5%	If I carried my licence
0.5%	If there was a girl beside me, they can lead you to an accident.
0.5%	Slow drivers
0.5%	Lack of coordination and focus
0.5%	My capacity to drive
0.5%	My disloyalty to my family
0.5%	Not being able to respond to situations in time
0.5%	Nothing
0.5%	Only when it is raining, but I don't usually worry

0.5%	Sleeping while driving
0.5%	Slow drivers
0.5%	Someone knocking me from behind
0.5%	Speed and control of driver
0.5%	To lose control of the car
0.5%	Whether I could control it (the car) in emergencies
0.5%	Vision gets affected

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#### 5.4.4. Perceived regularity of drunk driving

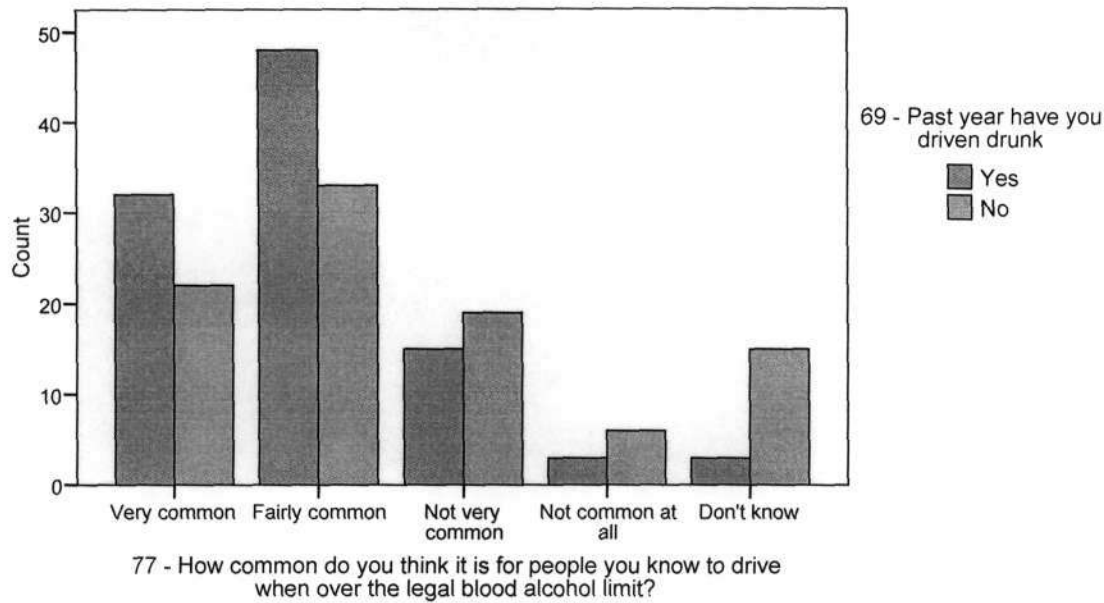
Two questionnaire items for formulated to measure the respondents perceptions on how normal and common drunk driving is in their lives and in general.

The majority of respondents (60.9%) disagreed with the statement ‘Drinking and driving is just part of being young’. There was, however, a significant difference between the drunk driving and sober driving groups,  $t(195) = 2.97, p < 0.01$ . Approximately a quarter (24.8%) of drunk driving respondents agreed with the item compared to 15.6% of sober drivers and thus overall more drunk drivers than sober drivers felt drunk driving was something inherent in young people.

With regards to this questionnaire item, ‘How common do you think it is for people you know to drive when over the legal blood alcohol limit?’, a higher percentage of the respondents who drove drunk believed that it is more common for people they knew to drive when over the legal blood alcohol limit,  $t(193) = -3.69, p < 0.01$  (see Figure 5.11). Almost one-third (31.7%) of the drunk driving group said that it was very common for people they know to drive drunk compared to 22.3% of the sober driving group. Just under one half of the drunk drivers (47.5%) said that it was fairly common while 35.1% of the sober drivers felt the same. A fifth (20.2%) of sober drivers believed that driving over the legal limit was not very common at all whilst 14.9% of drunk drivers felt the same. Some of the respondents said they did not know; 16% of sober drivers and 3% of drunk drivers.



Figure 5.11. Perceived normality of drunk driving between sober and drunk drivers



#### 5.4.5. Knowledge of drinking and driving laws and Arrive Alive

Four questionnaire items were used to establish the respondents' knowledge of drunk driving laws and prevention strategies. These items were put into place to assess whether or not knowledge of the Arrive Alive campaign and its advertisements on road safety have an impact on curbing drunken driving behaviour. Two of the items dealt with knowledge of the legal blood alcohol concentration limit in South Africa, one looked at whether or not the respondents had ever been stopped by a law enforcement officer for drunk driving and then other dealt and the other was about the Arrive Alive campaign and the visibility of its advertising.

Only 73 respondents out of 215 attempted to answer the item of the legal blood alcohol concentration (BAC) limit. Out of the 73 respondents who answered, only 26% (n= 19) knew that 0,05 grams per 100 millilitres was the legal BAC. Eleven of the respondents who knew were from the drunk driving group and the remaining 8 were from the sober driving group. A few more of the respondents (165 out of 215) answered the question of how many drinks a person could have before being over the legal limit. Just over half of the respondents (50.3%) said that a person can have 2 alcoholic beverages before being over the legal limit. The majority of respondents who said 2 drinks (65.8%) were from the drunk driving group. Overall responses ranged from no drinks to 60 drinks.

One-fifth (20.6%) of those respondents who answered this question believed the legal BAC to be 1 drink, 7.1% said 1.5 drinks, and 11% said 3 drinks.

A small percentage (5.8%) of respondents said they had been pulled over by the police for drunk driving. Nine of these respondents were from the drunk driving group, whilst three were from the sober driving group. When the respondents were asked to elaborate on what happened when they were pulled over, the following reasons were given:

- One respondent went to jail for being over the legal limit, but this person was released on bail, so didn't actually do any jail time.
- One of the respondents was fined for driving drunk.
- One respondent was drunk when he was pulled over but was only fined for speeding.
- Two of the respondents bribed the officers and thus got off.
- Two other respondents received a stern talking to, 'they screamed and shouted at me' and then the officer sent them home.
- One respondent said that the police didn't have a breathalyser so they just followed him home to ensure he wasn't driving erratically.
- Another respondent stated that nothing happened to him when he was pulled over.
- One respondent said he was told to go home and sleep it off but he went out and drank more.
- One of the respondents did not say what happened and left that item blank
- One respondent said that he was drunk but was not tested.

A statistically significant difference was not noted between drunk and sober drivers with reference to the items of road safety advertising,  $p > 0.05$ . The amount of adverts that the respondents had seen or where they saw them did not influence whether or not they were prone to drink and drive. Only 7 respondents had *never* seen any road safety adverts, 3 of which were part of the drunk driving group. In terms of averages, the most frequently occurring number of adverts seen by respondents (the mode) was 10 and the mean was 16.79 (17 adverts).

The majority of respondents (69.3%) had seen the road safety adverts on billboards. The second most remembered medium of advertising was television (63.6%). The following list shows the percentage of respondents who remember seeing/hearing adverts in the following media:

- Radio - 52.3%
- Magazines - 30.1%
- Emails - 2.3%

- Newspapers - 4%
- Presentations - 1.7%
- Brochures 4.6%

A tenth of the respondents (10.2%) did not answer the item on the impact of the road safety adverts had on them. Of those respondents who did answer, more than half (53%) said that the adverts they had seen or heard had little or no impact on their driving behaviour. The table below (Table 5.24) gives a basic breakdown of the influence these adverts had on the respondents.

**Table 5.9. The impact of road safety adverts on respondents**

<b>% of Respondents who answered the question</b>	<b>Impact</b>
53%	Little or no impact
25.9%	More aware of general road safety
15%	Realised the dangers of drinking and driving
2%	More conscious of speed
4.1%	Were scared or felt bad

#### **5.4.6. Perceptions of who is responsible for drunk driving**

Three questionnaire items were used to establish who the respondents believed were responsible for drunk driving. The three items were based on gender, race and age in an attempt to uncover who the stereotypical drunk driver is. Please note that these age and race categories were not mutually exclusive and thus a respondent could choose more than one age/race category and give the same reason for choosing them, i.e. the reason why they think that/those particular age/race group/s drink and drive more frequently.

##### **5.4.6.1. Respondents' perceptions of who drives drunk more often in terms of gender**

With respect to gender, the majority of respondents (70%) said that men drink and drive more often than women, 1% said that women drink and drive more often and 29% said that both drink and drive equally as often. There was not a significant difference between the drunk driving and sober driving groups with reference to this item. Reasons given varied but several of the respondents said that men drink and drive more often because it is macho and represents courage and control. The following are a few examples:

*'Because it is macho.'*

*'Because men feel and have courage to handle and take on anything'*

*'Because it is part of being a man to drive yourself home when you are drunk.'*

*'All want to feel in control.'*

*'Brave when drunk.'*

*'Bigger egos.'*

*'Because some men think they are invincible and they think they are ok to drive.'*

*'Men got balls.'*

Several of the respondents believed that men drink and drive more because they consume alcohol more frequently than women. Here are a few examples:

*'It's a fact. Men have always in the past drunk a lot more.'*

*'They (men) drink more.'*

*'Drinking is more common amongst men at all social occasions.'*

Quite a few of the respondents also said that men drink and drive more than women because they had only seen men driving drunk:

*'I've seen guys do that.'*

*'I've seen that, I recall from my frame of reference.'*

*'I often see it.'*

*'Have seen it with my own eyes.'*

*'From life experience.'*

Numerous respondents felt that men generally drive more and therefore drink and drive more. Some of these respondents also felt that men give lifts to women and thus are responsible for most of the drunken driving:

*'Men drive more.'*

*'Men drive women home most of the time.'*

*'Men have cars more often than women.'*

*'Men tend to drive women around.'*

*'There are more male drivers.'*

#### **5.4.6.2. Respondents' perceptions of who drives drunk more often in terms of race**

The table below (Table 5.10.) shows that the highest proportion of respondents (56.3%) believed that all of the races drink and drive equally as often.

**Table 5.10. Respondents' perceptions of who drives drunk more often in terms of race**

Race group who drink & drive	Yes%	No%
Blacks	15.8	84.2
Whites	16.3	83.7
Indians	14.2	85.7
Coloureds	12.1	87.9
Other	0.5	99.5
All the same	56.3	43.7

Of those respondents who believed blacks to be the majority of drunk drivers, various responses were given, some of which involved what respondents had observed for themselves: *'I'm black and I see it every weekend'*, *'Cause most of the accidents I heard of, drunk drivers involved a black driver'* and *'From what I've seen before.'* Two respondents said that drunk driving was more common amongst blacks because they want to show off their cars: *'Blacks want to show off their cars.'* One respondent believed that blacks drink and drive more often because, *'They have a lot of problems that they are avoiding.'* Some felt it was due to recklessness, *'They tend to be more reckless.'*, while others felt that blacks drink more often, *'On average they drink more'*.

The following reasons were given by respondents who believed whites to be responsible for the majority of drunk driving. Some believed whites to be the problem because of their personal observations: *'Because I have many white friends'*, *'I'm white and I only see them driving drunk'* and *'I always see them'*. Several of the respondents said white drive drunk more often because they are more likely to own cars, *'More likely to own cars and go out'*, *'Most of these people have cars'*, *'Most whites have cars'* and *'They have cars'*. One respondent said, *'They weird and strange'*.

Some of the respondents who believe Indians drink and drive more, said that they do so because they like to race their cars, *'Indians like to entertain the girlfriends by driving fast'* and *'Cause they love to race their cars'*. Others felt that Indians were more reckless drivers: *'Reckless drivers all the time, don't stop on stop street'* and *'They have no respect for the rules of the road.'* Two of the respondents felt that Indians drink more alcohol: *'coz Char O'z are alcoholics.'* and *'Indians love alcohol'*.

The majority of respondents who believed that coloureds drink and drive more often felt that it was because coloureds drink more alcohol, *'Coloured people drink a lot of wine, especially in the*

*Western Cape*, *Coloureds like to drink*, *Coloureds drink the most*, *The genes are more prone to addiction* and *They have tendencies to drink and drive*. One respondent said *they often crazy*.

#### 5.4.6.3. Respondents' perceptions of who drives drunk more often in terms of age

With respect to drunk driving and age, the table below (Table 5.11.) shows that a higher proportion of respondents felt that people aged 18-23 are more likely to drink and drive (76.4%). The respondents also viewed 24-29 year olds as also fairly likely to drink and drive with 52.1% agreeing. The results also show that the respondents perceive older drivers to drink and drive less. A very small percentage of respondents (5.8%) felt that all ages are just as likely to drink and drive.

**Table 5.11. Respondents' perceptions of who drives drunk more often in terms of age**

Age group who drinks & drive	Yes %	No %
18-23	76.4	23.6
24-29	52.1	47.9
30-35	21.9	78.1
36-41	10.4	89.6
42-47	11.5	88.5
48-53	5.7	94.3
54-59	1.6	98.4
60-65	1	99
66-71	1	99
Above 71	0.5	99.5
All the same	5.8	94.2

Only 203 of the respondents commented on why they thought the particular age group/s they chose drink and drive more frequently. The remaining 12 respondents left the item blank. Please note that these age categories were not mutually exclusive and thus a respondent could choose more than one age category and give the same reason for choosing them, i.e. the reason why they think that/those particular age group/s drink and drive more frequently.

##### 5.4.6.3.1. Reasons given for respondents choosing 18-23 year olds as the drunken drivers

More than half of the respondents who answered this question (76.4%) felt that 18-23 year olds drink and drive more often. Of these respondents, 27.7% felt that 18-23 year olds are more likely to drink and drive because they are irresponsible and immature;

*'not yet mature enough'*

*'at a younger age people are irresponsible'*

*'it is new to people at this age and people are more irresponsible at this age'*

*'less mature'*

*'less responsibility ie. wife, children, people dependent on you increase with age'*

*'naughty'*

*'young people are stupid'*

Some of the respondents (18.1%) felt that 18-23 year olds drink and drive more frequently because they are more socially active and go out on a more regular basis;

*'active social lives, clubbing and parties'*

*'tend to be out more and drinking more'*

*'cause we go out more'*

*'drinking is more socially required in these age groups'*

*'going out more'*

*'more likely to go out and get drunk'*

*'most of these people are still young and can have a good time'*

*'they have just got into this party business'*

16.8% of the respondents said the 18-23 year olds are more likely to drink and drive because they are reckless and over-confident;

*'adrenaline junkies'*

*'at a younger year people are irresponsible and reckless'*

*'because we are fearless and invincible at that age'*

*'showing off'*

*'their lifestyles are more carefree'*

*'young and reckless'*

*'young guys love to explore and be wild and just have fun as much as possible'*

*'younger drivers take more risks'*

*'younger, more carefree, testing limits'*

11.6% felt that the 18-23 year old group drink and drive more often because of peer pressure and trying to fit in and be accepted;

*'peer pressure'*

*'it's cool (peer pressure)'*

*'late teenagers searching for status and the need to be accepted by peers'*

*'need to prove themselves'*

*'pressure on youth today'*

*'trying to be cool and prove it'*

The theme of independence also came up quite frequently with reference to 18-23 year old and drunk driving;

*'because they just get their licence and are able to drink with the legal age limit'*

*'its good times and freedom'*

*'leaving home people. Tell mom independent and drink more and drive, people at this age start getting their own cars.'*

*'they are excited, try to be adventurous and usually they drunk'*

Just over half of the respondents who answered this question (52.1%) stated that 24-29 year olds were more likely to drink and drive. Similar themes came up in the reasons why respondents believed that 24-29 year olds drink and drive more often.

Some of the respondents (6.5%) cited that this age group are more likely to drink and drive because they felt that at this age most people have started working and can thus afford to buy cars and afford to buy more liquor. This was not a reason stated by any of the respondents for choosing the 18-23 year old category;

*'have more money to spend on alcohol and have cars.'*

*'that's when most start to work.'*

*'they are the most economically active.'*

*'they are the working class, they have money etc'.*

#### **5.4.6.3.2. Reasons given for respondents choosing 24-29 year olds as the drunken drivers**

Just under a quarter of the respondents who agreed (21.5%) said the 24-29 year old age group were more likely to drink and drive because they are more socially active;

*'always at parties'*

*'drink more'*

*'party age'*

*'still active'*

*'people at this age like partying and going out a lot'*



A small percentage of respondents (13.1%) said that 24-29 year olds drink and drive more often because they are prone to recklessness;

*'young, reckless and drink more than old people.'*

*'young people are more reckless'*

*'younger drivers take more risks'*

*'younger people are generally less careful'*

*'younger, more carefree, testing limits'*

Irresponsibility and immaturity were cited as a reason why 24-29 year olds drink and drive frequently (17.8% of respondents);

*'less responsibility'*

*'irresponsible'*

*'lack of responsibility, wanting to have fun'*

*'less mature'*

*'with age comes wisdom'*

*'they are young and irresponsible'*

*'young and foolish'*

A small percentage of the respondents who believed that 24-29 year olds drove drunk more often than other age groups (2.8%) said that this was due to peer pressure.

#### **5.4.6.3.3. Reasons given for respondents choosing 30-35 year olds as the drunken drivers**

Out of all the respondents who answered this question, 21.9% believed that 30-35 year olds were likely to drink and drive. This percentage is much lower than the previous age categories. One respondent's reason for ticking the 30-35 year old category was that people in this age suffer from *'midlife crisis'* and are thus more likely to drink and drive. Almost a fifth (17.4%) of the respondents who ticked this age category said that these individuals have a higher income and therefore can afford to buy a car and buy alcohol (and possibly afford to bail themselves out of jail).

#### **5.4.6.3.4. Reasons given for respondents choosing 36-41 year olds as the drunken drivers**

Just over one-tenth (10.4%) of respondents believed that 36-41 year olds are likely to drink and drive. One respondent stated that people in this age group are more comfortable with drinking and driving because they have had more practise. Another respondent maintained it was because of

*'plain stupidism'*. Another respondent said, *'people aged 60 and below are at least young enough to drink and drive.'*

#### **5.4.6.3.5. Reasons given for respondents choosing 42-47 year olds as the drunken drivers**

11.5% of respondents believed that people in the 42-47 year old age group are likely to drink and drive. One respondent said, *'the older generation feels that they are bullet-proof and that alcohol has no affect on their driving'*. Another respondent stated that, *'they old and don't give a damn'*. One of the respondents believed that drinking and driving isn't influenced by a person's age, *'don't think age affects drinking and driving'*. Another respondent said, *'44-53 is an age of problems for adults and those who drinks do it more between these periods'*. Another respondent said that men from this age category drink and drive frequently because of their wives.

#### **5.4.6.3.6. Reasons given for respondents choosing 48-71 year olds as the drunken drivers**

Just under one-tenth (9.8%) of the respondents felt that people aged 48 and above drove drunk more frequently than people in the other age categories. Not many reasons were given by the respondents for choosing the older age categories. One respondent believed that 66-71 year olds drive drunk more frequently because they are *'drunkards'*.

## **5.5. Conclusion**

The findings show how the effects of socialisation influence alcohol consumption and driving behaviour of male students at the University of KwaZulu-Natal in Pietermaritzburg. The results illustrate that overall those students who drive drunk are more likely to display characteristics of hegemonic masculinity. The survey questionnaire had 3 distinct sections; the first looked at general driving behaviour, the second at alcohol consumption, and the third at drunken driving behaviour. All these 3 sections contained hegemonic masculinity indicators in order to assess whether the respondents' drinking/driving behaviours were influenced their masculine identities.

The analysis of these findings shows that those respondents who drive drunk display more characteristics of hegemonic masculinity than the sober drivers in each of the 3 sections. Therefore, in terms of their general driving behaviour, the drunk drivers drove more dangerously than did the sober drivers. A higher percentage of drunk driving respondents were more reckless, took more risks and felt that driving made them feel independent and in control. Being autonomous and in control form the basis of a hegemonic masculine identity. The risk-taking and recklessness also serve to

create a sense of power over themselves and their environment which hegemonic masculinity encourages. More of the drunk driving respondents believed that alcohol did not affect their driving ability when compared to the sober driving respondents. This suggests that the drunk drivers feel much more in control of themselves and their environment.

In terms of general alcohol use, the respondents in the drunk driving group drank more often and more frequently than the respondents in the sober driving group. The drunk drivers' friends also drank more frequently and more often than the sober drivers' friends highlighting the influence of peer pressure on alcohol consumption. Males are more heavily influenced by social pressures that encourage drinking than are females (Crawford and Novak 2007:49), and when the encouragement is coming from peers (who are most influential), the pressure to drink is even greater. Drinking alcohol in this respect is an activity that proves manhood. In the open-ended questions a large number of the respondents admitted that they drink more with their male friends and less with their girlfriends. This increased drinking with male friends could highlight the influence of peer pressure and also the influence of competition; being challenged to drink more when with male friends. A higher percentage of respondents from the drunk driving group said they were more likely to drive drunk if they were with their friends.

More of the respondents from the drunk driving group said that they feel stronger and more confident when they have been drinking and these feelings or attributes are indicators of hegemonic masculinity. A larger percentage of the drunk drivers also said they don't enjoy themselves at a party unless they have something to drink, and this highlights the need to feel in control and the need to have a drink in their hand to draw attention to and affirm their masculinity. Drinking alcohol to them is a path by which they can reach what is considered to be the ultimate male, the hegemonic male. The respondents in the drunk driving group were also more likely to say that drinking is a male pursuit and it is acceptable for men to get really drunk. Men trying to live up to the hegemonic masculine ideal, stay away from anything considered feminine as it is a threat to their masculinity. Hegemonic masculinity is fundamentally related to men's domination over women and the separateness of the male and female spheres (Carrigan et al 2002:112). In this way, these men would not accept women drinking heavily, since it is considered a male endeavour and therefore if women drink, then alcohol cannot be used as effectively to prove manhood. A larger proportion of drunk drivers agreed that drinking excessively was just part of being a man, illustrating the belief that drinking is a male pursuit.

Being strong and able to handle anything are characteristics of hegemonic masculinity. The findings of this research show that more drunk drivers than sober drivers feel that a real man always handles his drinks and that drinking large quantities of alcohol is impressive. This suggests that the hegemonic masculine features which these respondents actively seek to instil in themselves are also characteristics they find to be impressive in other men. These men feed off of one another and encourage one another to push themselves in order to achieve the ultimate masculinity. Competition also stems from this need to prove themselves to other men and this was evident in the findings since a much larger percentage of drunk drivers agreed that they compete with their friends in terms of how much they can drink. A higher percentage of drunk drivers admitted that they take more risks when drunk and are more prone to acts of aggression when compared with sober drivers. The respondents in the drunk driving group were also much more likely to ride in a vehicle with a drunk driver, highlighting the tendency to take risks.

These findings show that those respondents, whose masculine identities are hegemonic, are more likely to engage in reckless and risk-taking behaviour with regards to general alcohol consumption as well as driving behaviour. Drinking and driving thus appears to be an indicator of hegemonic masculinity. This will be further explored in the next chapter.

## Chapter 6

### Discussion & Conclusion

#### 6.1. Discussion

The findings of this research are consistent with the research hypothesis that students who display more attributes of hegemonic masculinity are more likely to drink and drive. Hegemonic masculinity is referred to as the masculinity of the ruling class or elite and minorities, in terms of race, class, ethnicity and sexual orientation, are subordinate (Morrell 2001:7). In South Africa during the Apartheid years the masculinity portrayed by white men, more particularly, Afrikaans white men, was arguably hegemonic (ibid). Although white people were statistically the minority in terms of numbers, they were in fact the political majority and thus their cultural ideals and norms were most prominent. Perhaps even now white masculinity is considered by some as being hegemonic since it is reproduced through images in the media and through institutions, most particularly business institutions (Morrell 2001:25). The vast majority of white students in this study (63.2%) reported drunken driving behaviour.

General driving behaviour was explored separately in this study. The reasoning behind this is because car culture is masculinised (Connell 2000:185) and driving appears to be part of men's identity. Connell (2000:185) suggests that dangerous driving in men is an active construction of their masculinity. In general, more of the drunk driving students in this study reported that they engage in dangerous driving behaviours than the sober driving students. This included driving without a seatbelt (53.5% of drunk drivers compared to 36.8% of sober drivers often drive without a seatbelt), speeding (51% of drunk drivers compared to 35.8% of sober drivers often speed), using a mobile phone without the hands-free kit (14.9% of drunk drivers compared to 41.7% of sober drivers said they *never* use a cell phone without a hands-free kit while driving), racing with other cars (45.4% of drunk drivers said they *never* race other cars compared to 62.4% of sober drivers), and reckless driving (36.5% of drunk drivers said they *never* drive recklessly compared to 60% of sober drivers).

This risk-taking and sensation-seeking is bound up in hegemonic masculinity discourses and affirms a male identity. According to social learning theory risk-taking amongst males is the result of this behaviour being reinforced by others. For example, being reinforced by a peer's positive remarks about being able to handle the speed of the vehicle, or being influenced by messages or images in the mass media that encourage reckless driving. Research conducted by Leung et al (2003:55) showed that men who believed they had consumed alcohol, took more risks in a driving simulated task. Alcohol lowered the men's inhibitions and they engaged in more thrill-seeking and risk-taking behaviours (ibid). The majority of drivers from the drunk driving group in this study (67.3%) admitted that they take more risks when drunk and this ties in with the theory mentioned above.

More of the drivers from the drunk driving group (83.2% compared to 73.96% of sober drivers) viewed driving as a sign of independence. Being independent and in control are stereotypes which inform the characteristics of dominant forms of masculinity (Doyle 1985:158). Thus, being completely autonomous and having power over oneself and the environment are features of hegemonic masculinity.

*'Driving is linked to the value of freedom of locomotion.'*<sup>1</sup>

Driving provides these men with an outlet to assert their dominant position over women and other men. Cars are the very symbol of freedom and independence and are a representation of the driver's territory (James and Nahl 2002:2). More of the students from the drunk driving group agreed that driving makes them feel independent and is therefore consistent with the argument that these students adhere to a more hegemonic masculine identity. Drivers who believe they are skilled drivers are more likely to be risky drivers (Sarkar 2004:1). More of the drunk driving students in the study believed themselves to be good drivers and, from previous research, it is likely that they overestimate their driving ability. This overconfidence can lead to risk-taking behaviour and a greater likelihood of accidents (ibid).

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<sup>1</sup> James and Nahl 2002:1

In terms of feeling restricted by the rules of the road, more of the drunk drivers in this study experienced this (42.6% of drunk drivers compared to the 31.6% of the sober drivers). Marsh and Collett (1986 cited in SIRC 2004:9) suggests that there is a territorial imperative that invokes aggression in some males when driving. These theorists compare the car to an extension of body space and property and therefore, if it is invaded, an aggressive response ensues. This aggression and defensiveness forms part of hegemonic masculinity which is learnt through socialisation. According to gender-schema theory, people categorise gender-related behaviours and actions into frameworks of reference called schemas. People learn a multifaceted system of gender-related ideas and symbols as a cultural manifestation of norms and values (Lippa 2002:91). People therefore view their world in gendered terms, for example, 'roses' are feminine and 'cars' are masculine. In this research this explains why more men who adhere to the hegemonic masculine outlook, feel more frustration on the road since they are constantly trying to defend their territory which is the car. Overall more respondents from the drunk driving group than sober driving group reported that they tend to become aggressive when they have consumed alcohol (53.7% of sober drivers said that they *never* get angry or aggressive when drunk compared to the 34.7% of drunk drivers). Therefore, if aggression is already evident in driving behaviour, when coupled with alcohol, the problem worsens dramatically.

Just over two-thirds of all the respondents (70%) felt that men drove drunk more often than women. Only 1% felt women drive drunk more often and the remaining respondents said that both men and women drive drunk equally as often. Among the drunk-driving group, quite a few hegemonic masculinity indicators emerged in the open-ended question for this item. Hegemonic masculinity represents toughness, power and authority (Kirkman et al 2001:392) and the sentiments expressed below by the respondents in the open-ended questions in the questionnaire point towards these men's association with hegemonic masculinity ideals.

Because it is macho.

Because it is part of being a man to drive yourself home when you are drunk.

Because some men think they are invincible and they think they are ok to drive

Men are more in control of alcohol consumption.

These statements reveal stereotypical ideas of what is considered to be a real man and this forms the basis of hegemonic masculinity as an identity among certain men/boys. Some of the responses insinuate pure control over the environment and invincibility suggesting no matter what happens in any situation, they (the respondents) will be able to handle anything and will remain unscathed. This hegemonic masculine identity is reinforced through action and discourse, and affirms the values and ideals of this stereotype.

Alcohol, for many men and boys, is seen as a rite of passage into adulthood (Rocha-Silva 1997:13). Mac an Ghaill (1996:114) argues that drinking alcohol is deeply embedded in masculinity discourse, and therefore drinking is an affirmation of men's gender identity. Socialisation into this 'drinking culture' plays a huge part in adopting these drinking norms as part of one's identity. The socialising agents which appear to be most influential with regards to drinking norms are the family, peers/friends and the mass media (ICAP 2005:5; Klingemann and Gmel 2001:5,53-55; Courtenay 2000b:8). Students who start drinking alcohol before the age of 19 years are significantly more likely to drink and drive (Hingson et al 2003:23). With respect to this study, the students who drove drunk, were much more likely to have started drinking at a younger age than the sober driving students. The results also showed that students who drink more frequently are also more likely to drive drunk.

Influence of the respondents' families on alcohol use did play a role. More of the drunk drivers' parents drank alcohol and the most significant result was that many more of the drunk drivers' mothers drank alcohol when compared to the sober drivers' mothers. When children are very young, their parents are the main agents of socialisation in their lives and thus have a profound influence over their children's subsequent behaviours. This also applies to patterns of alcohol consumption. Children's alcohol consumption is likely to be modelled on their parent's alcohol consumption from an early age and this is concurrent with social learning theory which highlights the effects of socialisation on the child. Peer influence is also quite profound on alcohol consumption and behaviours resulting from alcohol intoxication. Research conducted by Crawford and Novak (2007:49) shows that males are more heavily influenced by social pressures that encourage heavy drinking. In terms of peer influence, friends of the drunk drivers tended to drink more frequently than friends of



the sober drivers. This shows how drinking norms can differ from one group to the other. Other studies have shown that people's drinking habits are inclined to be similar to that of their peers (Kypri et al 2002:457). With reference to binge drinking (5 or more drinks in one sitting), drunk drivers were much more likely to engage in binge drinking than sober drivers. Binge drinking has been cited to cause a large range of social problems such as accidental injury, violence and the development of a drinking problem (Klingemann and Gmel 2001:4). Binge-drinking or excessive drinking is related to hegemonic masculinity discourses since the consumption of alcohol is a way in which masculinity and adulthood can be 'proven' (Hamilton 1996:1). Thus, the more alcohol consumed, the greater the proof of manhood.

In terms of being injured while intoxicated, in this study, a higher percentage of the drunk drivers (45.5%) than the sober drivers (26.3%) admitted to this. Excessive alcohol consumption can lead to reckless and risky behaviours which increase the likelihood of serious injury (to the consumer of alcohol and to innocent bystanders). Injury due to alcohol consumption is ranked as the fourth cause of disability in developing nations (Pyne et al 2002:v). Often masculinity is exemplified through bodily performance and therefore the assault of the body, self-inflicted or inflicted by others, is purely for the sake of affirming masculinity (Connell 2005:54,58). More of the drunk drivers (75.2%) than sober drivers (60.2%) also said that they did things when they were drunk that they wouldn't normally do when they were sober. This ranged from driving recklessly to picking fights. Some of the respondents also said that they gain more confidence which has been a recurring theme throughout this research. Archer (1994:121) proposes that male violence is often used to regain a sense of male identity amongst men as well as promoting and maintaining status in a male group.

The drunk drivers, on average, also had to drink more than their sober driving counterparts in order to feel 'drunk'. Two of the respondents in the drunk driving group said that they have to drink more than 20 drinks (24 drinks and 39 drinks) to feel drunk. If these students drank that amount of alcohol in a short space of time (for example 2 to 3 hours), it is very likely that they suffer severe alcohol poisoning and would possibly die. The responses of these two students could be a show of bravado on their part since they are communicating how much alcohol they can 'handle' as

men. It is very likely that this amount is an exaggeration. Furthermore a larger proportion of drunk drivers (65.3%) than sober drivers (36.6%) stated that they had to drink more to get the same effect from alcohol. This highlights how, through excessive drinking, alcohol tolerance increases and more alcohol is needed in order to feel the same affects.

Context also played a large role in the quantities that respondents drank. Overall, the drunk driving students drank more in a variety of different settings when compared to the sober drivers. Situations where both sober and drunk drivers are likely to drink are at a party, at a pub or club, and with friends. Respondents were least likely to drink at mealtimes. The majority of drunk drivers (51%) drank alcohol when they were alone suggesting that their alcohol use is not purely social. Drunk drivers were much more likely to drink larger quantities of alcohol with their friends than sober drivers. The most frequently occurring number of drinks consumed with friends (the mode) for drunk drivers was 10 drinks, compared to 2 drinks for sober drivers. This highlights that peer influence on drunk drivers is much more evident than with sober drivers. It could also highlight that men adhering to a hegemonic masculine mindset will feel the need to prove their manhood when in the company of their friends, most particularly, their male friends. In this situation that would involve drinking more alcohol to ensure they assert their manhood and dominance. Rocha-Silva (1997:12) found that public drinking, for example in pubs/shebeens, is quite popular with male drinkers. In pubs/shebeens the main emphasis is on drinking and therefore there is likely to be a large population of male drinkers who will witness and reinforced the displays of masculinity shown by other men through alcohol consumption. Drinking more alcohol when with male friends is highlighted by these responses from students in the drunk driving group:

If I am out with just my guy mates then we would drink a lot.

Male drinking buddies = more.

When I'm with the bras (guys), I get knacked.

Because most of the time when I'm drinking with my friends we challenge each other to the last man standing to see who passes out first, so basically we buy a lot of alcohol.

The above statement also suggests that there is a great deal of competition that goes on amongst men and boys with regards to alcohol consumption. More of the drunk drivers (34.7%) than sober drivers (13.5%) believed it was impressive to be able to drink large quantities of alcohol. This suggests that these men endorse heavy drinking which means that it is highly likely that they are reinforcing that behaviour in others. By doing so they are affirming their peers' masculinity but also their own because their own identity is in relation to their group identity and thus this affirmation ensures a more stable personal identity. Paton-Simpson (1995 cited in Smith and Winslade 1997:17) argue that negative reactions to non-drinkers or light drinkers serves to increase solidarity amongst heavy drinkers and normalise their behaviour. Abstainers or light drinkers are likely to be viewed with suspicion and bear the brunt of negative comments made about their masculinity and sociability (ibid). Drunk driving students who took part in this research were more likely than the sober driving students to believe that it was more important for men to have a higher alcohol tolerance than women (38.6% and 28.1% respectively). The reason for this is arguably that these men feel that there is much more pressure for males to drink excessively than females and highlights the double-standard on drinking; that is, drunkenness in men is viewed as normal and acceptable behaviour, whereas drunkenness in women is viewed as unacceptable behaviour. Hegemonic masculinity is fundamentally related to men's domination over women which perpetuates institutionalised patriarchy (Carrigan et al 2002:112). Its construction is in relation to woman and other subordinate masculinities and therefore if alcohol consumption is a prerequisite to being accepted into the corridors of hegemonic masculinity, then men will not necessarily want women to drink because it would undermine their position of domination. The majority of respondents who participated in this research felt that men drink more than women although a higher percentage of the respondents from the drunk driving group (69.3%) compared to the 55.3% of sober driving students believed men drank more. This shows that the drunk drivers view drinking as more normative for men than for women. Drunk drivers also generally rated their drinking fitness as higher than that of the sober drivers.

When respondents were asked if they ever have drinking competitions with their friends to see who can drink the most, more of the drunk driving students (82.2%) than the sober driving students (53.7%) said that they do. This demonstrates the use of

competition as a way to affirm their identities as men, and is highlighted by these student responses all of whom are in the drunk driving group:

Certain friends challenge to see who can drink the most.

Competition.

When I'm with my guy mates we stir each other on.

Keeping up with my mate's quantities.

In some respects, these statements, which form part of a greater drinking discourse, endorse heavy and hasty drinking as a cultural norm that encourages the hegemonic masculine ideals of invincibility. Some of the statements mentioned by the respondents above, highlight how they feel pressured to drink more in order to keep up with their friends' quantities and this goes beyond competition, since some of the respondents may even feel coerced into drinking more when they in fact do not want to. This is highlighted by the responses from three students in the drunk driving group:

Many friends force others to enjoy themselves.

My cousin makes me drink till I'm wasted.

My friend is an alcoholic and he makes me drink more than I want to.

A higher percentage of respondents who drove drunk (34.7%) compared to respondents who drive sober (32.3%) said that they feel challenged to drink more alcohol when with their male friends and this ties in with the above statements about feeling pressured to drink more. Peer pressure is thus prevalent in drinking circles and demonstrates the effects of socialising forces on drinking culture. Other research has shown that excessive drinking is more likely to take place with peers outside of the home (American Academy of Pediatrics 2001:186).

Some of the respondents said that they tend to drink than they usually do when they are socialising with certain friends highlighting peer pressure. The following were said by students in the drunk driving group:

Sometimes the people around you can make you drink more than normal.

Sometimes being around people who tend to drink more leads me to have a extra couple drinks than normal.

Several respondents said that they do not drink much when with their girlfriends. Masculinity is constantly being contested and redefined and therefore men need to renegotiate it in every context they find themselves in (Courtney 2000a:1393). Different contexts call for different ways in which to act when concerning health and gender (ibid). Therefore, in this case, when the respondents are with their girlfriends, they do not drink that much because there is no need to demonstrate their masculinity to other men by drinking alcohol since no other men are present. Studies conducted by Pallone and Hennessy (1993) and Wilkinson (1998) have shown that often the mere presence of male peers exaggerates the need for men to affirm their masculinity and project a masculine image (cited in Krienert 2003) and this is highlighted by the drunk drivers' statements:

Because when I'm with my girlfriend I drink a little than I do when I'm with my friends.

Because when I'm with my female friends I do not drink too much. It is only when I am with my male friends that I drink a lot.

According to cognitive-developmental theory, people's understandings of gender identity change and become more flexible as they mature since they have the cognitive ability and skills to do so. This explains why, when men are with women only, they do not feel the need to drink excessively since they do not have to prove their manhood. Therefore the enactment of their gender identity is flexible depending on the company they are in. One of the students in the drunk driving group said that he drinks much more when socialising with people from his sports club:

When with the rugby club, drink very large amounts.

Kypri et al (2002:462) have shown that drinking alcohol and sports clubs go hand in hand and often players are 'disciplined' by being forced to drink alcohol as a punishment for transgressions on the sports field.

There are various reasons for drinking alcohol. Rocha-Silva (1997:12) suggests that drinking is more often than not viewed in a positive light among drinkers. She goes on to say that alcohol consumption is closely linked to pleasure-seeking in that the

majority of people who drink do so for enjoyment and satisfaction. In this study, many more of the respondents from the drunk driving group (43.6%) than the sober driving group (20.8%) said that they drink alcohol for the sole purpose of getting drunk. It can be argued that getting drunk for these men is about emphasizing their personal power. McClelland et al (1972:335) argue that drinking heavily makes men feel tough and self-assured and this in turn leads to more heavy drinking since they are being positively reinforced each time they engage in that behaviour. This ties in with cognitive-development theory, in that men choose their own identities and then actively seek out behaviours that reinforce those identities. In this case, these men believe that drinking heavily is an affirmation of their masculinity and are therefore likely to never stop drinking since they will lose part of themselves.

The majority of respondents who drove drunk (56%) compared to 32.6% of respondents who drove sober, agreed that drinking alcohol makes them feel confident. This once again highlights McClelland's argument about men drinking to gain personalised power. McClelland (1972:334-335) also argues that while some men choose drinking as their method of gaining personalised power, others will choose different ways of expressing this power such as acting aggressively, fighting, speeding and car accidents. With regards to the findings in this research, it is suggested that some of the students choose both reckless driving and excessively alcohol consumption as ways to affirm their masculine power.

More students from the drunk driving group (47.5%) than the sober driving group (37.5%) said that they do not enjoy themselves at a party unless they have had something to drink. This is related to the item on gaining confidence when intoxicated since it highlights insecurities. It would appear that alcohol in these cases is used as a crutch. A larger percentage of drunk driving students (48.5%) than sober driving students (30.2%) also said that drinking alcohol helps in stress relief and some of these students highlighted this in their response to the open-ended question on what drunkenness feels like:

Relaxed, not a care in the world.

Relaxed, mellow, stress free.

There are many social representations of alcohol which influence the ways people view alcohol and the behaviours they engage in when intoxicated. Social representations are made up of a mixture of concepts, ideas and images, and these representations are reproduced through conversations people have with each other, through social institutions and through the media (Wetherell 1996:138). Drinking is not only concerned with becoming intoxicated but also the social rituals surrounding it. Studies conducted in Australia have found that sharing narratives about drinking events brings friends together, forms social ties, and allows happy memories to be shared amongst friends (Lyons 2006:8). In this way drinking creates a very definite in-group/out-group dynamic which spurs on group solidarity and camaraderie. This is true in the case of a group of men drinking to affirm their masculinity. In drinking the alcohol and sharing stories about past drinking feats, a certain group identity is being created.

A higher percentage of students from the drunk driving group (25.7%) felt that it was acceptable for a man to get really drunk when compared to the sober driving group (16.7%). This shows that the drunk drivers are more likely to normalise their behaviours than the sober drivers and consider drunken behaviour to be 'what men do'. Lyons (2006:1) suggests that drinking alcohol falls under a masculine domain since it is viewed by many as a traditionally male leisure activity. A larger proportion of drunk drivers (50.5%) compared to sober drivers (34.3%) also believed that students in Pietermaritzburg drink more than students elsewhere. Often students have misperceptions about the prevalence of campus drinking norms which generally far outweigh the actual drinking norms among the students (Capraro 2000:316). The results are that students drink far more alcohol than they normally would because they want to be perceived as 'normal'. Social norms theory can be used to explain this occurrence. The theory asserts that people's behaviour is affected by inaccurate perceptions of how other members of their social group think and behave (Berkowitz 2004:5). Therefore perceived norms and actual norms are often very different and in this case, participants may believe that students in Pietermaritzburg drink more than elsewhere, when they may in fact not, and because of this they may increase their alcohol consumption in order to fit in. This theory can also explain excessive drinking among men since, if people perceive men in general or a certain group of men (for example, male students) to drink great quantities of alcohol, then other male students

may try and match those quantities they perceived male students to drink. They do this in order to create a sense of belonging.

Overall more drunk drivers (46.5%) than sober drivers (25%) believe that it is rude to refuse a drink that is given to you. This highlights the social pressures to drink alcohol and if a man refuses to accept the drink, it can be argued that it is the same as admitting that he is not a 'real' man and cannot handle his drinks. Young men are encouraged to join in drinking rituals and these traditions are supported by various drinking discourses which view alcohol and masculinity as one and the same thing (Smith and Winslade 1997:17). Some of these common expressions are, 'A real man holds his beer' and 'He's a man's man' and 'Don't be a wuss'. If men want to be considered as 'one of the guys', then they would feel enormous pressure to drink alcohol since their identity depends upon it. This highlights the paradox of masculinity which is defined as the gender-role strain that is caused when trying to live up to the traditional hegemonic masculinity (Capraro 2000:309). On the one hand men can deny traditional definitions of masculinity and run the risk of being branded a 'sissy' or less of a man, or on the other hand, they can accept these hegemonic ideals and pursue the almost impossible attainment of these qualities, which nearly always results in failure (Boon 2005:301).

More of the drunk drivers also believed that drinking excessively is just part of being a man and that a real man always handles his drinks. These perceptions tie in with drinking being viewed as a traditionally male activity and the discourses emerging from these perceptions surrounding alcohol use become synonymous with the rite of passage into adulthood and becoming a man.

A larger percentage of drunk drivers (24.8%) compared to sober drivers (15.6%) believed that drinking and driving was just part of being young and this relates to rite of passage into adulthood through risk-taking. More respondents from the drunk driving group (79.2%) than the sober driving group (57.5%) also believed that drunk driving was a common occurrence among people they knew and this suggests that drunk driving is related to perceptions of social norms.



On average, the students who drove drunk, did so 20 times per year which works out to approximately once every 2½ weeks. A substantially higher percentage of respondents from the drunk driving group (79.6%) compared to the sober driving group (35.1%) rode in a car with a drunk driver in the year prior to the study. According to hegemonic masculinity theory, men legitimise themselves as the 'stronger sex' by taking unnecessary risks and this is evident in driving drunk or accepting a lift from a drunk driver. In other studies, for example Walker et al (2003:1299), it has been established that males are much more likely to ride in a car with a drunk driver than were females. Courtenay (2000a:1397) argues that men use unhealthy beliefs and behaviours to exhibit idealised versions of masculinity which allows them to take on positions of power in relation to women and subordinate men (non-hegemonic masculinities). Because the respondents from the drunk driving group are more likely to ride in a car with a drunk driver, it suggest that they are generally more accepting of risk-taking behaviour. Drivers who accept risky driving more readily are much more likely to engage in reckless driving behaviours themselves (Sarkar 2004:6). Therefore if your friends are likely to be risk-takers, you are also likely to take on those behaviours, and this demonstrates the influence of peer role-modelling and social norms on behaviour. By adhering to the social norms within a group or society, a person is likely to be viewed more favourably and therefore it can be argued that, in this case, by refusing a ride with a drunk driver, a person (especially a male) runs the risk of being ridiculed, mocked and branded as 'scared' or less of a man because he is not willing to take the risk and enjoy the ride. A higher percentage of the drunk drivers (45.5%) than sober drivers (10.4%) agreed that they were more likely to drive after drinking if they were with friends, and this evidence demonstrates that friends are likely to adhere to the behavioural norms of the group in which they socialise.

Just under a third of drunk drivers (26%) compared to 9.4% of sober drivers agreed that people were impressed by how well they drove when intoxicated. A higher percentage of drunk driving respondents (22.8%) than sober driving respondents (9.5%) also felt that alcohol did not affect their driving ability. Research on driving behaviour has revealed that, in general, males tend to exaggerate their own driving ability and see less risk in a range of dangerous driving situations (Leung et al 2003:51). Masculinity is often cited as being connected to the control over nature and

technology (Mellström 2002:462) and therefore relates to this research with reference to the control over a motor-vehicle as well as oneself. Generally, the respondents from the drunk driving group feel much more comfortable driving after drinking larger quantities of alcohol when compared to the sober drivers. It can be argued that more of the respondents from the drunk driving group see alcohol intoxication and driving whilst under the influence of alcohol as less problematic than respondents from the sober driving group. 10% of the drunk driving respondents said that they would feel comfortable drinking 10 or more drinks and then driving. After drinking 10 drinks, balance, movement and reaction time are dangerously impaired and the drinker is likely to have double-vision and slurred speech. One of these respondents said that he would feel comfortable drinking 200 drinks and then driving, but if he drank this amount of alcohol, he would not live long enough to get behind the wheel of a car as that much alcohol would kill not one person but five people. It can be argued that this person is attempting to live up to superhuman hegemonic masculinity where even the most dangerous feat is conquerable.

Almost half of the respondents (48.8%) said that getting caught by a law enforcement officer would worry them the most if they were travelling over the legal blood alcohol limit. Just over 5% of the respondents (n=12) had ever been pulled over for drunk driving and only one was fined and one was imprisoned in the police station for a few hours but was later released on bail. KwaZulu-Natal is supposed to have a zero-tolerance attitude when it comes to serious traffic violations but it from this research it would appear that drunk driving is not one of them. A well-known South African disc jockey, DJ Sbu, was caught speeding in December 2007. He was going 257km/h, which is the fastest speed on record in the country and his punishment was a fine of R7000, OR a 9 month prison sentence suspended for 3 years (South African Press Association 2007:1). If the South African Department of transport were serious about curbing serious traffic violations they would not let people off on a fine of R7000. If a wealthy person was fined R7000 for speeding, it is not a lot of money and they will gladly pay the fine and will speed again the next day. The same goes for drunken driving; if people know they can get off with a fine, there is no reason for them to stop.

Just over a third of the respondents attempted to answer the questionnaire item on the legal blood alcohol concentration (BAC) limit. This suggests that the majority of students had no idea about the drunken driving laws. Out of the 73 respondents who answered, 26% (n= 19) knew that 0,05 grams per 100 millilitres was the legal BAC. More of the respondents (n=165) attempted to answer the related question on the number of drinks one can have before driving without being over the legal BAC limit. Just over half (50.3%) said that you could drink 2 alcoholic beverages and still be under the legal BAC. For the average person, the consumption of 2 unit of alcohol will not push them above the legal blood alcohol level if those two drinks were consumed over a period of 2 hours.

The majority of all respondents (96.3%) had seen some form of road safety adverts, and of those who had seen them, 53% said the adverts had little or no impact on their driving behaviour. The average number of adverts respondents had seen was 17, but if more than half of the respondents who had seen these adverts said they had little or no impact then there is reason to believe that South Africa's Arrive Alive campaign is not working and making an impression on youth driving behaviour. The number of driver deaths in 2003 in South Africa was highest in the 20-29 year old age category with 34.2% of the total driver fatalities. The numbers of fatalities in this group have increased steadily every year since 2001 (Arrive Alive Webpage 2005:1) and therefore there is a great need to formulate interventions to decrease the high incidence of these vehicle collisions.

## **6.2. Conclusion**

This study successfully shows that the respondents who display more characteristics of hegemonic masculinity are much more likely than the other respondents to drink and drive. The act of driving whilst intoxicated is an affirmation of their status as men and, from their point of view, puts them at the top of the hierarchy of maleness. It is an active display of recklessness and perceived bravery that is a declaration of manhood. Throughout the world, alcohol is bound up with images of masculinity and is considered predominantly a male pursuit. There is a Vietnamese saying that goes: 'Man without alcohol is like a flag without wind', suggesting that alcohol and manliness go hand in hand; take away a man's alcohol and he is no longer a man, but

a limp, lifeless being. If a man's masculine identity is fully reliant on alcohol and drinking pursuits, then the problem of drunken driving will not be curbed very easily because identity is like a habit that is learned over time and the more than one engages in that habit, the more difficult it is to stop or change. Thus if a man needs alcohol to affirm his masculinity, as soon as the alcohol is taken away, he feels naked and inferior when compared to other men. The same sort of analogy can be applied to a woman who does not feel like she is a woman or feminine enough unless she wears make-up. The make-up is an affirmation of her femininity, without it she too may feel naked.

A car can be likened to a little house on wheels, it represents independence and achievement, but unlike a house it is mobile and therefore can collide with other objects/people and is therefore, under certain circumstances, very dangerous. People can consider their cars to be private havens where they are in control of their locomotion, but they are not the only people driving cars on the road and this is where the problems begin. Drivers cannot do as they please when driving, they are restricted by traffic laws and other vehicles on the road. It takes self-control to obey these laws and to respect other road users. When an intoxicated driver is on the road, self-control is severely lacking due to the effects that alcohol has on the brain. At the same time, however, the driver's sense of individuality increases from the effects of the alcohol on the brain, and they are therefore even more dangerous since their ability to judge how their actions will affect others becomes substantially diminished. The respondents in this study who drove drunk were much more likely than the sober driving respondents to engage in risky driving behaviours, regardless of whether or not they were intoxicated, and in addition drank alcohol more frequently and in larger quantities than their sober driving counterparts. The drunken drivers were also more likely to display hegemonic masculine traits such as recklessness when drinking alcohol and driving a motor-vehicle. These risky behaviours are performed in order to prove manhood and affirm the ultimate male identity.

If a man is perceived as a threat, then he has succeeded in affirming his hegemonic masculine identity since others will fear him and his actions, and therefore he has power over others. Drunken driving is also about power; firstly the driver has power since he is controlling the vehicle and secondly, the driver has power because he is in

control of other people's safety (passengers, other drivers etc) as well as his own. All of this adds to the drunk driver's sense of personalised power and strength, and through the recklessness of his actions affirms his masculinity and gives him a sense of self-worth as a man. For a man with a hegemonic masculine identity, handing the keys over to a sober person to drive is like giving up his power and autonomy, and admitting that he is somehow inferior to other men because he cannot handle his alcohol or the car. Driving under the influence of alcohol is thus viewed as macho and courageous.

The danger of drunken driving is all too evident from accident statistics and fatal crashes, but those facts will not act as a deterrent to some but rather as an incitement, since it is the danger that draws some to drive drunk. It is the risk-taking and recklessness that affirms their existence and identity as men and this highlights the complexity of designing effective interventions to curb drunken driving.

## Chapter 7

### Recommendations

The following chapter focuses on what needs to be accomplished in future research to improve the existing knowledge around male drinking and driving behaviour.

With more than half of the traffic collisions on South African roads being alcohol related, one of the major road safety education strategies undertaken by the South African government should be around alcohol and its misuse. If people did not drive after drinking alcohol, the number of vehicle collisions would be reduced by more than 50%! This would be a substantial decrease in unnecessary injury and death and thus it would be logical to pursue strategies aimed at understanding the drunken driving phenomenon from its roots. Its roots being people's relationship with alcohol and the private and social discourses in which alcohol use is encouraged. As men drive drunk more often than women do, men's relationship with alcohol needs to be explored further. Although this research project did examine some of the issues surrounding masculinity and alcohol, a more thorough investigation could be conducted in order to further broaden this knowledge base.

An experiment was considered for this particular research topic but due to time-constraints it could not be performed. This experiment could arguably provide greater insight into drunken driving as a result of hegemonic masculinity, since, in some ways, attempts to mimic real-life scenarios. The experiment entails male participants performing various driving tasks in a vehicle testing ground. It would involve drinking different amounts of alcohol and then driving a vehicle through various hazards/tasks etc and assessing how alcohol affects driving ability (see Table 7.1.). This will be different from similar tests as this experiment is looking at the driver's *perception* of how well he will do in the tasks after varying amounts of alcohol. Therefore the study is not too concerned with the actual effects of alcohol on the participants driving ability but rather

their perception of the effects. Thus the participants will be individually interviewed before undertaking the driving tests and their perceptions about their driving skills, their control of the vehicle and their predicted performance will be recorded. After they have completed each of the 4 tests they will once again be individually interviewed and asked about their performance in the test. If they did something wrong, it would be interesting to find out what they would say to justify it.

One week later the same participants will be asked to return to the testing ground to repeat the experiment, but this time when they are interviewed they will not be alone but rather other men will be standing around them and also watching them take the test. This will measure the influence of peers on driving behaviour as well as bravado and competition among young male drivers. In this instance, the experimental conditions will attempt to mimic the social circumstances in which drunk driving occurs and will reveal why it is so rife among young men.

**Table 7.1. Testing method**

Tests	Amount of Alcohol
1 <sup>st</sup> test	1 unit of alcohol
2 <sup>nd</sup> test	2 units of alcohol
3 <sup>rd</sup> test	3 units of alcohol
4 <sup>th</sup> test	4 units of alcohol

\* Note: Tests will be done 30 minutes apart thus it is 1 unit of alcohol per half hour. Tests will only be 5 minutes in duration

Possible questionnaire prior to the participant taking the test

1. How well do you think you are going to do on this driving task?
2. Will the alcohol affect your driving performance?

Questionnaire for after the participant has completed the test

1. How do you think you did in that test?
2. Do you feel the alcohol affected your driving?

By asking those questions before the test is taken, the researcher becomes aware of the participants perceptions about how much control they believe to have over the vehicle and their driving. The questions after the test provide insight into the possible justifications the participants will give if they knocked one of the cones over in the driving task or hit a barricade for example. Measuring the differences in responses of the participants when alone and when in a group will also reveal the influence of peers on behaviour.



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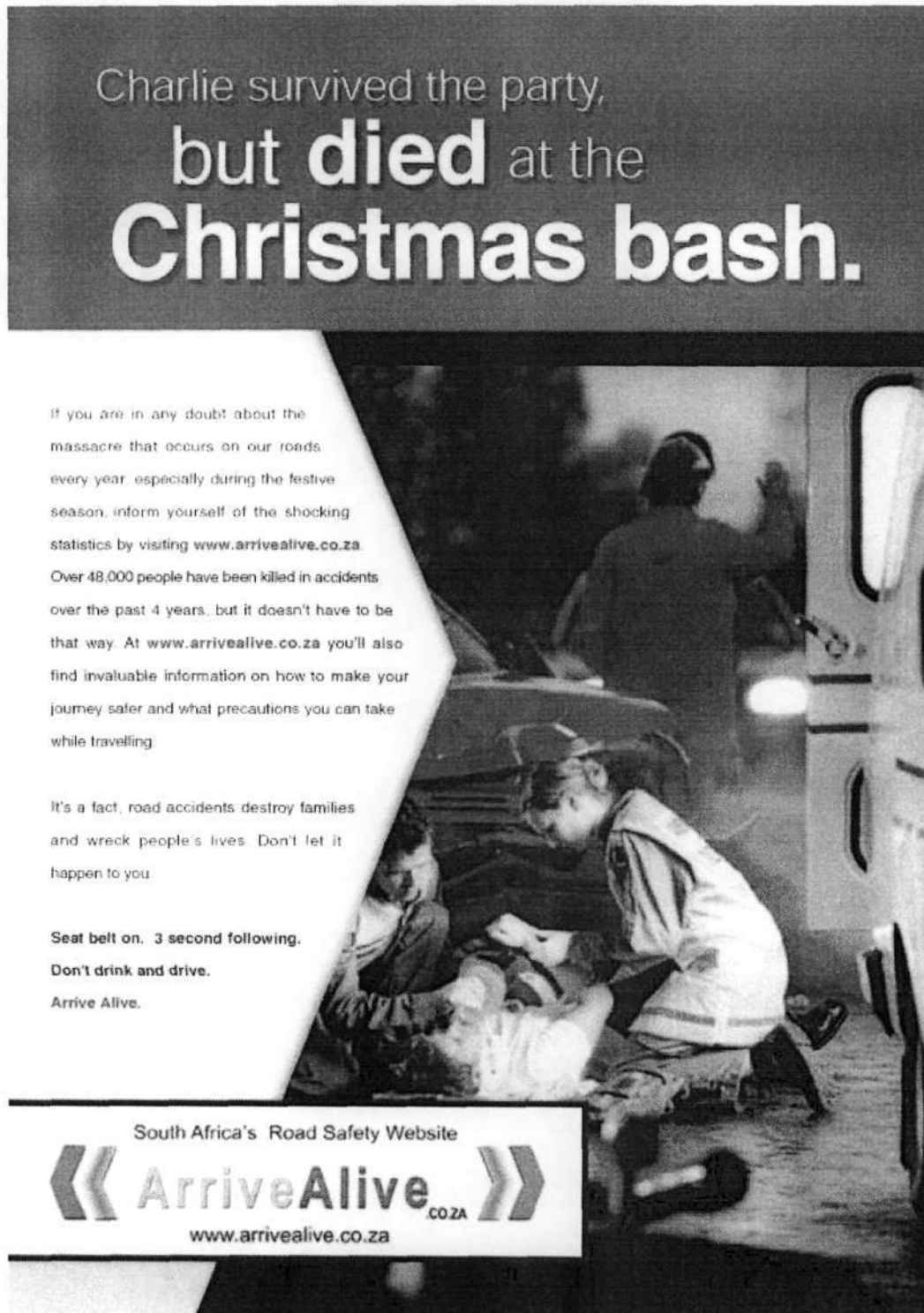
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## Appendices

### Appendix 1

#### 1.1. Arrive Alive campaign posters focussing on drunken driving



Charlie survived the party,  
**but died** at the  
**Christmas bash.**

If you are in any doubt about the massacre that occurs on our roads every year, especially during the festive season, inform yourself of the shocking statistics by visiting [www.arrivealive.co.za](http://www.arrivealive.co.za). Over 48,000 people have been killed in accidents over the past 4 years, but it doesn't have to be that way. At [www.arrivealive.co.za](http://www.arrivealive.co.za) you'll also find invaluable information on how to make your journey safer and what precautions you can take while travelling.

It's a fact, road accidents destroy families and wreck people's lives. Don't let it happen to you.

**Seat belt on. 3 second following.**  
**Don't drink and drive.**  
Arrive Alive.

South Africa's Road Safety Website  
**ArriveAlive** CO.ZA  
[www.arrivealive.co.za](http://www.arrivealive.co.za)

# and **one** for the **road**

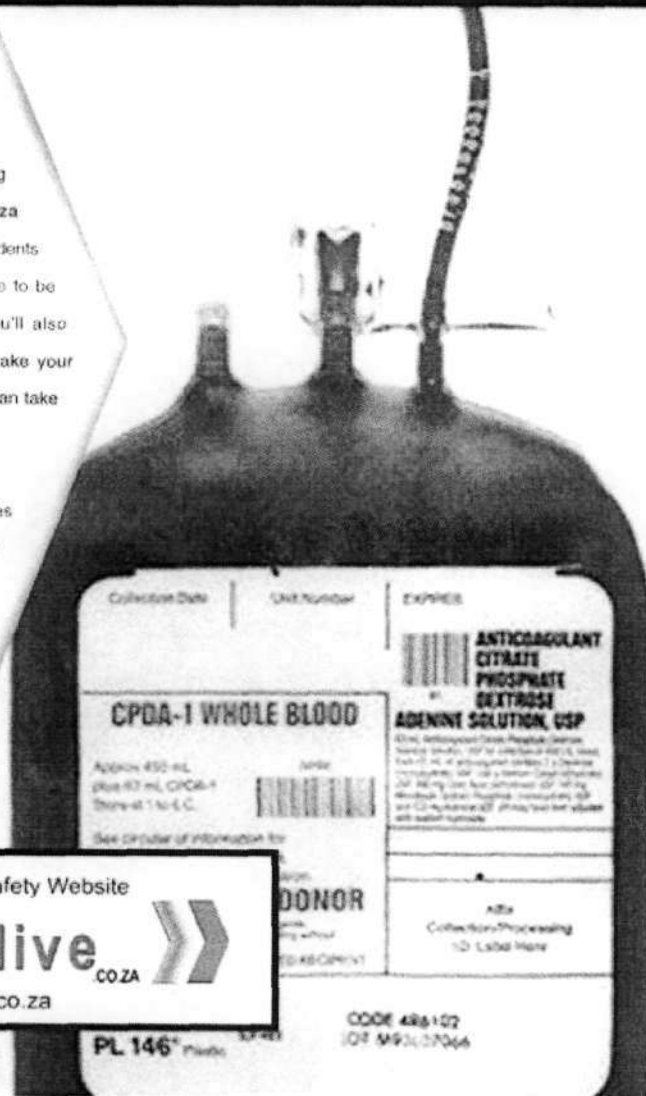
If you are in any doubt about the massacre that occurs on our roads every year, especially during the festive season, inform yourself of the shocking statistics by visiting [www.arrivealive.co.za](http://www.arrivealive.co.za). Over 48,000 people have been killed in accidents over the past 4 years, but it doesn't have to be that way. At [www.arrivealive.co.za](http://www.arrivealive.co.za) you'll also find invaluable information on how to make your journey safer and what precautions you can take while travelling.

It's a fact: road accidents destroy families and wreck people's lives. Don't let it happen to you.

**Seat belt on. 3 second following.**

**Don't drink and drive.**

**Arrive Alive.**



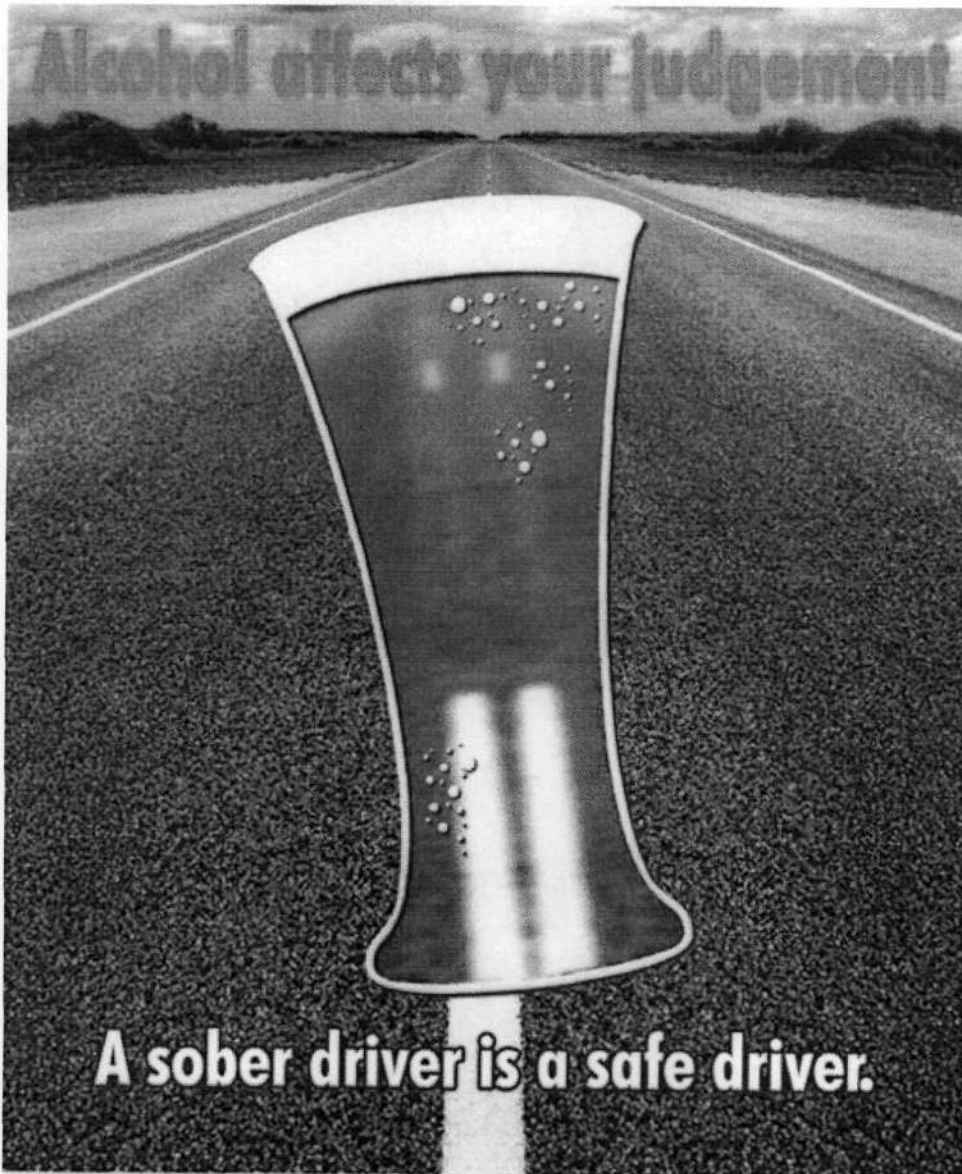
South Africa's Road Safety Website



[www.arrivealive.co.za](http://www.arrivealive.co.za)

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## **Appendix 2**

### **2.1. Pilot survey questionnaire**

Case no.:.....



**UNIVERSITY OF  
KWAZULU-NATAL**

The following questionnaire forms part of a Research Masters Thesis which is investigating driving behaviours of male students from the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg. All the information you provide will be kept entirely confidential and anonymous so please answer truthfully. Do not write your name or contact details anywhere on the questionnaire. You do not have to participate in the study if you do not wish to do so. Your completion of the questionnaire indicates your consent to participate in the study. Please answer all the questions, the information you give is greatly appreciated. Thank you for your time.

Supervisor: Desiree Manicom  
Tel: 033 260 5705

**Instructions:** Where applicable circle the appropriate answer or write down the answer in the space provided

**Demographic Information**

1. Age: \_\_\_\_\_
2. Religion: \_\_\_\_\_
3. Occupation: \_\_\_\_\_
4. Mother's occupation: \_\_\_\_\_
5. Father's occupation: \_\_\_\_\_
6. Monthly income: \_\_\_\_\_
7. Marital status: Single/Married/co-habiting with partner
8. Race: Black/White/Indian/Coloured/Other \_\_\_\_\_
9. Study status: Full time/ Part time
10. Level of Education: Undergraduate/Postgraduate/Other \_\_\_\_\_

**Driving (General)**

11. Do you have a valid driver's licence? Yes/No
12. If yes, how long have had your licence? \_\_\_\_\_
13. How long have you been driving for? \_\_\_\_\_
14. How often do you drive?  
Everyday    A few times a week    Once a week    Twice a month  
Once a month    Every few months    Once a year    Never
15. Driving is a pleasurable experience  
Strongly disagree    Disagree    Neutral    Agree    Strongly agree
16. Driving is independence  
Strongly disagree    Disagree    Neutral    Agree    Strongly agree
17. Driving at speed makes me feel very excited  
Strongly disagree    Disagree    Neutral    Agree    Strongly agree
18. Driving at speed shows courage  
Strongly disagree    Disagree    Neutral    Agree    Strongly agree

19. Driving at speed shows skill  
Strongly disagree    Disagree    Neutral    Agree    Strongly agree
20. As long as I am alone in my car, driving very fast is acceptable  
Strongly disagree    Disagree    Neutral    Agree    Strongly agree
21. When I drive I am in control  
Strongly disagree    Disagree    Neutral    Agree    Strongly agree
22. Driving fast in a car gives me an adrenaline rush  
Strongly disagree    Disagree    Neutral    Agree    Strongly agree
23. Controlling the power of a car is exhilarating  
Strongly disagree    Disagree    Neutral    Agree    Strongly agree
24. The rules of the road tend to restrict my driving  
Strongly disagree    Disagree    Neutral    Agree    Strongly agree
25. How many times have you been stopped by the police for any reason while driving? \_\_\_\_\_
26. Have you ever had your licence confiscated? Yes/No  
If yes, why?
- 
- 

### Alcohol & drinking

- 27.
- I drink to relax  
Strongly disagree    Disagree    Neutral    Agree    Strongly agree
  - I drink at home with friends  
Strongly disagree    Disagree    Neutral    Agree    Strongly agree
  - I drink when I go out  
Strongly disagree    Disagree    Neutral    Agree    Strongly agree
  - I drink on special occasions  
Strongly disagree    Disagree    Neutral    Agree    Strongly agree
  - I drink with my family  
Strongly disagree    Disagree    Neutral    Agree    Strongly agree
  - I drink to get drunk  
Strongly disagree    Disagree    Neutral    Agree    Strongly agree

28. Complete the following sentence. When I am drunk I feel...

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29. How old were you when you had your first alcoholic drink? \_\_\_\_\_

30. Where or from whom did you get your first alcoholic drink?

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31. How often do you drink alcohol?

Everyday	A few times a week	Once a week	Twice a month
Once a month	Every few months	Once a year	Never

32. If you do drink, how many drinks do you usually have (on average)? \_\_\_\_\_

33. How many drinks do you have before you are drunk? \_\_\_\_\_

34. How often does your mother drink alcohol?

Everyday	A few times a week	Once a week	Twice a month
Once a month	Every few months	Once a year	Never
I don't know			

35. If your mother does drink, how many drinks does she usually have (on average)?

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36. How often does your father drink alcohol?

Everyday	A few times a week	Once a week	Twice a month
Once a month	Every few months	Once a year	Never
I don't know			

37. If your father does drink, how many drinks does he usually have (on average)?

---

38. How often do most of your friends drink alcohol?

Everyday	A few times a week	Once a week	Twice a month
Once a month	Every few months	Once a year	Never
I don't know			

39. If your friends do drink, how many drinks do they usually have (on average)?

---

40. It is more acceptable to get really drunk when you are a student

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
-------------------	----------	---------	-------	----------------

41. Students in Pietermaritzburg tend to drink more than students elsewhere

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
-------------------	----------	---------	-------	----------------

42. Binge drinking is just part of being young

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
-------------------	----------	---------	-------	----------------

43. When I drink I feel more confident

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
-------------------	----------	---------	-------	----------------

44. Since you started drinking have you found that you need to drink more to get the same effect as previously? Yes/No



45. Have you ever sustained an injury as a result of alcohol intoxication? (remember this refers to any injury sustained and not just alcohol poisoning) Yes/No  
If yes, what happened? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

46. When you are drunk do you do things that you normally wouldn't do if you were sober? Yes/No  
Explain \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

47. When I am stressed having a few drinks helps me  
Strongly disagree    Disagree    Neutral    Agree    Strongly agree

48. I don't really enjoy myself at a party unless I've had something to drink  
Strongly disagree    Disagree    Neutral    Agree    Strongly agree

49. When I am drunk I take more risks  
Strongly disagree    Disagree    Neutral    Agree    Strongly agree

50. Guys who can drink a lot of alcohol are popular amongst their peers  
Strongly disagree    Disagree    Neutral    Agree    Strongly agree

51. It is impressive to be able to drink a lot of alcohol  
Strongly disagree    Disagree    Neutral    Agree    Strongly agree

52. Having a high alcohol tolerance or drinking fitness is more important for men than for women  
Strongly disagree    Disagree    Neutral    Agree    Strongly agree

53. A real man always handles his drinks  
Strongly disagree    Disagree    Neutral    Agree    Strongly agree

54. When I am with my male friends I feel challenged to drink more  
Strongly disagree    Disagree    Neutral    Agree    Strongly agree

55. Drinking vast quantities of alcohol shows strength and skill  
Strongly disagree    Disagree    Neutral    Agree    Strongly agree

56. How would you rate your drinking fitness on a scale of 1 to 10 with 1 being very unfit and 10 being very fit? \_\_\_\_\_

57. I get angry and aggressive when I am drunk  
Always    Often    Sometimes    Rarely    Never

58. When I sober up I regret what I did when I was drunk  
Always    Often    Sometimes    Rarely    Never

59. When I am with my friends, we see if we can out-drink each other  
Always            Often            Sometimes            Rarely            Never

60. The amount I drink depends on where I am    Yes/No  
Explain

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61. The amount I drink depends on who I am with    Yes/No  
Explain

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62. In the past 30 days how many times have you:

- driven after drinking alcohol \_\_\_\_\_
- driven after having two drinks \_\_\_\_\_
- driven after having three drinks \_\_\_\_\_
- driven after having more than 3 drinks \_\_\_\_\_
- driven in a car with a driver who you think is over the legal limit \_\_\_\_\_

63. In the past year how often have you:

- driven after drinking alcohol \_\_\_\_\_
- driven after having two drinks \_\_\_\_\_
- driven after having three drinks \_\_\_\_\_
- driven after having more than 3 drinks \_\_\_\_\_
- driven in a car with a driver who you think is over the legal limit \_\_\_\_\_

64. Even if I drive over the legal limit I am still able to drive safely  
Strongly disagree    Disagree    Neutral    Agree    Strongly agree

65. When I am with my friends I am more likely to drink and drive  
Strongly disagree    Disagree    Neutral    Agree    Strongly agree

66. Drinking and driving is just part of being young  
Strongly disagree    Disagree    Neutral    Agree    Strongly agree

67. Drinking and driving is just part of being a man  
Strongly disagree    Disagree    Neutral    Agree    Strongly agree

68. My driving improves when I've had a few drinks  
Strongly disagree    Disagree    Neutral    Agree    Strongly agree

69. People are impressed by how well I drive when I'm over the legal limit  
Strongly disagree    Disagree    Neutral    Agree    Strongly agree

70. I am likely to get caught if I drink and drive  
 Strongly disagree      Disagree      Neutral      Agree      Strongly agree
71. Most drivers take risks from time to time. How often, if ever, have you done the following things:
- used a cellphone without the hands-free kit while driving  
 Never      Occasionally      Fairly often      Very often      Not applicable
  - driven without a seatbelt for any length of time  
 Never      Occasionally      Fairly often      Very often      Not applicable
  - driven 80km/h or more in a 60km/h zone  
 Never      Occasionally      Fairly often      Very often      Not applicable
  - driven 100km/h or more in a 80km/h zone  
 Never      Occasionally      Fairly often      Very often      Not applicable
  - driven 140km/h or more in a 120km/h zone  
 Never      Occasionally      Fairly often      Very often      Not applicable
72. What effect, if any, does alcohol have on your driving?  
 Made it a lot better      Made it a little better      Had no effect  
 Made it a little worse      Made it a lot worse
73. How common do you think it is for people to drive when over the legal blood alcohol limit in your area?  
 Very common      Fairly common      Not very common  
 Not at all common      Don't know
74. If you were driving over the legal limit, how worried would you be about being in an accident?  
 Extremely worried      Very worried      Fairly worried  
 Not very worried      Not worried at all
75. Some people have their own limit in terms of how much they can drink before driving. How much would you personally feel comfortable with before driving a vehicle? (specify amount and type of alcohol)
- 
76. After how many drinks are you still able to drive safely? \_\_\_\_\_
77. I am concerned about being fined when I am driving over the legal blood alcohol limit  
 Strongly disagree      Disagree      Neutral      Agree      Strongly agree
78. I am concerned about having an accident when I am driving over the legal blood alcohol limit  
 Strongly disagree      Disagree      Neutral      Agree      Strongly agree

79. If you were driving over the legal blood alcohol limit, how worried would you be about being stopped by the police?

Extremely worried      Very worried      Fairly worried  
Not very worried      Not worried at all

80. How many times have you been caught by the police for driving over the legal blood alcohol limit? \_\_\_\_\_

81. What is the legal blood alcohol concentration limit in South Africa? \_\_\_\_\_

82. How many drinks can one have before being over the legal limit? \_\_\_\_\_

83. - How many adverts on road safety do you recall? \_\_\_\_\_

- What advertising medium was used (eg: billboards, radio, tv, magazines, etc)? \_\_\_\_\_

- What impact did the advert/s have on you?

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84. Who drinks and drives more? Men/ Women/ Both

85. Who drinks and drives more? Blacks/Whites/Indians/Coloureds/ All the same

86. Any other comments

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## 2.2. Final survey questionnaire

**CONFIDENTIAL**

Case no.:.....



**UNIVERSITY OF  
KWAZULU-NATAL**

The following questionnaire forms part of a Research Masters Thesis investigating driving behaviours of male students from the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg. All the information you provide will be kept entirely confidential and anonymous so please answer truthfully. Do not write your name or contact details anywhere on the questionnaire. Your completion of the questionnaire indicates your consent to participate in the study. Please answer all the questions, the information you give is greatly appreciated.

Thank you for your time.

Supervisor: Desiree Manicom  
Tel: 033 260 5705

**Instructions:** Tick the appropriate answer in the box provided or write down the answer in the space provided

1. Age: \_\_\_\_\_

2. Religion: \_\_\_\_\_

3. Marital status:

Single	Married	Living with partner
--------	---------	---------------------

4. Race:

Black	White	Indian	Coloured	Other:
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5. Study status:

Full time	Part time
-----------	-----------

6. What degree/diploma are you studying for? \_\_\_\_\_

7. Level of Education:

First year
Second year
Third year
Fourth year/ Honours
Masters

8. Occupation (besides from being a student): \_\_\_\_\_

9. Monthly income: \_\_\_\_\_

10. Mother's occupation: \_\_\_\_\_

11. Mother's monthly income: \_\_\_\_\_

12. Father's occupation: \_\_\_\_\_

13. Father's monthly income: \_\_\_\_\_

14. How many years have you been driving for? \_\_\_\_\_

15. How often do you drive?

Everyday	A few times a week	Once a week	Twice a month
Once a month	Every few months	Once a year	Never

16. Do you have a valid driver's licence?  Yes  No

If yes, how many years have had your licence? \_\_\_\_\_

17. I am a good driver

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
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18. Driving makes me feel independent

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
-------------------	----------	---------	-------	----------------

19. When I drive I am invincible

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
-------------------	----------	---------	-------	----------------

20. The rules of the road restrict my driving

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
-------------------	----------	---------	-------	----------------

21. Driving very fast shows courage

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
-------------------	----------	---------	-------	----------------

22. When I drive I am in control

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
-------------------	----------	---------	-------	----------------

23. Driving fast in a car gives me an adrenaline rush

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
-------------------	----------	---------	-------	----------------

24. It is safe to drive very fast (20km/h or more over the speed limit) with passengers in the car

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
-------------------	----------	---------	-------	----------------

25. It is safe to drive very fast (20km/h or more over the speed limit) when I am alone in the car

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
-------------------	----------	---------	-------	----------------

26. I get impatient when I drive

Always	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
--------	-------	-----------	--------	-------

27. How many times have you been stopped by the police for any reason while driving? \_\_\_\_\_

28. Have you ever had your licence confiscated?  Yes  No  
If yes, why?

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29. How often do you do the following things:

- use a cellphone without the hands-free kit while driving

Never	Occasionally	Fairly often	Very often
-------	--------------	--------------	------------

- drive without a seatbelt for any length of time

Never	Occasionally	Fairly often	Very often
-------	--------------	--------------	------------

- drive more than 20km/h over the speed limit

Never	Occasionally	Fairly often	Very often
-------	--------------	--------------	------------

- drive recklessly

Never	Occasionally	Fairly often	Very often
-------	--------------	--------------	------------

- race with other cars on the road

Never	Occasionally	Fairly often	Very often
-------	--------------	--------------	------------

30. How old were you when you had your first alcoholic drink? \_\_\_\_\_

31. From whom did you get your first alcoholic drink? \_\_\_\_\_

32. Where were you when you had your first alcoholic drink?

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33. How often do you drink alcohol?

Everyday	A few times a week	Once a week	Twice a month
Once a month	Every few months	Once a year	Never

34. How often does your mother drink alcohol?

Everyday	A few times a week	Once a week	Twice a month
Once a month	Every few months	Once a year	Never
I don't know			

35. If your mother does drink, how many drinks does she usually have at a time?

---



36. How often does your father drink alcohol?

Everyday	A few times a week	Once a week	Twice a month
Once a month	Every few months	Once a year	Never
I don't know			

37. If your father does drink, how many drinks does he usually have at a time?

\_\_\_\_\_

38. How often do most of your good friends drink alcohol?

Everyday	A few times a week	Once a week	Twice a month
Once a month	Every few months	Once a year	Never
I don't know			

39. If your friends do drink, how many drinks do they each usually have (on average)?

\_\_\_\_\_

40. I drink when I go out

Always	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
--------	-------	-----------	--------	-------

41. I drink to get drunk

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
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42. When I drink I feel more confident

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
-------------------	----------	---------	-------	----------------

43. I don't really enjoy myself at a party unless I've had something to drink

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
-------------------	----------	---------	-------	----------------

44. When I am stressed having a few drinks helps me relax

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
-------------------	----------	---------	-------	----------------

45. I feel challenged to drink larger quantities when I am with my male friends

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
-------------------	----------	---------	-------	----------------

46. Drinking a lot of alcohol shows strength

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
-------------------	----------	---------	-------	----------------

47. Complete the following sentence. When I am drunk I feel...

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---

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48. The amount I drink depends on who I am with Yes No

Explain

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49. If one drink is considered to be 1 tot of spirits (eg: Brandy, Vodka etc) OR 1 cooler (eg: Brutal fruit) OR 1 beer (340ml) OR 1 glass of wine, how many drinks do you usually have:

	<i>No. of drinks</i>
- when you are alone	
- when you are with friends	
- with your family	
- at mealtimes	
- when you go out to a club or pub	
- when you are at a party	

50. How many drinks do you have before you are drunk? \_\_\_\_\_

51. Since you started drinking have you found that you need to drink more to get the same effect as previously? Yes No

52. Have you ever sustained an injury as a result of alcohol intoxication?  
(remember this refers to any injury sustained and not just alcohol poisoning)

Yes No

If yes, what happened?

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---

53. When you are drunk do you do things that you normally wouldn't do if you were sober?

Yes No

Explain

---

---

---

54. It is acceptable to get really drunk if you are a man

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
-------------------	----------	---------	-------	----------------

55. Students in Pietermaritzburg tend to drink more than students elsewhere

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
-------------------	----------	---------	-------	----------------

56. If someone gets me a drink, it is rude to refuse it

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
-------------------	----------	---------	-------	----------------

57. Drinking a lot at one time is just part of being a man

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
-------------------	----------	---------	-------	----------------

58. When I am drunk I take more risks

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
-------------------	----------	---------	-------	----------------

59. Guys who can drink a lot of alcohol are popular

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
-------------------	----------	---------	-------	----------------

60. It is impressive to be able to drink a lot of alcohol

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
-------------------	----------	---------	-------	----------------

61. Having a high alcohol tolerance or drinking fitness is more important for men than for women

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
-------------------	----------	---------	-------	----------------

62. How would you rate your drinking fitness on a scale of 1 to 10 with 1 being very unfit and 10 being very fit? \_\_\_\_\_

63. A real man always handles his drinks

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
-------------------	----------	---------	-------	----------------

64. When I am with my friends, we see if we can out-drink each other

Always	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
--------	-------	-----------	--------	-------

65. I get angry and aggressive when I am drunk

Always	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
--------	-------	-----------	--------	-------

66. When I sober up I regret what I did when I was drunk

Always	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
--------	-------	-----------	--------	-------

67. Who drinks more

Men	Women	Both the same
-----	-------	---------------

68. In the past 30 days how many times have you:

- driven after having one drink \_\_\_\_\_
- driven after having two drinks \_\_\_\_\_
- driven after having three drinks \_\_\_\_\_
- driven after having more than 3 drinks \_\_\_\_\_
- driven in a car with a driver who you think is over the legal blood alcohol limit \_\_\_\_\_

69. In the past year how often have you:

- driven after having one drink \_\_\_\_\_
- driven after having two drinks \_\_\_\_\_
- driven after having three drinks \_\_\_\_\_
- driven after having more than 3 drinks \_\_\_\_\_
- driven in a car with a driver who you think is over the legal blood alcohol limit \_\_\_\_\_

70. When I am with my friends I am more likely to drive after drinking alcohol

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
-------------------	----------	---------	-------	----------------

71. Drinking alcohol does not affect my driving ability

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
-------------------	----------	---------	-------	----------------

72. Drinking and driving is just part of being young

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
-------------------	----------	---------	-------	----------------

73. A real man can drink and still drive safely

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
-------------------	----------	---------	-------	----------------

74. People who know me are impressed by how well I drive when I'm over the legal blood alcohol limit

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
-------------------	----------	---------	-------	----------------

75. I am likely to get caught if I drink and drive

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
-------------------	----------	---------	-------	----------------

76. What effect, if any, does alcohol have on your driving?

Made it a lot better	Made it a little better	Has no effect	Made it a little worse	Made it a lot worse
----------------------	-------------------------	---------------	------------------------	---------------------

77. How common do you think it is for people you know to drive when over the legal blood alcohol limit?

Very common	Fairly common	Not very common	Not common at all	Don't know
-------------	---------------	-----------------	-------------------	------------

78. How much would you feel comfortable with before driving a vehicle? (specify amount and type of alcohol)

\_\_\_\_\_

79. What would worry you the most if you were driving over the legal blood alcohol limit?

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

80. What is the legal blood alcohol concentration limit in South Africa? \_\_\_\_\_

81. How many drinks can one have before being over the legal limit? \_\_\_\_\_

82. Have you ever been stopped by the police for driving over the legal blood alcohol limit?

Yes  No

If yes, what happened?

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

83. How many adverts on road safety do you recall? \_\_\_\_\_

What advertising medium was used in the advert/s you recall? (eg: billboards, radio, tv, magazines)

\_\_\_\_\_

What impact did the advert/s have on you?

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84. Who drinks and drives more?

Men	Women	Both
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Why do you think this is so?

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85. Who drinks and drives more? *(you may tick more than 1 category if you wish to do so)*

Blacks	Whites	Indians	Coloureds	Other: _____	All the same
--------	--------	---------	-----------	--------------	--------------

Why do you think this is so?

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86. Who drinks and drives more in terms of age? *(you may tick more than 1 category if you wish to do so)*

18-23 year olds	24-29 year olds	30-35 years olds	36-41 year olds
42-47 year olds	48-53 year olds	54-59 year olds	60-65 year olds
66-71 year olds	Above 71 years	All the same	

Why do you think this is so?

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87. Any other comments

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