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Car Culture and Masculinity as Resources for Understanding Road Rage

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Car Culture and Masculinity as Resources for Understanding Road Rage



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A research project submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Clinical Psychology in the Faculty of Humanities, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

Declaration

Student: Qhawekazi Mabongo

Student Number: 1848256

I declare that this report is my own independent work It has not been submitted before for any other degree or examination at this or any university. Where I have consulted secondary sources, I have acknowledged them appropriately.

✓ I am aware that plagiarism is prohibited

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Abstract

Aggression on the road and aggressive driving are detrimental to other road users. Road rage may be expressed in multiple behaviours on the road such as violence, tailgating, overtaking when it is not safe to do so, and brake checking. This behaviour poses a threat to the lives of people on the road. The objective of this study was to investigate the existence of masculinity and car culture principles in the way men perceived incidents of road rage. Further, the study aimed to understand how the features of masculinity and car culture are presented in the perceptions men had of road rage. The rationale for this study was motivated by the high prevalence of road accidents, where young men were the most vulnerable to road accidents and road fatalities. Aggressive driving behaviour was the focus of this study as young men were identified as the most common culprits of performing behaviours of this nature. The study adopted a socio-cultural approach to road rage and proposed the use of socio-cultural factors, namely masculinity and car culture, as a framework for the exploration of the psychological experiences related to road rage. The data was collected using nine in-depth interviews structured around three vignettes in the form of videos. The interviews were audio recorded and transcribed. Thematic analysis principles stipulated by Braun and Clarke were utilised to guide the analysis and reporting of the data. The findings of this study were intended to inform interventions for violence and road rage by providing a nuanced understanding of the relationship between risk factors and violence as well as providing insight into the underpinning perceptions of road behaviour and, consequently, road accidents. The main findings indicated that the road is a site for social interactions that are informed by the tenets of masculinity and car culture. Both masculinity and car culture intersect and create complex social dynamics between road users. These identities influence the experience of men on the road as they are a lens for perceiving behaviour, and they also influence the behaviour of men on the road. Additionally, the research demonstrated that masculinity and car culture are related and the fundamental characteristic that underlies both concepts is power.

Keywords: *car culture, masculinity, road rage, road safety, violence*

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Chapter One: Introduction

Introduction

Road accidents place a huge burden on the health care system and the economy while also posing a grave risk to mental health (World Health Organisation [WHO], 2021a). Driver behaviour is one of the largest contributors to road accidents and specifically aggressive driving is one of the key identified behaviours associated with road accidents (Department of Transport [DoT], 2016; WHO, 2021b). Aggressive driving includes driving in a manner that has a high probability of endangering the driver or other road users. Aggression on the road is often expressed by the performance of law-defying conduct such as speeding, over-taking in areas where it is not safe to do so, and endangering other drivers (Brewer, 2000). The phenomenon of road rage, a form of aggressive driving, when understood from a socio-cultural perspective, allows for the study of the different risk factors of violence and the nature of the relationship that these risk factors have with violence. As young men are the most vulnerable group to road fatalities, violence, and the largest perpetrators of road rage (WHO, 2021a), masculinity has become a central social factor in the understanding of road violence. Unlike other literature on violence, because of the unique setting of the road, car culture, which is a component of masculine culture, becomes an additional concept in understanding and exploring road culture. These two overlapping concepts were explored as influential factors in the perceptions men have of road rage.

Rationale

According to the World Health Organisation (WHO), an estimated 1.3 million people lose their lives on the road, between 20 to 50 million are injured from road accidents, and a large number of these injuries result in long-lasting disabilities (WHO, 2021a). These accidents are disproportionate with 93% occurring in low-to-middle-income countries. South Africa specifically has one of the highest road fatalities rates in the world (Sukhai, 2003). Out of 175 countries, South Africa was ranked 136 for having the highest risk for road fatalities (WHO, 2018). The International Transport Forum (ITF) (2019) reported that in 2016, road fatalities in South Africa reached a recorded peak of 14,071 deaths. In 2018 the ITF reported only an 8% decline from the peak reported in 2016. This illustrates the consistency of high road fatalities in South Africa. These culminating figures demonstrate the magnitude of the adverse impacts road fatalities have on the healthcare system, the economy, and the psychological well-being of South Africans. Therefore, it is crucial to undertake studies of

the road that can offer explanations of the current road traffic concerns and inform road safety interventions.

Statistical findings indicate that young people (5–29 years of age) are the most vulnerable age group, with road fatalities being the leading cause of death for this age group. Further, men are disproportionately affected, with 73% of road deaths occurring among young men (WHO, 2021a). Additionally, in studies of road rage (Sansone & Sansone, 2010; Sukhai, 2003), young men are reportedly the predominant perpetrators. These statistical discrepancies call for an inquiry into young men's vulnerability to road accidents and their dominance as culprits of aggressive driving. The present study adopted a socio-cultural approach to road violence by exploring young maleness (masculinity) and car culture as key social factors in the interpretation of road violence. This framework provided an understanding of how masculinity and car culture translated into road behaviour and, in some instances, violence.

Road safety interventions addressing driver behaviour place emphasis on intervening in law-defying activities such as speeding, driving under the influence, and not using safety belts. (DoT, 2016; WHO, 2021b). These interventions are focused on law enforcement and penalties for failure to abide by road rules. This approach has been criticised for not addressing gender, therefore, treating the gender and age differences in road accidents and driver behaviour as though it were 'natural' or solely tied to attitude (Graham & White, 2007; Walker et al., 2000). Further, medical models of violence identified gender, class, race, and age as risk factors for violence. However, these are not curable concepts, thus, there have been challenges in designing and implementing interventions for violence using the medical model (Bowman et al., 2015). Consequently, this model is an inappropriate framework for producing research that can inform interventions for road violence. The current road traffic issues, namely the high prevalence of road accidents and road violence, require investigation using methodologies that can potentially inform interventions. The present study used the social-cultural framework for comprehending the social elements influencing driver behaviour.

The trends found in the statistics of road fatalities and road violence implicate young males as the most vulnerable group to both road fatalities and road violence. Therefore, this research specifically investigated how masculinity and car culture impact incidents of road violence. Car culture, as defined in this study, is the shared interpretive schemes, meanings, symbols, and representations used to make sense of cars and the roles they play in our lives (Best, 2006). This is influenced by other social factors such as class, ethnicity, gender, and

geography (Alam, 2020) as their symbolic values and meaning vary across cultures and contexts. Car culture influences car-related behaviours such as car ownership, car use (Luke, 2018; Zhao & Zhao, 2020), and driving behaviours (Walker et al., 2000; Zavala, 2020). Car culture is associated with masculinity and from a young age boys are taught to admire cars (Zavala, 2020). As a result, car culture is a performance of masculinity on the road.

Masculinity can be defined as a social identity that comprises the culture-specific norms and expectations of manhood. Masculinity is characterised by power, prestige, and status (Lorber, 1994). Across cultures in South Africa, men commonly defined masculinity as associated with strength, power, and control. Leadership and having the ability to challenge social ideals were also characteristics of manhood (Dharani et al., 2021). In American society, the ideals of masculinity emphasise "toughness, stoicism, acquisitiveness and self-reliance" (Clay, 2012, p. 52). This order of society has created unconscious views of masculinity as a quality of good substance and strength, and is more desirable in relation to other genders (Blechner, 1998). The aim of this research was to identify how masculinity and culture influence the social dynamics on the road thus shaping the way in which men interpret and respond to incidents of road violence. This report postulated that masculinity and car culture were used as tools that shaped how men understood and responded during incidents of road violence.

Aims

The aim of this study was to understand and interpret how masculinity and car culture can be explored as contributing factors to incidents of road rage. This operated on the grounds that young men internalise masculinity and car culture; socio-cultural factors that translate into driver behaviour such as road rage. Exploring men's interpretations of violence gives insight into how they position themselves in relation to other road users and provides knowledge on the socio-cultural underpinning of their vulnerability on the road. The relationship between masculinity, car culture, and road rage was explored using the following research questions:

1. How do masculine-identifying male drivers understand their roles as car owners/drivers?
2. How do male drivers use tenets of masculinity and car culture in their interpretations of road rage?

Chapter Outline of the Research

Chapter Two contextualises the present research by providing an overview of the literature relating to masculinity, car culture, and road rage. Firstly, it provides an overview of masculinity and the different social factors that influence masculinity in the South African context. Following this is a discussion on violence and masculinity. This highlights how different theories have conceptualised violence in relation to masculinity. Car culture is explained as a form of masculinity in the road setting. A subsequent section in the chapter further explores road rage by presenting the theoretical understanding of road rage as well as the studies about road rage. The present study is embedded in the socio-cultural framework, which is explained in the final section of the literature review.

Chapter Three outlines the procedures undertaken for executing the research. This study used a qualitative methodology and the data was analysed from an interpretivist perspective. The data collection methods and tools are detailed. The data analysis method, which is a thematic analysis, is defined and its six phases are discussed and explained. Following this section is the self-reflexivity section, which explores the reflection process of the researcher and the way they understood their position in relation to the participants as well as the research topic. Finally, the ethical considerations of the research and how the ethics were managed during the execution of the research is discussed.

Chapter Four presents the results of the study and discusses these results in relation to literature on masculinity, car culture, and road rage. The results are discussed under three main themes: “road ethnicity”, “power” and “defence of honour”. These themes explain how men perceive incidents of road rage. Additionally, the chapter analyses how men understand the meaning of car ownership. This highlights the way masculinity and car culture influence their experience of the road and dictate their interactions with other road users.

Chapter Five concludes the research report. This chapter stipulates the theoretical and practical implications of the research. The limitations of the study are mentioned and explained. It also provides recommendations for future research that is related to the topics of the current research. This chapter is concluded by a summary of the research findings.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

Introduction

Driver behaviour is a large contributor to road accidents. The behaviours identified as risks of accidents include speeding, driving under the influence of psychoactive substances, and not using safety gear (seat-belt, helmets, and child seats) (DoT, 2016; WHO, 2021a). These actions can be categorised as law-defying conduct. Aggressive driving is a driving behaviour that is characterised by driving in a manner that endangers the lives of users on the road. Associations between aggressive driving and law-defying conduct have been found (Brewer, 2000; Graham & White, 2007), as these law-defying activities tend to be an expression of aggression on the road or they amplify the expression of aggression, such as through substance use. Similar to Walker and colleagues (2000), the argument of this report is that the discrepancy in accident prevalence between the sexes cannot be ignored or understood as natural, but rather should be understood from a social perspective. Specifically, the study aimed to examine road rage from a socio-culture framework. This literature review maps out the connection between masculinity, car culture, and road rage. Further, it argues for a need to explore masculinity and car culture in the perceptions young men have about road rage. This provides insight into how masculinity as a psychological tool is used to shape the experiences of men on the road, thus influencing their road behaviour.

Masculinity

There are different perspectives that provide different accounts for what produces and maintains masculinity (Greig et al., 2000). The theories that will be explored that define masculinity are essentialism, social constructionism, and power discourses.

One of the earliest theories on masculinity was the biological essentialist theory that explains masculinity as a result of biological phenomena (Greig et al., 2000; Pilcher & Whelehan, 2016). This suggests that men's aggression, toughness, strength, and power are the result of innate biological differences. This perspective has been criticised for its inability to account for the social, economic, and political gender inequalities observed in society (Greig et al., 2000). Further, essentialism also categorises gender into two groups: masculinity and femininity (Pilcher & Whelehan, 2016). This view equates sex with gender. However, the dichotomisation of gender has been rejected in contemporary literature as it fails to account for the difference in gender expression across cultures as well as the dominance of some men over other men (Connell, 1987).

Constructionist perspectives of masculinity describe masculinity as roles, performances, and practices. This emphasises the process of socialisation in the production and maintenance of masculinity (Greig et al., 2000). From this perspective, gender is distinct from sex. Gender is a concept that refers to the behaviours and cultural norms associated with being male or female. Gender has been a widely used construct to categorise societies. This allows the different genders to be assigned to different roles and responsibilities (Lorber, 1994). Thus, certain personality characteristics, feelings, motivations, and aspirations are promoted or prohibited for certain genders, creating different life experiences for the different groups (Lorber, 1994). Thus, the different behaviours associated with gender are influenced by socialisation and cannot be purely attributed to biology.

One of the widely accepted views of masculinity is the understanding of masculinity as a discourse of power. Connell (2005) defines masculinity as "configurations of practice that are accomplished in social action" (p. 836). These practices serve the function of subordinating other genders. He also presented the concept of hegemonic masculinity where a single form of masculinity is idealised and identified as the highest form of power and status (Connell, 1987). Based on this conceptualisation, hegemonic masculinity is not necessarily embodied by certain individuals but is rather an ideal model of maleness communicated through culture, institutions, and politics, which is associated with power and social desirability (Connell, 2005) The masculine identity is ascribed to those who present a performance that indicates the individual possesses a masculine self. Therefore, a masculine identity is attained based on the meanings attached to their social action (Schrock & Schwalbe, 2009). An important social practice that defines masculinity is sexual activity. Hegemonic masculinity is exclusive to heterosexuality (Blechner, 1998). This places men who identify with other sexual orientations subordinate to heterosexual men. This is exemplified in adolescent boys perceiving being called gay as the worst possible insult (Clay, 2012). The sexualisation of females can also be used as a means to signify heterosexuality and avoid homophobic abuse (Schrock & Schwalbe, 2009). Other social practices associated with masculinity include economic power in relationships, which legitimises control and the subordination of the female partner (Morgan, 2005; Schrock & Schwalbe, 2009). In this context, men with fewer economic resources may use violence to maintain power (Morgan, 2005). Within professional spaces men may emphasise their intellect and knowledge to portray their abilities as superior (Schrock & Schwalbe, 2009). Emotional inexpressiveness also aligns with the ideals of masculinity. This separates the man from the 'irrationality' that is associated with emotions (De Boise & Hearn, 2017). Hence, men maintain the ideal of

having self-control. The above examples of masculine practices demonstrate how masculine acts strategically adjust to the context and make use of the available resources, cultures, and audience expectations (Schrock & Schwalbe, 2009). Therefore, the performance of masculinity is pervasive and present across contexts in ways that are unique to that setting.

Masculinity cannot be studied in isolation; it has to be understood in relation to femininity because gender is a power relation (Connell, 1987; Lorber, 1994; Pilcher & Whelehan, 2016). In most societies gender is constructed as unequal. Lober (1994) makes reference to North American Indian cultures where the order of gender hierarchy from top to bottom is as follows: male men, male women, female men, and female women. Connell (1987) proposed that all the various masculinities have power over femininity. In studies of the history of masculinity in British culture, masculinity is understood as dominance over women, children, and other masculinities with feminine qualities (Harvey, 2005). Historically in the South African context, control of women has been the convergent point of white masculinity and African masculinity (Kahn, 2009; Morrell, 1998).Therefore, gender power dynamics particularly position hegemonic masculinity at the top of the gender hierarchy. Power is the ability to exert influence and control over others (Pilcher & Whelehan, 2016). In the context of gender dynamics, the power of masculinity means the interests of patriarchy are executed despite opposition to this system. The concepts of ideology demonstrate the ways in which power is exerted in covert ways (Pilcher & Whelehan, 2016). This is evident in the social norms and legitimisation of masculinity. Therefore, the study of patriarchal ideology is imperative for understanding the position of power that masculinity assumes.

Similar to culture, masculinity is constantly evolving (Pilcher & Whelehan, 2016). Connell's (2005) acknowledgment of the existence of multiple masculinities highlights the fluidity of gender and how the lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) community reproduces, adapts, and repurposes masculinity. Other authors have noted how the roles of masculinity are often violated; therefore, this suggests that masculinity cannot be defined in a single form (Driscoll, 2015). This supports the notion of masculinity being understood as a spectrum with multiple cultural factors influencing the way in which it is presented. The presentation of masculinity determines the hierarchy of genders and where certain men are positioned (Connell, 1987, 2005; Lorber, 1994; Morrell, 1998). Harvey (2005) identifies four phases of man in British history from 1650–1800. The first is the "household patriarch" (p. 298). This manhood was characterised by a man's ability to manage the women they were associated with as well as their dependents. The domestic role and household status defined a man. Following this is the "libertines and fops" (p. 300).

During the late 1600s to 1700s, there was an emergence of different sexualities diverging from heteronormativity. Men also presented with various gender expressions, which also included feminine qualities. Within this context, men were defined by heterosexuality. Thereafter came the "polite gentleman" (p. 301) in the 1800s. Politeness was associated with self-governance. During this phase, it was desirable for men to resolve conflict verbally rather than physically. There was an increasing use of euphemism and soft language. Lastly, there was "the move towards etiquette, taciturnity and domesticity" (p. 304) during the final two decades of the 18th century. During this time, manhood was governed by particular etiquette that guided social behaviour. This also promoted the segregation of women, and spending more time with men alone was valued. These phases illustrate how masculinity is influenced by the change of culture and context. Likewise, masculinity as traced in South African history is unique due to the history of colonisation and apartheid (Morrell, 1998).

Masculinity in South Africa

In South Africa, the history of apartheid, the political regime that promoted racial discrimination and segregation, is important to consider. The emergence of this system was legitimised by ideologies of Afrikaner supremacy (Mhlauli et al., 2015). Apartheid did not initiate racial discrimination in South Africa, as racial discrimination began in 1652 with the settling of the Dutch in the Cape. This was the beginning of colonisation in South Africa (Mhlauli et al., 2015). These political systems had an influence on power dynamics among men in South Africa (Morrell, 1998). During colonisation, violence and marginalisation of indigenous cultures were key mechanisms used to exert power and create a hegemonic White masculinity (Dharani et al., 2021; Morrell, 1998; Sipungu, 2023). Through colonial power, White masculinity has been understood as the hegemonic masculinity in South Africa (Morrell, 1998). Sonnekus (2021) described Whiteness as similar to hegemonic masculinity as both make use of expulsion and organised subjects in accordance with their adherence to the constructed ideals. Therefore, masculinity in South Africa is shaped by the history of colonisation, and masculinity is central to this process. Although the concept of hegemonic masculinity is applicable within the South African context, the subordination of non-White masculinities should not be overstated (Morrell, 1998). These forms of masculinity still hold power within their respective areas of dominance. Further, in contemporary South Africa the ruling state and political powers are represented as Black, which promotes indigenous cultures and indigenous masculinities (Moolman, 2013; Morrell, 1998). This demonstrates the complexities of hegemonic masculinity in South Africa. The social categories of race,

ethnicity, class, and gender are mutually constituted and overlap (Moolman, 2013). Thus it becomes difficult to examine one social category such as masculinity without acknowledging its intersection with class and race. Dharani and colleagues (2021) identified that ethnicity and culture played a prominent role in hegemonic masculinity. The same article also noted that the intersection of race and hegemonic masculinity is evident, however, it is difficult to assess this relationship due to various hegemonic masculinities existing in one race as a result of cultural and ethnic differences. For example, formal labour markets discriminate against foreigners in South Africa, which financially excludes this group of people. Therefore, some foreigners occupy feminised jobs such as waitressing in order to fulfil their masculine role of financially supporting their families (Mangezvo, 2015). Foreigners also experience hostility from South African men, which socially excludes foreigners from masculine spaces. Therefore, immigrant men have to find alternative ways of practicing masculinity that are adapted to their circumstances (Mangezvo, 2015). This illustrates the hierarchies that exist within one race and demonstrates the heterogeneity within racialised masculinity (Moolman, 2013). This indicates how distinct hegemonic masculinity is in South Africa and how inseparable the history of apartheid is in the dynamics of masculinity. The intersectionality of races, class, and masculinity is imperative to understand within the South African context in order to understand the social sphere of the country. Morrell (1998) identifies the unique dynamics amongst the various hegemonic masculinities in South Africa, namely, Afrikaans masculinity, White masculinity, Black masculinity, African masculinity and youth masculinity.

White masculinity is founded on gaining respectability from the working class (Sonnekus, 2021). Currently, power is exerted through covert mechanisms by means of cultural consensus (Dharani et al., 2021). Within the South African context, White hegemonic masculinity has shifted between Afrikaner and British ruling due to a shift in political power. Thus, the history of having two different colonisers makes South Africa culturally complex, which influences the understanding of masculinity in this context (Morrell, 1998; Sonnekus, 2021). Legitimisation of White culture resulted in the emasculation of non-White masculinities. Further, even amongst the White masculinities (Afrikaner and British masculinity), dominance prominently relied on emasculation. Within White masculinity this was associated with the bourgeoisie class, cultural influence, and political power (Morrell, 1998; Sonnekus, 2021). Imperial masculinity was also associated with force and combat, which formed part of the colonial process (Morrell, 1998). In the contemporary world, White manhood is associated with independence and having financial means to support oneself.

Men who are not financially dependent are looked down upon (Dharani et al., 2021). Although other forms of masculinity are identified as subordinate to White masculinity, there are contexts in which these subordinate masculinities hold hegemonic power. This power is dependent on time and place. These masculinities are embedded in the races and cultures that were marginalised during apartheid, namely African masculinity, Black masculinity, and youth masculinity in townships.

African masculinity in South Africa was a prominent form of masculinity during the pre-colonisation time. This masculinity was rural-based and promoted through rural institutions such as customary law, chiefship, and communal land tenure (Morrell, 1998). Mfecane (2018) argues that current conceptualisations of African masculinity use epistemologies from the Global North, thus theories of African masculinity do not reflect the full extent of masculinity in the African context. Mfecane (2018) proposes that an African-centred masculinity should be grounded on the conception of personhood. Despite colonisation, this form of masculinity still exists. This is exemplified in the continued practices of rituals such as *ulwaluko* (initiation into manhood) amongst Xhosa men and similar practices in other South African tribes (Sipungu, 2023). Under the umbrella of African masculinities, the different cultures and tribes also have varying hegemonic masculinities based on the cultural customs that define a man (Dharani et al., 2021). African masculinity is differentiated from Black masculinity in the South African context (Morrell, 1998). Black masculinity is a form of masculinity that came about as a result of colonisation and the urbanisation of South Africa (Morrell, 1998). This was the ideal masculinity amongst African men, such as miners, who were labourers for White-owned companies. This form of masculinity prioritised physical strength and toughness (Morrell, 1998). Colonisation denied Black men masculinity consequently emasculating them. Further, Black masculinity was problematised and represented as colonised, barbaric, and primitive (Moolman, 2013). These ideologies still exist in South Africa currently and influence the experience of Black men in society. This is elaborated on in the section linking violence and masculinity. Amongst Black men in contemporary South Africa, Black masculinity is based on one's ability to financially and socially support one's family and failure to do so is deemed child-like and selfish (Dharani et al., 2021). What is important to note is both White and Black masculinities are linked to financial means and financial abilities in contemporary South Africa. This illustrates the importance of financial power in the validation of masculine prowess.

Finally, Morrell (1998) describes a masculinity that is subordinate to all the hegemonic masculinities, the youth masculinity. This exists in the township context and is

defined by rebellion and being a *tsotsi*. The *tsotsi* boys are characterised by defying authority, being violent, and performing poorly in academics (Langa, 2020). Historically, this form of masculinity was explained as a result of urbanisation that disrupted families and left the youth unsupervised. During this time there was an increase in gang membership as an oppositional masculinity (Morrell, 1998). These young men have also been marginalised due to socio-economic circumstances thus making them experience feelings of inferiority. It is in this position of social exclusion that violence becomes desirable (Vetten & Ratele, 2013). For this *tsotsi* masculinity, violence is key to demonstrating one's manhood (Langa, 2020; Morrell, 1998).

Both British and South African history also contain different forms of masculinity and changes in hegemonic masculinity. What is also noted in South Africa is how hegemonic masculinity can shift and take a subordinate position based on geographical location and time. Therefore, this makes the dynamics of masculinities complex and nuanced. Additionally, this highlights the various sociopolitical factors unique to South African history and context that influence hegemonic masculinity. So far, this report has discussed the interaction of race with masculinity, However, class also influences masculinity within the South African context.

Class is a construct that divides society based on economic resources. Classical Marxism identifies two classes in relation to production: those who own the material for production, and the workers who provide labour (Pilcher & Whelehan, 2016). Masculinity has been ideologically closely associated with class practices, thus reflecting the gendered nature of class (Morgan, 2005). Some literature accounts for gender inequalities as a result of class differences based on the gender roles of the man working and the woman taking on the housewife role (Pilcher & Whelehan, 2016). Within heterosexual relations, men's income differentiated the men from the women and this was used as leverage for control in households (Schrock & Schwalbe, 2009). In South Africa, capitalism and colonisation destroyed subsistent production. Black men were removed from roles associated with economic power such as owning the land of production. This resulted in Black men being subordinate to White men economically (Dharani et al., 2021), which created a racialised working class. This resulted in race being equated to class (Morrell, 1998). The racialisation of class continues to influence the social-economic dynamics currently. However, there have been some shifts noted in the social-economic dynamics in contemporary South Africa. This is exemplified in some Black men acquiring elite status based on their economic position

(capital accumulation) (Moolman, 2013). This may suggest that racial interaction is no longer the blueprint of social interactions as seen during apartheid.

Class remains one of the prominent social divisions that influence masculinity and this acts as a divider of masculinity resulting in the hierarchies of men. Middle-class and lower-class masculinities have the commonality of control, power, and dominance; however, they differ in the way this is practiced (Morgan, 2005). Morgan (2005) identifies two distinct ways of doing masculinity, the one is embodied, collective, and psychical, while the other is rational, individualistic, and more disembodied. Both Black and White masculinity place an emphasis on financial capabilities: White masculinity emphasises financial independence, and Black masculinity is based on the ability to financially support one's family (Dharani et al., 2021). This illustrates the economic aspect of performing masculinity.

In South Africa, a couple of decades post 1994, the Black middle class has expanded and played an important role in the socioeconomic sphere. This has resulted in changes in spending patterns and lifestyles (Langa & Leopeng, 2022). This changes the way hegemonic masculinity is practiced by Black people. For example, Black masculinities are divided in such a way that some are excluded from hegemonic privileges due to economic status, highlighting the existence of a hegemonic masculinity in which certain categories of Blackness acquire masculine privileges due to wealth (Moolman, 2013). Masculinity is shaped by the acquisition of wealth despite the means through which the wealth is attained. This potentially places Black middle-class masculinity in a paradigm that mimics White masculinity (Langa & Leopeng, 2022). Analysing men's magazines reflected how status was vested in consumerism, which included driving luxury cars, buying from exclusive shops, and living in certain suburbs (Langa & Leopeng, 2022). These are the markers of class that influence the way in which one positions themselves and others in social schemes. This closely links with car culture in that the use of cars is influenced by consumerism culture and owning the latest technologies (Walker et al., 2000). In order to understand masculinity as an action informed by resources such as masculine culture, exploring the social, cultural, and historical context is imperative in order to identify the ideologies that reinforce the performance of masculine identities (Tappan, 2009). Therefore, understanding masculine culture in the South African context is fundamental to understanding the way in which masculinity is used as a tool to perceive interactions where masculinity is performed through violence and car culture on the road.

Masculinity and Violence

Men relate to violence in various ways such as by being members of the armed force, partaking in violent crimes, being abusers in homes, and participating in contact sports that use physical force (Pilcher & Whelehan, 2016). Violence is often associated with masculinity in that it is understood as a performance of hegemonic masculinity and a tool to maintain power (Hoosen et al., 2022; Mathews et al., 2015). However, violence within African men was used as a defence of their masculinity and a means to re-establish their masculinity during apartheid (Morrell, 1998). In the political space, men who have social and economic power can be unseated through the use of violence, as violence can be used to equalise power imbalances (Vetten & Ratele, 2013). Additionally, feminism movements in South Africa have shifted gender roles, particularly pertaining to educating and economically empowering women. This has shifted gender dynamics and the way masculinity is practiced in South Africa (Moolman, 2013). This might also explain the gender-based violence observed, as men no longer hold the traditional positions as 'breadwinners' in the household thus shifting the gender power dynamics. This financial emasculation may lead to the use of violence to reclaim power in the household and in heterosexual relationships (Mathews et al., 2015).

O'Dea and colleagues (2022) propose a biopsychosocial model when examining aggressive retaliation. This model has five risk factors for aggressive enactments by men. The first factor is 'provocation'(p. 161): when men are provoked there is an increased chance that they will view aggressive behaviour as appropriate. The second factor is 'perceived behavioural expectations' (p. 161): these are the prescribed masculine expectations for behaviour as perceived by the individual. The third factor is the 'behavioural capacity' (p. 161): those with increased resources to act out aggression may perform more extreme acts of aggression. The resources may include body size, firearms, and motivation. These first three factors are embedded within the culture of masculinity and the performance of masculinity. The fourth factor is 'biological preparation' (p. 161): this is the way people biologically respond to perceived threats; the fight or flight response. Finally, the fifth factor is 'bypass suppression'(p. 161): this is the way society may discourage strategies for combatting aggressive behaviours. Clay (2012) explained that the aggressive behaviour observed in men was a result of masculinity ideals that promote emotional inexpressiveness in men. This also results in men avoiding seeking mental health care (De Boise & Hearn, 2017) Therefore, masculine ideals may hinder interventions for combatting aggressive behaviours (O'Dea et al., 2022).

The relation between masculinity and violence does not withstand the multiplicity of masculinity, and this is illustrated in racialised masculinities (Ferber, 2007; Langa et al., 2020; Smiley & Fakunle, 2016). Within the South African context, the tensions of race also infiltrate masculinity, forming the idea of racialised masculinities following the legacy of apartheid in the positioning of Black men as 'criminals' and White men as 'protectors' (Langa et al., 2020). Ferber (2007) observes a similar trend in America where Black men are associated with violence, aggression, hypersexuality and criminal activity. All these discourses position the Black man as a threat to White people and society at large. This author makes an example of the narrative being perpetuated by institutions such as the media, which will excessively report Black athletes' sexual assaults more than those of White coaches and players. Contrary to Black masculinity, White masculinity is constructed as a protection: "The White man as the hero of civilisation, his notion of manhood above all gave him agency, agency in a war and in peace" (Marks, 2001, p. 202). What is interesting to note is the difference between Black masculinity and White masculinity in relation to violence, where the White man protects, and the Black man is an aggressor.

An additional ongoing discourse is the victim position White men take in the face of violence when perpetrated by a Black man. This further perpetuates the idea of Black men being uncontrollably violent, but is also used as a tool to justify the violence against Black men (Smiley & Fakunle, 2016). This is emulated in the Oscar Pistorius case where his case was based on presenting himself as weak in order to justify him firing his gun at an "intruder" who was implied to be Black (Langa et al., 2020). This similar victim position is seen with headlines of "White genocide in South Africa" for the reporting of the killings of White farmers, who are allegedly killed by "Black people who want land reform". The reports state an annual average of 72 killed farmers, of which Black farmers also form part of that number. This is insignificant to South Africa where 50 people are killed daily (Ward, 2018). This illustrates the unrealistic nature of the headlines; however, due to the discourse of White versus Black masculinity, such headlines are accepted and believed globally. The present study examined these tenets of masculinity and the extent to which the participants orientated to them in the road setting.

Car Culture

Cars are more than a mode of transportation, they are social objects too (Alam, 2020). They hold important symbolic meaning and elicit affect responses from owners, drivers, and those observing others drive (Alam, 2020; Zhao & Zhao, 2020). Similar to other

commodities, the way in which cars are used varies. For example, they can be used as tools for communicating and performing identities (Dant, 2004). Cars have affective value for their owners and drivers and, additionally, they have a unique relationship linking them to humans (Alam, 2020; Dant, 2004; Sheller, 2004; Urry, 2006). Cars represent freedom, independence, status, creativity, and group membership (Alam, 2020; Zhao & Zhao, 2020). Psychosocial factors are a significant influence on car ownership intentions due to the status and independence they provide (Luke, 2018). Some individuals even report temporary changes in their sense of self when in a car and explain that the car evokes a sense of power and control (Alam, 2020). The car shapes the way in which the user experiences the world through the five senses as well as proprioception and interoception. This influences the feelings of the user as they move in the machine (Sheller, 2004). The physical design of the car is a co-agent with the driver. It has an affective influence and can make the driver feel 'god-like' (Balkmar & Genus, 2007). The car is both powerful and also feeds into anxieties such as the fear of death and frustrations with traffic (Urry, 2006). Cars, therefore, elicit an array of emotions for different drivers in different contexts. Such emotions linked to the experience of a car may also have an impact on the way individuals understand their own identity. This speaks to the relationship between the car and human, which is associated with affect (Sheller, 2004; Urry, 2006). Zhao and Zhao (2014) propose the term "car pride", which they define as the cognitive evaluation of, and emotional response to, the positive self-representation elicited by the ideation of owning a car or using a car. Individuals use such car-related beliefs to evaluate the extent to which car use or car ownership has a positive impact on one's self-concept. Relatedly, Sheller (2004) links cars to humans and argues that cars are a part of the ego formation of the owner or the driver, which materialises personality. This positions the car as an extension of the driver and owner and presents the person as competent, powerful, and sexually desirable. This explains the different ways in which cars are used by different individuals as well as the changes in self-evaluation when driving certain cars. The formation of these car-related beliefs occurs over time based on knowledge and experiences related to cars. These beliefs become the medium used by drivers to understand their psychological experiences, which also influences their perception of their experiences relating to cars (Zhao & Zhao, 2014).

Luke (2018) found that in South Africa there is a high valuation of cars, and most people viewed cars as a necessity. Some of the significant influences of car ownership intentions include the inadequate provision of public transport and the limited travel options of public transport (Luke, 2018). These findings are congruent with the aspect that cars

represent freedom as their core feature is the improvement of movement (Alam, 2020). Further, private cars remove individuals from public spaces such as buses, taxis or sidewalks. This may provide a sense of safety for vulnerable individuals such as the elderly, children, females, and those vulnerable to racial or gendered attacks (Urry, 2006). Cars have been integrated into the affective networks and social lives of users. This creates a relationship between the car, the self, and interpersonal relationships one may have (Sheller, 2004). This is exemplified in the way some families experience the journey of a car ride as quality time. Thus, cars also allow for different ways of connecting with loved ones (Sheller, 2004).

Car culture is gendered in that it is associated with masculinity (Zavala, 2020) as it expresses and produces domination on the road (Dawson et al., 2020; Graham & White, 2007; Walker et al., 2000). It is a performance of gender codes on the road and an enactment of the expectations socially assigned to a certain sex (Blackstone, 2003; Connell, 2005). From a young age, boys are socialised into admiring cars, which is propagated in the media (Zavala, 2020) and encouraged by men in their environment (Walker et al., 2000). Car culture can be understood from three domains of life identified by Graham and White (2007). The first is the social domain. This domain gives young men a sense of independence, provides a group for belonging, and instils a sense of self-worth and dignity (Walker et al., 2000). Secondly, there is the cultural domain, which feeds into the contemporary culture norm of speed and an addiction to speed. Dangerous driving is a way of producing masculinity in relation to the gaze of other drivers, passengers, and pedestrian (Balkmar & Genus, 2007). The last domain is the car-modification domain, which is an extension of the technological world and the desire for the ‘latest’ or ‘best’. This plays into class hierarchies and social status. This exemplifies the attention-seeking nature of car culture, which extends to the attraction of women. These characteristics of car culture assimilate with those of masculine culture, illustrating the links between the two constructs.

Dawson and colleagues (2020) propose an application of ethnicity to understand the conflict that exists on the road. This postulates that certain groups on the road are formed as identifying groups (car, buses, bikes, etc), which are the road ethnicities. The relation between the groups has the tensions of a ‘norm’ and an ‘other’, which in the context of the road, cars are the norm. This then forms a hierarchy that causes tension between the road users. This is useful in conceptualising the group relation of car owners in relation to other users of the road (pedestrians, buses, bikers, etc). Car ethnicities imply that car users have limited face-to-face interaction with other users of the road, which anonymises the person behind the machines (Urry, 2006). The critique of this theory is that it ignores the human

identities and their relations on the road. This research rather proposes the acknowledgment of the existence of the 'road ethnicities' as well as social identities of the individuals in order to understand conflict on the road. The aim of the present study was to understand how car culture and masculinity impacted men's understandings of road rage.

The Road

The road is a site of interest to social scientists in understanding the significance it holds in society. The concepts of places and non-places have been used to understand the way in which people relate to the road and the interactions that occur on this site. Marc Augé (1995) proposes the term non-place be used to categorise the road. Places are sites that hold meaning and a sense of attachment to them (Cresswell, 2009). These are locations concerned with identity as they are a point of identification for citizens, they are filled with memories and have historical value, and they are relational. Drawing from this definition of a place, Augé (1995) postulates that due to the shift to super modernity, non-places are created, which is a concept that is opposite to a place. Examples of non-places are roads, railways, airports, and supermarkets. These locations dispossess meaning to their user outside of their functional value. These are spaces that hold no identification or citizenship (Augé, 1995), thus they can be understood as not belonging to anyone. This is supported by the idea that in these spaces, one loses one's individual identities and rather holds a collective identity as a passenger, customer, driver, etc. (Augé, 2009). Merriman (2004) criticises arguments that roads are homogenous, arguing that the theory of non-places fails to recognise the enactment of social and cultural relations on the road. The road contains diverse ways in which people relate to the space as well as unique relations between drivers, machines, and landscapes (Merriman, 2004). One commonly overlooked point that Augé (1995) makes is that non-places do not exist in pure form in that non-places are both subjective and object. However, he does not give an account of the co-production of a place and a non-place (Merriman, 2004). Trigg (2017) argues that Augé does not place enough attention on the subjective experiences which may provide placeness for different individuals. The conclusion of this argument is that places cannot be predetermined in the way it might be suggested. This is useful to think about when taking into account the experiences of those who work on the road, and how they might experience the road. Ncube (2019) found that for taxi drivers, the road was a place of attachment as it represented a source of income for them. This made the road comparable to an office space for them. The conversations about the placeness of the road is one that can be understood as reflecting the reality of the diverse relations people have with the road and

their understanding of the ownership of the road. This subjective experience of the road impacts behaviour on the road and the way in which road users interact with one another. The perceptions of who owns the road has been found as a contributing factor to tensions on the road (Dawson et al., 2020). Further, tensions between taxi drivers and other road users could be attributed to the different ways each group relates to the road, thus being governed by different rules (Ncube, 2019). Therefore, exploring the relationship road users have with the road and their understanding of road ownership is important for understanding some of the social factors influencing road rage.

Road Rage

Early writers on road rage have defined the phenomenon as the use of one's car to act out aggressive behaviour, contributing to violence on the road as a manner of expressing aggression (Whitlock, 1971, Bennett 1965, & Raphael 1967 as cited in Brewer, 2000). Shinar (1998) proposes a definition that is based on the frustration-aggression model, where aggression is a behaviour directed at a person with the goal of causing harm to the other person. This response is always a result of frustration experienced by the perpetrator. The author's definition further categorises the behaviours into two forms: hostile and instrumental. Instrumental behaviours are those the perpetrator perceives to solve the problem causing the frustration, which may be weaving through traffic or driving at high speeds amongst other behaviours. The hostile behaviours are those that express frustration, which could make an individual feel better, but do not solve the problem. These behaviours are driven by the intention to cause harm to the stimuli (the person who caused the frustration). Examples of these behaviours are hooting, threatening, or intimidating the other person, shouting, and using obscene gestures. Many other authors have proposed similar definitions that may vary slightly to encompass the definition of road rage. Sukhai (2003) offers a spectrum of the different levels of road rage. Level one is a mild verbal expression of frustration in a way that does not threaten the other person, such as complaining and shouting. Level two is the verbal or other forms of expression of frustration directed at the other person, which includes swearing at the person, making certain gestures, and hooting excessively. The third level is behaving in a manner that threatens or intimidates the other person. This may include brake checks (suddenly braking with the intention to shock the driver behind, which often leads to collisions), trying to cut the other person's car off on the road, tailgating (driving closely behind another vehicle), and chasing another driver. The fourth level is behaviour that directly confronts the other person such as arguing or assaulting

the other person. These definitions indicate the wide range of what is considered road rage and the different forms of expression. This research will focus specifically on incidents presenting hostile behaviours (Shinar, 1998) or levels two to four of the road rage spectrum (Sukhai, 2003), where the harm to the other person, whether psychological or physical, is intended by the aggressor. This will be informed by overt behaviour directed at a victim to express the frustration of the perpetrator.

Road Rage Studies

Road rage has been characterised as a global issue. The United Kingdom (UK) has the highest number of incidents, where 76% of motorists have experienced incidents of road rage (Geldenhuys, 2018). France takes the second position with 73% of motorists reporting experiences of road rage (Geldenhuys, 2018). In a study of Durban motorists, it was reported that mostly young motorists aged 18 to 25 reported being frequently aggressive on the road. This study found that men were frequently engaging in more extreme forms of aggression on the road (Sukhai, 2003). These findings are congruent with studies in Canada, where young men were the largest perpetrators of road rage (Sansone & Sansone, 2010). Further, the studies found a range of 30% to 32% of the participants reporting instances of being a perpetrator (Sansone & Sansone, 2010). This is lower than the 45% rate of offenders in the South African context (Sukhai, 2003). What is also interesting to note is that 95% of the participants reported being victims of road rage (Sukhai, 2003). In Cape Town, Johannesburg, and Pretoria, 51% of motorists were reported as victims of road rage (Geldenhuys, 2018). This highlights the high prevalence of road rage in a South African context; however, the discrepancy between the perpetrator and victim percentages may also be caused by a possible lack of honest disclosure by perpetrators due to the undesirable nature of this behaviour (Sukhai, 2003). This was important to note for the present study. The statics across countries has presented similar results in that young men are the most frequently involved in road aggression as perpetrators. This is the same group that was found to be most vulnerable to road fatalities.

A significant amount of psychological research in relation to road rage has used an individualistic method to understanding aggressive drivers (Butters et al., 2005; Fong et al., 2001; Sansone & Sansone, 2010). This kind of research focuses on road rage as a psychiatric phenomenon, providing evidence of associations between road rage and psychiatric morbidity (Fong et al., 2001). Some studies have linked road rage with substance abuse, where perpetrators of extreme road rage have a high prevalence of drug and/or alcohol

misuse (Butters et al., 2005). This aligns with studies of violence that understand the influence of alcohol and drugs as a risk for violence (Whitehead et al., 2018), and as a cause of extremely aggressive responses (Graham & White, 2007). Other studies have found an association between borderline personality disorder and road rage, where those who are frequently aggressive on the road are found to have borderline personality disorder more than those who do not have road rage (Sansone & Sansone, 2010). These studies provide important information about the intrapsychic world of frequent road rage perpetrators.

Other studies have found that contextual issues and driving conditions influence road rage. Conditions noted to have a high prevalence of road rage incidents include congestion on the road, road blacks, illegal parking on the roadside, and traffic lights that are not synchronised (Geldenhuys, 2018). These studies still fail to account for the discrepancy in men's and women's statistics of road fatalities and road rage. There needs to be an account for the disproportionality of statistics that does not reduce these statistics as ‘natural’ or purely attitude driven (Graham & White, 2007; Walker et al., 2000). Similarly, Bowman et al. (2015) criticise violence literature for adopting a medical model to explain violence, which only accounts for demographic disproportionality as ‘risk factors’ and does not account for the social complexities of these factors and their relation to violence. Therefore, it is proposed that adopting a socio-cultural lens to understand violence allows for studying the relationship of the social world and violence where the individual is prioritised (Whitehead et al., 2018). This approach places violent events as the units of study and examines the enactment of violence as it is influenced by the identified ‘risk factors’ (Bowman et al., 2015, p. 20). The premise of this approach is that social identities (age, sex, gender, race, etc) are used as resources for the interpretation and production of actions (Whitehead et al., 2018). This approach will be used to understand road rage, specifically looking at car culture and masculinity as the central factors influencing men’s formation of their perceptions of road rage. Due to road rage being violence that occurs particularly in the context of the road, understanding the social relations of the road is important in contextualising this particular form of violence.

Theoretical Framework: Socio-Cultural Approach

The socio-cultural approach is a framework that was originally proposed by Vygotsky in 1979. This theory postulates that culture is central for the mediation of the psychological experience of an individual (Chen & Miller, 2004). This links an individual’s mental functioning to the cultural, historical, and institutional context (Scott & Palincsar, 2013).

Consequently, social cognition is acquired and developed through social learning (Huesmann, 2018). This theory emphasises the learning of psychological tools (concepts, language, symbols, ideologies, and signs). These tools are then internalised and a mastery of these tools is reached. It is these tools that become the medium for psychological experience (Chen & Miller, 2004). This can only be achieved through the interaction of individuals with society, resulting in guided participation. Through participation, the individual practices and legitimises the tools (Scott & Palincsar, 2013), known as the process of socialisation. This concept is applicable to explain violence and car culture as it relates to masculine culture.

Violence is explained as a phenomenon that is lawfully unjust, yet socially promoted through cultural norms, beliefs, and values (Heilman & Barker, 2018; WHO, 2009). These norms can be explained as patriarchal values, which places men as superior to women and children (WHO, 2009). These values are communicated through socialisation agents such as institutions, schools (Connell, 2005), the media (Johnson et al., 2002), and the home environment (Sellers et al., 2005). The normalisation and desirability of violence is specifically gendered and associated with masculine norms (Heilman & Barker, 2018). The values, beliefs, and norms of masculine culture are the psychological tools that are internalised by individuals. Masculinity is a mediated action. This approach to exploring masculine identity formation emphasises what men do with the cultural tools and resources of masculinity (Tappan, 2009). The social learning framework explains that the socialisation process in modern society is one that still promotes the dominance of masculine identities. This dominance can be expressed through violence. This offers an explanation for the high prevalence of male-perpetrated violence (Heilman & Barker, 2018).

Similar trends are observed on the road where men are the largest perpetrators of road rage (Sansone & Sansone, 2010; Sukhai, 2003). Domination on the road can also be expressed in car-related activities, such as aggressive driving, which is also associated with men (Graham & White, 2007; Walker et al., 2000). Masculinity is about convincing others about the individual's identity. The fragility of identity means that this identity has to continually be performed in different contexts for different audiences to ensure its certainty (Tappan, 2009). Therefore, the road setting is a space whereby masculinity, as a psychological tool, influences the psychological experience of drivers on the road. Car culture and violence are the identified expressions of the experiences informed by masculine culture and are central to understanding road rage. Therefore, road rage can be conceptualised as the intersection of two forms of masculine expressions: car culture and violence.

Conclusion

Masculinity as a social construct influences the behaviours of men as this identity relies on performance and the expectations of the audience. Masculinity makes use of available resources across settings in order to participate in social practices that make them receive deference from others. The road is a site of interest for studying masculinity in that cars are socially associated with men and masculine culture. Therefore, car culture is a performance of masculinity within the road setting. The overlap of car culture and masculinity can be a key element in understanding the socio-cultural influences of road rage. This brings together approaches to violence and road safety. Current road safety literature that focuses on psychological pathology to explain road rage fails to address the uneven distribution in road accidents and road rage culprits. Similarly, the healthcare model of violence treats risk factors as predispositions outside of the social context. Examining the psychological experience of road users in relation to their social identity of masculinity as an influencing factor of their psychological experience on the road can provide invaluable information about the underpinnings of road rage.

Chapter Three: Research Design and Methods

Introduction

This study investigated men's perspectives and the meaning they attribute to aggressive interactions on the road. In order to do so, a qualitative approach was utilised. This chapter details the interpretivist methods of analysis that were adopted for the study. It provides a description of the sample and explains the rationale for choosing this particular sample. The data collection methods and procedures are outlined. The method used for data analysis is Braun and Clarke's (2012) thematic analysis and further details on the tools used for the process of data collection are stipulated in the data analysis section. In the reflexivity section, the dynamics created by the position of the researcher in relation to the sample and the research are explored and reflected on. Lastly, the chapter outlines how ethical issues were considered in the study and how they were managed.

Research Design

A qualitative methodology was adopted. This methodology is concerned with finding meanings attributed to events and it aims to understand the subjective experiences of participants (Alharahasheh, 2020; Willig, 2008). This, therefore, acknowledges the existence of multiple perceptions of a universal reality and understands the process of inquiry as requiring the researcher to understand the phenomenon in the way the participant experiences and perceives it (Creswell & Cheryl, 2016). Further, the study was embedded within an interpretivist paradigm, which assumes that knowledge and the person are inseparable, therefore reality, and the interpretation thereof, can only be understood through the meaning attributed to it by the participants (Creswell & Cheryl, 2016). This perspective also allows the researcher to consider behavioural aspects to provide insight into the participants' reality (Alharahasheh, 2020). This entailed exploring and analysing the participants' behaviour during incidents of road rage as well as their reflections on these behaviours. These assumptions were congruent with the nature of the present research as each participant was understood to have different experiences, values, and knowledge, which influenced the difference in their perceptions (Katz, 1960), specifically those of the road and consequently of road violence. Therefore, this approach allowed for the study of the perceptions of men regarding road violence. The data from research of this nature was subject specific and offered an in-depth understanding of the interpretations the participants offered (Alharahasheh, 2020), which aligned with the aims of this research.

Participants

This study comprised nine participants. This was an appropriate number for this particular study as the aim of the study was to understand the subjective perceptions of the participants (Alharahasheh, 2020). The participants were men who were aged 35 and younger. The particular interest in this population was motivated by young men being the group who most frequently engage in road rage compared to other populations (Sansone & Sansone, 2010). This is also an age that is associated with risky behaviour (Cordellieri et al., 2016), which may be expressed on the road. Other genders were excluded from this study as the study focused on men's perceptions and the meanings they formulated about manhood and car culture on the road. In order for the participants to participate in this study they were required to be drivers who have held a South African driver's license for a minimum of five years. This criterion was to ensure that the participants had sufficient exposure to the road, and they were familiar with the dynamics experienced on the road. This also allowed drivers to observe behaviour on the road under different conditions over a longer period of time. The conditions referred to may include driving in traffic, road constructions, road accident scenes, roadblocks, and other road experiences. The participants needed to be regular drivers, which was defined as spending a minimum of three days a week on the road. This would mean the drivers are actively involved in and observe the conditions of the road. These two specifications were based on finding that driving experience and driving conditions playing a role in road rage (Brewer, 2000). Drivers with less than five years of driving experience on the road and those who spent less than three days on the road were excluded due to their limited participation in driving and limited contact with road phenomena.

Sampling

The sampling techniques that were used included a combination of purposive sampling and snowball sampling. Snowball sampling makes use of the interconnectedness of individuals with similar profiles, therefore relying on the referral of participants to find other participants (Neuman, 2014). This method often requires less time to build trust with the participant (Gill, 2020), as the participants are less likely to be reluctant to participate because they are referred by a person they know. The sample was obtained through key informants to whom the researcher had access. Two of the participants were referred by an informant who occasionally attended car-related events such as car shows, car festivals, and car drifting events. Two participants were referred by a researcher who had first-hand experience of road rage as a passenger of the drivers. These participants referred one participant each, who met

the criteria for participation. One participant was referred by a student who was exposed to a culture of men who appraised car modification. Finally, two participants approached the researcher after receiving information about the research through spoken communication. A disadvantage to snowball sampling is the likelihood of homogeneity in the sample, resulting in a lack of varied insight. Making use of multiple informants, as well as adopting a purposive sampling technique, helped mitigate this issue. Purposive sampling is a technique where the researcher uses their discretion to select a sample with specific characteristics for a specific purpose (Neuman, 2014). For this study, the purpose was to achieve maximum variation in the characteristics of the participants. Maximum variation sampling collects data from a diverse group of participants in order to gather a wide range of perspectives (Bobbitt, 2020). Therefore, the sample varied in race as two of the participants were Indian, four were White, and three were Black. The age ranges also varied. The demographics of the sample are presented in Table 1.

Table 1

Demographics

Participant	Race	Age
Themba	Black	27
James	White	32
John	White	28
Tom	White	30
Simon	Indian	25
Nick	Indian	23
Peter	White	28
Thabiso	Black	34
Mandla	Black	27

Note. Participant names are pseudonyms.

Data Collection

The data was collected using nine semi-structured interviews, which were structured around vignettes. Vignettes are a use of specific stimuli that participants are requested to respond to. This may take the form of images, texts, and recorded content (Hughes & Huby, 2002). For this research, the vignettes were in the form of three videos. The videos were sourced and downloaded from YouTube. The social-cultural framework is focused on

understanding the influence culture has on interactions (Scott & Palincsar, 2013). However, for this study, this approach was adopted to understand the perceptions the participants had about the vignettes. This is based on the premise that these interactions are influenced by the beliefs and values the individual holds. Therefore, using the socio-cultural approach sheds light on the cultural factors that shape incidents of road rage. The choice of vignettes was motivated by the externalisation of the phenomena being studied, allowing for the exploration of the topic of masculinity in a less threatening manner. Further, this was used as a tool to elicit the beliefs, values, and cultural norms of the participants (Barter & Renold, 1999). The use of vignettes came with the challenge of the lack of understanding of the relationship of the real world and the hypothetical scenario the vignettes offered, which leads to the questioning of a possible difference in perspectives in these two settings (Barter & Renold, 1999). However, this did not pose a threat to the present research. This was due to the vignettes containing real-life occurrences that were caught on camera and were context and content specific. This made the researcher recognise the meaning generated from these externalised scenarios as the means of understanding how the participants made sense of the road. The vignettes were used during the interview to allow for the exploration of the participants' experiences of the videos in their own words (Willig, 2008). Due to the research being particularly interested in the insight of the participants and the way in which they make sense of the presented videos, this method of data collection was best suited to answer the research questions.

Overview of the Vignettes

Video one (https://youtu.be/B9mMfXffvyE; 0:30–01:30) was taken from the head camera of a motorcyclist. The motorcyclist approached a red light and then attempted to move toward the front of the traffic line. The car that was at the front of the traffic light stopped this from happening by moving forward. The motorcyclist confronted the driver by asking what he was doing, as this was a red light. The driver in the car rolled down his window and questioned the motorcyclist regarding his action. The car had two passengers who also became involved in the aggressive altercation. The motorcyclist commented on the driver's car being ugly and proceeded to question whether the passenger in the backseat had a car.

Video two (https://youtu.be/URDMKBThoXY) is taken from a dashboard camera in a car. The scene began at a red light with a taxi in the right-hand lane next to the car. When the traffic light turned green, the car accelerated faster than the taxi, effectively blocking the taxi

from going into the lane the car was in. Later, the taxi driver drove in front of the car and stopped in front of the car. The taxi driver exited the car and confronted the man in the car and asked what he was doing. The man in the car responded by asking the taxi driver what he was doing and then called the taxi driver a criminal. The driver of the car explained to a child in the car that the taxi driver was a lawbreaker. The taxi driver again drove in front of the car and stopped his taxi in front of the car. The car driver left the scene by using the left-hand lane and the taxi driver hit the car with his hands as it drove off.

Video three (https://youtu.be/AZbrzaJkep8; 07:30–08:18) was taken from a motorcyclist's head camera. The motorcyclist was traveling on the highway in the far-right lane. The motorcyclist indicated that he saw a bus driving behind him. The bus moved to the lane on the left and then tried to overtake the motorcyclist. The bus driver moved into the right lane prematurely and the motorcyclist was moved off the road. The bus driver continued moving towards the right and eventually wedged the motorcyclist against the wall of the highway. The bus driver then exited the bus and confronted the motorcyclist by asking what his problem was. The motorcyclist told the bus driver to look at the camera. They proceeded to argue with one another about the incident.

Data Collection Procedure

The data was collected using both in-person interviews and online interviews. Four of the interviews were conducted in-person at the University of the Witwatersrand East Campus in a consulting room in the Umthombo building. The rooms allowed for the privacy of the participants and audibility was not compromised. Five of the interviews were conducted online using Microsoft Teams and Zoom. For both forms of interviews, the participants were provided with an information sheet (see Appendix A) prior to the interview, which explained the research, the purpose of the research, and how the data would be collected and reported. At the beginning of the interviews, the researcher explained the information written on the information sheet, which stipulated what participation entailed. The information sheet detailed that participation was voluntary, that the interview would last between 60 to 90 minutes, and that their data would be reported in a research report anonymously using pseudonyms. The information sheet also had the researcher’s contact details should the participant want to know the outcomes of the research. Additionally, it had contact details of the various institutions providing counselling that they could contact should they need counselling.

Following reading the information sheet and before the interviews began, the participants were asked to fill out a consent form for participation in the research as well as for the audio recording of the interview (see Appendix B). For the in-person interviews, the participants were shown videos from a tablet and then asked questions related to each video. After watching the videos, the participants were asked questions that elicited their perceptions of the interactions shown in the videos. The participants were also asked more generalised questions on their perceptions of road rage that were not related to the videos and perceptions of road rage that they might have experienced or witnessed, as shown in the interview schedule (see Appendix C).

For the online interviews, the consent form was emailed to the participants, and they were asked to email it back prior to the interview. The interview was audio recorded from a phone using the 'Voice Recorder' app as well as the recording function on the Zoom and Microsoft Teams apps. The sharing screen function was used to show the participants the videos. After watching the videos, the participants were asked the same questions used for the in-person interviews as noted above. Once the individual interviews were complete, the participant was thanked for their participation. The recording of the interview was then transcribed.

Data Analysis

Thematic analysis was used to analyse the data. Thematic analysis is a method where the researcher systematically arranges the data to provide insight into the patterns of meaning that they construct based on the data (Braun & Clarke, 2012). The analysis followed a deductive approach where the themes were found based on their relevance to the framework of the research (Terry et al., 2017). However, the researcher applied flexibility in coding the data, which promoted the development of empirical knowledge. This allowed for the reporting of themes that could not be explained by existing theory or literature. This process followed the six phases of a thematic analysis as stipulated by Braun and Clarke (2012). This approach offers a rigorous process for analysing data thematically. Additionally, it is accessible in its application due to it offering well-stipulated steps for the process (Braun & Clarke, 2012). Further, this approach is understood as reflexive thematic analysis due to its emphasis on the active role the research plays in the generation of themes and codes, therefore, acknowledging the inevitable subjectivity in data analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2022).

Phase one of the thematic analysis is the stage where the researcher familiarised themselves with the data. This was done through the process of transcribing the data,

rereading the data, and listening to the interview recordings (Braun & Clarke, 2012). This promoted an in-depth engagement with data and required the researcher to actively listen and read the data, make notes, and begin developing the patterns of the data. This increased curiosity about the data and led to asking questions about the data, which probed beyond the surface of the transcribed text (Terry et al., 2017).

Once the researcher was comfortable with their knowledge of the data, the second phase, which is the generation of codes, began. This was the process of the identification of specific features in the data and the providing of meaningful labels for these features (Terry et al., 2017). This can be understood as providing a summary or descriptions for a section of the data that were relevant for the research question. These can be for both the explicit (words or content) or the implicit (interpretation of the word or content) features of the data set (Braun & Clarke, 2012). A good quality of coding required a dual process of in-depth engagement with the data and distancing, which allowed for the necessary time and space for reflection and insight (Braun & Clarke, 2022). For the current research, the process of coding and constructing themes was completed manually on Microsoft Word.

Phase three commenced once the data was fully coded, and this phase is where the researcher searched for themes. Braun and Clarke (2012) explain this process as one that engages with the researcher as the process of developing themes is not independent of the researcher or objective. The research questions shaped what was relevant to this process. The codes were clustered and organised into themes and subthemes, which captured the codes into meaningful patterns (Terry et al., 2017). Braun and Clarke (2012) encourage the use of visual maps to present the theme and subthemes as well as their connectedness. These were made on Microsoft Word (see the discussion section for the thematic map).

Phase four is the stage of reviewing and defining the themes. This process ensured that the themes were congruent with the coded data and the research questions. Should this have not been the case, then these required an adjustment to reach this congruence (Terry et al., 2017). To do this, the researcher first needed to check whether the themes were relevant to the data and if they represented the data. This was done by rereading the transcripts and ensuring the themes matched the raw data (Terry et al., 2017). The second part of this phase was ensuring the themes captured the whole data set in a meaningful manner relating to the research questions (Braun & Clarke, 2012).

Phase five consists of naming and defining the themes. For a good quality thematic analysis, the themes required a single focus and they had to be connected without overlapping while also addressing each of the research questions (Braun & Clarke, 2012). The definition

of the themes provides a summary of the meaning of the themes and the central ideas of the themes (Terry et al., 2017). The themes that were identified in this study were related to masculinity and car culture. There was also an additional theme of 'power' that was developed as the fundamental characteristic of both masculinity and car culture.

Finally, the researcher produced a report of the data. This required the telling of the story of the data but also the connection to the scholarly work on the specific topic (Braun & Clarke, 2012). Therefore, for this study, the report spoke to road rage and how the participants saw and understood it through the lenses of car culture and masculinity.

Self-Reflexivity

Reflexivity is the understanding that the researcher is not a blank slate because they play an important role in the creation of knowledge. This required the researcher to be constantly aware of their contextual self (sex, age, race, culture, etc), acknowledge the impacts of their position, and monitor the impacts of their beliefs on the research experience (Dodgson, 2019). The researcher was an outsider to the participants as she is a woman and the participants were men. As a Black person, the researcher further experienced a difference in positions with participants of other races. There are power relations that had to be observed and navigated at all times during the interviews. Further, given the sensitivity of the topic of masculinity, especially in the context of violence and the socio-political environment that associates masculinity with negativity (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005), the researcher anticipated possible discomfort from the participants to honestly disclose their perceptions, as speculated in another road rage study (Sukhai, 2003). To mitigate this issue, efforts were made to gain the participants' trust and create a safe, non-judgmental environment for the participants. The vignettes also mitigated this issue, as they allowed for the externalisation of masculinity and were used as an ice-breaker for the interviews (Barter & Renold, 1999; Hughes & Huby, 2002). As anticipated, some participants displayed having some challenges and discomfort with engaging with the topic of masculinity. During the interviews, some participants would show reservations about answering authentically and they provided answers that were politically correct. James diverted from the influence masculinity had on road rage and questioned whether other individualistic factors were considered. This illustrated a displeasure with the topic of study. It was also noted that some participants may have initially tried to distance themselves from the association of masculinity and aggression, however, later may have felt more comfort to even engage with moments where they may have responded with hostility to other road users. This dynamic was constantly observed by

the researcher. In order to manage the discomfort shown by the participants, the researcher would engage with the participants' responses in a way that was non-judgmental and focused on understanding the perception of the participant.

During the study, the dynamics of gender were assessed by the researcher. It was important to keep in mind the discourses that exist around masculinity such as traditional masculinity, toxic masculinity, new masculinities, and intersectional masculinities, which influence the views of the researcher as well. These discourses may influence the researcher to try fit the answers of the participants into existing theoretical views. It was important for the researcher to keep an open mind in receiving the responses of the participants and reflecting on the responses of the participants in order to ensure they were understood in the way the participants had intended to relay them. For example, the researcher was cautious of taking the participants' answers at face value and often asked the participants to elaborate and explain their answers to gain a deeper understanding of their perceptions. This also required the researcher to reflect on the participant's responses during the interview, to ensure that the participant was understood in a way that aligned with them.

For the research content, the way the researcher may have understood the content could have been impacted by the researcher's biases and beliefs. Therefore, extra caution had to be taken to ensure the content represents the participants' intended presentation. A research journal was used to minimise bias in the interpretation of the data. The researcher also had preconceived ideas about the videos chosen as part of the data collection process. This required the researcher to make efforts to refrain from the desire to elicit perceptions that were similar to theirs and allowed the participants' perceptions to be heard. Efforts towards achieving this were made with the use of open-ended questions in the interview. To minimise the researcher's bias during the data analysis phase, the process was closely supervised. The analysis of the data was also grounded in existing literature to identify other sources that supported the findings. The findings were also reviewed by peers in order to identify blind spots and gaps in the interpretations.

Ethical Considerations

The study obtained ethical clearance from the Non-medical Human Research Ethics Committee of the University of the Witwatersrand, protocol number MCLIN/22/01 (see Appendix D). As part of the data collection procedure, the participants were asked to sign a form to consent to the participation in the research and to consent to the recording of the interview. The participants were informed about the nature of the study and how their data

would be used in the research. Further, the participants were informed about their right to withdraw from the study at any point without any consequences. The study was classified as low risk and was not anticipated to cause any harm to the participants during or after the interview.

The interaction the researcher had with the participants during the interview resulted in no anonymity between the researcher and the participants. However, confidentiality and anonymity in reporting was kept. To ensure this, the data was transcribed and reported anonymously using pseudonyms. The consent forms with the participants' details were stored as electronic files with password access enabled and the hard copies were destroyed. The recordings of the interviews were kept in electronic files that require password access, which only the researcher and the supervisor have access to. These recordings and transcripts were archived on the OneDrive cloud service for future research use.

The participants were given the contact details of the researcher and her supervisor in the information sheet they were provided before the interview. This was for the participants to be able to request the results of the research. Should this request be made, the participants will be provided with a summary of the results. They may also access the research report from the Wits University library portal two years after the interviews were conducted. This study was categorised as a low-risk study, however, given the possible sensitive nature of the topic of violence based on experiences, the participants were provided with the contact details of South African Depression and Anxiety Group (SADAG) and LifeLine in the information sheet. This was to make the participants aware of counselling services available, should the need arise during or after the interview.

Conclusion

This chapter detailed various aspects of the methodological choices made to achieve the aims of the study. The interpretivist paradigm was adopted due to its assumption that knowledge is reliant on the participants and cannot be separated from the individual. This aligned with the aim of the study to understand men’s perceptions of road rage. Further, this paradigm allowed for insight into the reality of men’s experience on the road. The sample comprised males under the age of 35 who have had a driver's licence for five years. The data was collected using nine in-depth interviews. The data was analysed using the six phases of a thematic analysis stipulated by Braun and Clarke (2012). Based on the researcher being an outsider to the participants, certain dynamics required reflection. This required constant reflection during the whole process, from conceptualisation to the write up of the final report.

Finally, ethical considerations were made to ensure the research process did not harm the participants. Participation was voluntary. The procedures and tools mentioned above were the most appropriate for executing the aim to understand how masculinity and car culture influenced men's experiences on the road. This yielded results that were an accurate representation of the participants' realities on the road. The following chapter details the results based on the methods detailed in this chapter.

Chapter Four: Results and Discussion

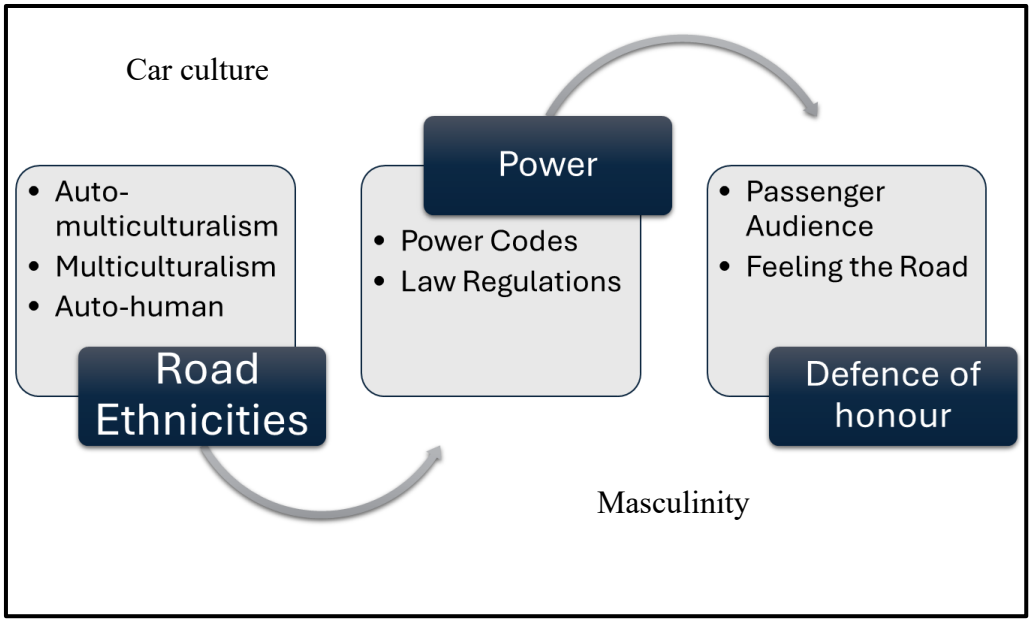
Introduction

This study has found that the road is not only a (non)place of travelling, but also a site where human interactions occur, which are influenced by socio-cultural dynamics. The fundamental aspects of social grouping are present inter-vehicularly and intra-vehicularly, creating groups amongst road users based on the vehicles they use. This also produces vehicle hierarchies and tensions. The analysis also found that car culture and masculinity have specific codes and symbols of communication that shape the way in which male drivers perceive interactions thus influencing their responses to incidents of road rage. Both the social order of the road and the communication occurring on the road can be understood from the perspective of domination and power, which are the tenants of masculinity. Therefore, the road is a site where men express or reclaim their power by expressing and recreating their masculine identities.

Masculinity and car culture are the two main themes underlying all the themes of the analysis. The organisation of the themes and the relationship between the themes of the analysis reflects the association found between masculinity and car culture. Both these constructs have a fundamental feature: the pursuit and display of power. Masculinity is the social-relational dynamic across social spaces and times, characterised by the domination of the male gender and the subordination of other genders (Connell, 1987). Car culture is concerned with the social relationships related to and created by the movement of people and objects using motor vehicles; automobility. These two themes are related to each other based on the premise that cars, outside of their instrumental function, hold social value and are attributed to manhood and masculine identity (Balkmar & Genus, 2007). Car culture is therefore a form of masculine culture related to automobility. The themes are illustrated in Figure 1.

Figure 1

Thematic Map



Road Ethnicity

Road ethnicity is about the tension on the road that exists due to the prejudices and stereotypes that people hold about different kinds of vehicles: "the us and them of the road". The divisions on the road extended beyond the vehicle types. There are also intravehicular divisions based on the body type of cars, their performance as well as the brands of the car. Contrary to literature of road ethnicities that focuses on the vehicles (Dawson et al., 2020), the argument of this research was also about the interplay of person-related identities that exist in our social life and how this also finds a place on the road. This looks at the theme of race, gender, and class on the road. The interesting part of this is the negotiation of when people are merely the car and when they are a human. This links to the fluidity of (non)placeness on the road.

Multi-auto-culturalism

Multi-auto-culturalism is a term coined by Dawson and colleagues (2020) to describe relations on the road based on the types of vehicles. The types of vehicles on the road include buses, cars, motorcycles, and minibuses. The authors' main argument is that the tensions existing between different types of vehicles is potentially due to 'othering'. The process of othering creates stereotypes and social hierarchies that are potentially the cause of conflict and aggression on the road. This study has found that the concept of multi-auto-culturalism

can be extended beyond inter-vehicle relations. There are also existing hierarchies in intra-vehicle relations. Even within the same vehicles, there are distinctions between the body type of the cars, the performance of the vehicle, and the brand of the vehicle. This creates more complex relationships between the different vehicles that occupy the road. Mandla highlights the hierarchies between vehicle types on the road. In the following extract he was responding to who he believed had more rights on the road. This was in the context of a motorcyclist having conflict with a car driver:

Mandla:	*Who would I say has more rights?*
Researcher:	*Yeah, yeah on the roads?*
Mandla:	*Uhm, I would probably say, car drivers, given that they proportionately speaking, probably a lot more of them than they are of motorcyclists*.

Mandla:	*I guess it reiterates what I was trying to say about those that are in cars typically have, from a power dynamics point of view are slightly in more powerful position and hence the motorcyclist asking that does he have a car.*

Mandla describes the car as having more rights and power on the road. He attributes this to the number of cars on the road and domination being due to numbers. He also implicitly alludes to the association between car ownership and power. Similar to the findings in other literature on intervehicle conflicts (Dawson et al., 2020), this research has found that the car holds a position of power in comparison to other vehicles on the road. This type of vehicle is perceived as the norm on the road, thus creating a dynamic where other vehicle types are ‘othered’ and are positioned subordinate to the car. This power can also be associated with the appreciation drivers and car owners associate with cars (Alam, 2020; Graham & White, 2007; Zhao & Zhao, 2020). Therefore, driving and owning a car distinguishes one from other road users. This dynamic of a norm and an other is proposed as a contributor to the inter-vehicle tensions that exist on the road. Simon highlights the inter-vehicle tensions in the following interaction:

Simon:	*Uhm yeah, I definitely think there's also like a feud between bikers and cars.*
Researcher:	*Mm, you saying there's a, there's a feud between bikers and cars?*
Simon:	*Yeah, you know, just because, as I said, like, I feel like, you know, with bikers and like cyclists, they always take chances and that's why I feel like they don’t feel respected by like, car drivers. and like, vice versa.*

In this interaction, Simon presents how car drivers and motorcyclists both feel disrespected by the other. He explains this as being due to motorcyclists not abiding by the laws of the road. This causes frustration for car drivers regarding the driving behaviours of motorcyclists. Literature has suggested that there are feelings that are evoked due to the perception of the other as being unpredictable and unregulated (Dawson et al., 2020). This unpredictability and unregulated nature is due to deviating from the rules of the road and thus driving in ways that do not conform to the expectations of other road users. This also relates to other themes in the research that propose law defiance as a cause for road rage. Dawson and his colleagues (2020) only reported on the inter-vehicle relationship existing between cyclists and cars. In the following interaction, Tom illustrates how the othering exists amongst other vehicle types as well.

Tom: *like taxi drivers in general. Who are sort of known to take chances on the road. I mean, like, I, you used to always expect taxis to do, you know, illegal, illegal manoeuvres, or to cut in front of you. And so, you can even see that that's obviously why that car in that one video, certainly, he knows that that taxi is going to do something.*

In this exchange, Tom explains the stereotypes that exist about taxi drivers, which is that they are law-defying. What can be complex about the position of taxi drivers is that their identity on the road is an intersection of a particular kind of vehicle, a particular social identity, and a particular job. Therefore, it becomes difficult to accurately differentiate which constructs are the points of tension in their interaction. This is discussed further in the multiculturalism section. However, what can be noted in this interaction is the dynamic of othering that exists between different types of vehicles and the hierarchies this inevitably creates on the road. The current research also indicated that cars with different types of performance also have stereotypes associated with them.

Tom: *like, there's this stereotype, not all people, but a lot of people who own fast and sporty cars, you know, that, like they're far more likely to speed and to, you know, take chances and cut people off and they're typically the people who've got a bigger ego about their car as well and so for sure, those people are more likely to be involved in, in road rage.*

In this engagement, Tom indicates that people with cars classified as sports cars with higher speed capabilities are associated with risk-taking behaviours on the road. This is the notion that the other is dangerous and unpredictable. He associates such car owners as being more likely to be involved in road rage. This might also be associated with the perception that law

defiance is influential in road rage. This theme is explored further in a later section. However, what is illustrated in this interaction with Tom is the different characteristics of cars that can influence intra-vehicle dynamics. Themba further illustrates the point made in the above quote.

> Themba: *People often say that stuff about like BMW drivers, who just basically don't care, they are always in the fast lane. They park in the middle of the line, if it's a parking space, so those dynamics play out on the road, but no one actually owns the road. So, I think it's, it's what we bring to the situation that makes it what it is. Yeah.*

Similarly, to Tom, Themba points out the stereotypes about BMW drivers. He describes these drivers as law-defying and careless. He associates this with entitlement and road ownership and perceives their actions as communicating a sense of ownership of the road. This illustrates the ways in which particular car brands are associated with certain kinds of behaviours. Other road users engage with these drivers holding these beliefs about them. This affects the nature of the interactions they have. Therefore, these relational dynamics potentially influence road rage.

The present research has indicated the road has social groups that are divided according to certain characteristics of vehicles. Similar to multiculturalism, this may create different groups of belonging for road users, which results in group hierarchies. The car is seen as the dominant vehicle on the road and is perceived as the norm. Other vehicle types such as busses, motorcycles, and bicycles are consequently perceived as subordinate to the car. Further, different kinds of characteristics of the car, for example, the body type, performance as well as the brands are a point of division within the same type of vehicle, namely a car. The hierarchies, othering, and stereotypes that are held about the different groups are identified as a potential influence in the way different road users interact with one another. In the context of road rage, these groupings can be understood as a point of tension amongst different groups and as potential influences of road rage. As noted, the different groups on the road are organised in a hierarchy. This links to the different ways in which power is communicated on the road and characteristics of vehicles that are associated with social power (Alam, 2020; Graham & White, 2007). The association of power and the vehicle type is also intertwined with masculinity. Cars become a symbol of an individual's power and potentially validates a man's masculinity. The way in which the road is socially organised is not only based on vehicles; the different social identities of the person driving the vehicle are also influential on the road and have an impact on road rage.

Multiculturalism

Roads have been conceptualised as a transitional space where humanness is invisible. Urry (2006) describes the road as interactions between "steel cages" where eyes do not meet (p. 30), which suggests that the road is not a place for human interaction. Contrary to this statement, this analysis has found that human interaction occurs on the road and the individuals' social identities influence these interactions. Tension on the road is also influenced by the socio-cultural tension that exists in other social settings. Gender, class, and race were the social factors identified as most influential in road rage. The text below engages in the gender dynamics on the road and the way gender hierarchies present themselves on the road.

> Tom*: I guess probably the majority of road rage is attributed to men.... And I think there's like a lot of ego that goes into it as well. Uhm, you know, whether it's the pride for the car, you know, I'm bigger than you I can do this, like a lot of men are sort of, they're always looking for that altercation. They're looking to dominate somebody who does something wrong on the road. Yeah, I think ego plus anger.*
>
> ---
>
> Tom: *If you can call men's ego, like a social order but like I think, I think to a lot of men it is almost always like that, especially if you if you're quite macho, and you know, you like your fast pie, or you socially, you may feel you can dominate other smaller man or woman or something like that on the road. I'm sure that that plays a part as well.*

In the extracts above, Tom describes the ways in which masculinity is experienced and embodied by men on the road. He describes a sense of power men feel in relation to other road users. He attributes road rage to men's attempt to dominate other road users based on their gender. This illustrates that gender dynamics are also present on the road and the road is a place in which they are performed and recreated. This is congruent with the notion that on the road cars may be used as an object to perform masculinity (Dant, 2004). Therefore, cars do not make the human invisible, but instead allow for human identities such as masculinity to be performed in ways that are unique to the road setting. The linking of the car to the sense of power the individual may feel is congruent with the idea that the person behind the wheel is a co-agent of the design of the car, thus, the image of the car is extended to the driver (Balkmar & Genus, 2007). The word 'ego' in the text above could be understood as an inflated sense of self or a belief that one is superior to another. This illustrates the way men are positioned as superior and demonstrates the embodiment of this masculine discourse.

Tom makes note of hierarchies on the road that are similar to those noted in other social settings regarding hegemonic masculinity (Lorber, 1994). Men on the road hold the belief that they take a position that is dominant to other men and women. These same dynamics are observed in the social dynamics of society (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). The road rage seen on the road is also attributed to this investment in hegemonic masculinity and a means of performing their masculine identities. Tom implies that there is a level of motivation some men have to engage in during aggressive altercations. Motivation is identified as an influence in aggressive retaliation (O'Dea et al., 2022). From the perspective of performing identity, Tappan (2009) noted the fragility of masculine identity, therefore, constant performance of this identity is required to different audiences and in different settings in order to protect one's masculine image. Tom explains some men as feeling 'macho', which uncovers the narratives of masculinity being associated with assertiveness and aggression. This could explain the motivation to engage in aggressive behaviour. The aggressive interactions re-establish an individual's masculinity.

To further illustrate the social construct that influences the dynamic on the road, the text below makes links between the road and class. This is James's understanding of the implied meaning behind a road user asking another road user if they owned a car during a road rage incident.

> James: *He's trying to I don't know like trigger like his uhm I don't know maybe making comments about like his ability to own something like his financial uhm what do you call it position…. I think expansion in South African culture of classism, and so generally you find that people may have Mastercards or whatever it might be, feel entitled to be able to do certain things.*

James alludes to the connection between power and class, namely the freedom and entitlement that is associated with belonging to a certain class. Owning a car is a symbol of economic status and therefore validates one's dominance on the road. Further, this symbol of economic status is used to divide road users in the same way class divides society, giving power to others and making other groups subordinate (Pilcher & Whelehan, 2004). This links with masculinity in that manhood is associated with one's financial abilities and economic freedom (Dharani et al., 2021). The result is that men who own cars hold higher status and power. James also alludes to the ways car ownership is a marker of one's economic position. This is further discussed in the theme of power. A comparison is made between the ownership of a car and the ownership of Mastercards. This comparison indicates the class

symbolism of owning a Mastercard, which is associated with the middle class. This comparison illustrates how the social dynamics outside of the road are similar to those observed on the road. Therefore, social constructs exist on the road, however, symbolic markers change to fit the road setting. The classism observed on the road also links to car culture due to the consumerism aspect of car consumption associated with class (Alam, 2020; Langa & Leopeng, 2022). Although the car is the marker used to determine the individual's economic status and the hierarchies of the road, it differs from auto-multiculturalism due to the classism culture being linked to the human identity. Further, the interlinked relationship of gender, race, and class is embedded in social interactions, therefore, the car is used as a tool to identify a human identity that influences the social interactions on the road. The following text explores the racialised beliefs that inform interactions on the road.

Themba: *The other preconception of race is we saw it in that video. It's like, ah, you know, black people are just, uh, criminal. They're taxi drivers and they're ready to break the law at any point. So, it doesn't matter. They don't care. So why should I care?*

Thabiso: *I caught that part, in the context of South Africa, yoh like that's a loaded statement, uhm because if you think taxis, you think drivers that could easily be attributed or linked to black people... Because right now, this guy is not trying to rob him, uhm he's just reacting to a road situation. So, it was, like that one, I thought that was racial for me.*

The interactions above from Themba and Thabiso relay the racial tensions that exist on the road. These racial conceptions are further associated with particular types of drivers. What the participants allude to is the stereotypical profile of a taxi driver, which is a black male. This is then linked with the association of black masculinity and criminality. This is similar to other social spaces where black masculinity is linked to crime and law defiance (Ferber, 2007; Langa et al., 2020). The interesting insight here about taxi drivers is that they are associated with a certain class and gender. Their identities represent the interlinked nature of class, race, and gender. Their profile represents the black, lower-income, masculinities that are associated with violence and criminality (Morrell, 1998). Therefore, they experience discrimination on the road based on these stereotypical assumptions. Thus, the intervehicle tension on the road towards taxi drivers is inseparable from their social class, race, and gender as black males of lower-class ranking experience similar forms of discrimination in other spaces. This highlights the existing relationship between the person and the car as well as the way in which the road provides distinct ways for social identities to be perceived and

experienced. Further, this demonstrates the intersection of vehicle identity and human identity on the road, suggesting the road has complex dynamics influenced by vehicle divisions and socio-political divisions.

The road is not a place where social identities are invisible, rather there may be different ways in which these social identities are engaged with and understood. The intersection of gender, class, and race is one that already holds multiple layers of complexity within the social sphere in South Africa. These social categories are interlinked in that they co-create one another with equal influence on each other (Moolman, 2013). The same patterns of the interconnection of these social categories are noticed on the road. Additionally, these social categories intersect with car culture, which adds an additional layer to the social hierarchies and dynamics on the road. Further, this illustrates that the road cannot be simplistically identified as a place or non-place as it holds the space to be both in different contexts. This is due to the visibility of social identities on the road and the interactions that occur due to this visibility. The intersection of car culture and social identity can be further explored by understanding the relationship the human has with the car.

Auto-human

In the study of automobility, authors such as Dant (2004), Sheller (2004), and Urry (2006) have studied the complex relationship between the car and the person and suggest the inseparable nature of the human and the car. This theme discusses the premise of the unity of the human and the car and how the car influences identity. The road is another place where social interactions occur, including violence. The differences between the road and other social settings are different codes and signs of communicating identity. This section also has implications regarding the (non)-placeness of the road, specifically in terms of the human identity being visible on the road and influencing interactions on the road. It is important to examine the interaction the social identity has with the car and how this influences the person's identity at any given point on the road. This highlights the fluidity of the placeness and non-placeness of the road.

In the extract below, Tom explains the existence of a relationship between the human and the car.

> Tom: *Yeah, that car could be that driver's pride and joy and, you know, if you attack that you're effectively attacking him.*

In this interaction, Tom highlights the nature of the relationship an individual may have with their car. He portrays the car as inseparable from the owner. Thus, any judgment made

towards the car is indirectly extended to the owner. This type of relationship between the car and the human has further implications on the impact the car also has on the identity of the person. Alam (2020) found that the sense of self is altered when an individual enters a vehicle. This is influenced by car pride and the admiration associated with certain vehicles (Zhao & Zhao, 2020). This indicates the way individuals relate to their vehicles and how judgments related to these vehicles also extend to the individual. This suggests there is some relationship that exists between one's identity and the car. This is congruent with literature that suggests that there is a unique relationship that humans have with cars and the affective responses one may have in relation to their car (Sheller, 2004). Thabiso suggests some aspects of the nature of the relationship between self-identity and the vehicle.

Thabiso: *I think in the sparring session you know his because it's a fight, so he's finding blows that can demean or hurt the other person, so even this one is car and he's looking down on his car now punching holes, his ego on his car... Yah it's an ego thing especially for men, a car it's like a big thing, what you drive, men like their cars, it's almost like a part of them... So now if you're insulting his car, you are insulting his ego most, these men are like that, that guy chose that car you know. Yes, he was impressed by his pocket but then surely we had other cars, aag this the car that I can have at this point. That can make him cool or whatever his decision was, so his pick or whatever, yoh. He's shitting on his choices... He's shitting on his wallet you know like he's shitting on his confidence, cause he's probably the coolest guy in the car because he's got the wheels that he's taking down.*

Thabiso: *I personally think that to an extent the car represents your character as well as your personality.*

In the extract above, Thabiso explains that the connection between the person and the car is that it represents their financial abilities, their taste as well as their character. The car becomes a symbolic representation of the person's personality and can also instil a sense of confidence in the driver or owner. In this sense, the car is understood as an object of self-expression. Sheller (2004) postulated that cars formed part of the ego formation of the owner and is a material representation of the personality. This assimilates with the above extract. Such a relationship with a car implies that the road cannot be identified as a non-place as identities are presented in the form of the machines. Therefore, the person is not invisible. Additionally, despite the acknowledgement of the relationship that exists between the human and the car, it is unclear how road ethnicity and social identities influence one another and how this impacts

the road experience for drivers. Further, there is no distinction made between the relationship an individual may have with a car that belongs to them and that which does not belong to them. This would be helpful to understand the extent to which the car influences the driver and how this presents when the driver has a different relationship with the car, such as those who experience a car as a 'workplace', that is, taxi drivers and bus drivers.

> Simon: *Maybe they feel like their car is superior to other people or faster so like they can stay on the right lane just because they car is better than everyone else's. But I honestly don't think that that has to do with the car I think it's more the person behind the wheel... And like they just projecting what they feel onto the car and like okay, I got this so maybe I can you know.*

In describing the relationship, a person has with a car, Simon makes note of two factors. The first is that cars can influence the person based on their valuation of their car in comparison to other cars. The second is that the person influences how the car is used. In this sense, the relationship between the person and the car has a bi-directional influence and the person negotiates the extent of this influence. This may account for how different individuals may use the same car differently. Further, this may explain why there is a discrepancy in the risky driving behaviour between men and women (Sukhai, 2003). The person's influence on the car plays an important role in the way the car is used as highlighted by Simon. This is congruent with the notion that the car is used as a tool to express one's identity and that it affords the driver different ways of performing their identity (Dant, 2004). In this sense, the person controls the way the car is perceived as an expression of themselves.

This theme was focused on car culture and understanding the dynamics on the road between the different road users. Car culture on the road creates different groups based on the different types of vehicles on the road. Even amongst the same vehicle, there are differences based on body type, performance, and brand. The groupings on the road produce power dynamics on the road and cars are the vehicle types that hold power on the road. Intra-vehicle grouping was only studied in the context of cars, therefore, it is unclear from the results whether other vehicle types have similar dynamics. These findings have revealed that car ownership and use are a symbol of power and dominance over all users of the road. This power code also serves to validate men's masculine power. Therefore, men as car owners or car users play a role that reflects the domination of masculine identity. An additional layer in the vehicle power dynamics is the socio-political dynamics present in other social settings. This intersects with car culture and creates a complex multilayered model for understanding

the social dynamics on the road. What is noted from these power dynamics is that they shape the way that road users understand others and themselves on the road. This supports the proposed argument of this research that car culture influences the way men understand the road, thus influencing their behaviour on the road. The other hypothesis made is that masculinity affects men's experience on the road. The following section explores the existence of masculinity on the road and the ways in which it is enacted.

Defence of Honour

The theme of defence of honour is focused on masculinity and the protection of one's masculine image. Masculinity is about performing the masculine identity and is concerned with the perception of others (Alam, 2020; Balkmar & Genus, 2007; Sheller, 2004). This touches on the influence audiences have on the driver and how the driver negotiates their different masculine roles in different contexts. Additionally, it considers the way in which the driver protects their masculine identity in the presence of different types of passengers as opposed to when the driver is alone. Further, the road setting also comes with vulnerability related to the existing danger and high-risk nature of the road. These evoked different emotions related to incidents on the road, namely fear and how men react to threats on their lives. Therefore, this theme discusses how men react to vulnerability in relation to their masculinity, the power struggle of road rage, and the defence of one's masculine identity.

Passenger Audience

Claiming a masculine identity is reliant on the performance of this identity in the presence of others (Tappan, 2009; Walker et al., 2011). The perception of others forms an important part of establishing and maintaining a masculine identity. This subtheme is interested in understanding the way passengers influence the driver's behaviours. Further, it explores the way different roles of masculinity are performed on the road depending on the passengers in the car. The masculine roles explored here are in the context of peers and in the context of fatherhood. In the text below Peter explains how passengers play a role in the outcomes of interactions on the road.

Peter: *And I don't know if maybe the driver acted differently, because he had other people in the car, that kind of felt he had to respond.*

Researcher: *Mm so something about him having other people in the car might have altered the way he would have acted maybe if there weren't people in the car.*

Peter: *Yeah, I wouldn't be surprised if that's the case.*

Researcher: *Mhm and why do you imagine that might be the case?*

Peter: *Well, I mean, let's say he was fuming inside a little bit about it and could have just liked internalised it but if the friend said something like oh flip this guy, it could have like set things in motion, right?... right... So also, almost feeling a bit more confident, there's three of us and one of him.*

Peter understands the driver's behaviour as being influenced by the passengers in the car. He describes how the passenger may have given the driver more confidence to interact with the other driver in an aggressive manner. He attributes this confidence to numbers, suggesting that men may feel a greater sense of power in numbers, which may result in an escalation of violence. This is related to aggression models that theorised that an increased ability to carry out aggressive actions may increase the likelihood of aggressive retaliation from others (O'Dea et al., 2022). In this instance, the number of passengers can be perceived as a resource to carry out violent behaviour and potentially defeat the other driver as they outnumber him. This act would also serve the purpose of protecting their masculinity and emasculating the other driver. The possibility of the driver not responding in an overtly aggressive manner also raises questions about which instances men choose to not respond with aggression. Discourses about masculinity such as fatherhood or masculinity that is performed through financial power or intellectual power tend not to exhibit violence and aggression (Langa, 2020; Morgan, 2005).

Themba offers his perspective on the role of passengers in the following extract.

Themba: *From where I'm sitting, you know, sometimes when you're with your friends, or maybe with your partner, as a man, sometimes you want to show that, hey, you know, I'm the boss here. You know, I'm a big boss, so I'm not gonna let someone talk. Talk to me in the way that this guy is talking to me.*

Themba similarly speaks about the influence passengers have on the interactions drivers have with other road users. He describes having to perform masculinity and react to other road users to reclaim his position of power during incidents when others are perceived as undermining that power. The driver might hold the narrative of being in power, being a "big boss", therefore, he needs to convince the passengers that he holds the position of a big boss. What is of note is how this behaviour is performed to show the passengers the driver's masculinity. This illustrates the nature of masculinity and car culture that is reliant on the

audiences of other men and women as well to validate the identity. When men feel provoked, they perceive aggressive behaviour as justified (O'Dea et al., 2022). In this instance, Themba understands the driver's behaviour as a result of the driver feeling disempowered. Therefore, his aggressive response was a means of reclaiming his power and convincing others of his position of power in comparison to the other driver. This demonstrates the nature of road rage that is embedded in a power struggle. This relies on the emasculation of another in order to hold a position of power. This is similar to the historical context where emasculation is used as a tool for domination (Morrell, 1998).

In the extract below, James provides a different perspective on the way masculinity is performed in the presence of an individual's children. This emulates a different role of masculinity.

James*:* *Like if I had my daughter in my car like I'm a parent I would never you know, I would never make a thing out of it purely because again like I don't know what this other person's going through, I don't know where they at in their head, I would never uhm it's worth for me, I would rather just let the dude go on his way and just say like, man, this guy was driving very poorly. And then that would be that. I've had instances like that with dropping my daughter off at school and people wanting to like get upset and following me and you just sort of say sorry through the window and it is what it is let it go because it's really not worth, you know, you hear about people getting stabbed and shot yeah what a terrible example but yeah.*

For James, having his child in the car does alter the way he interacts with other users. In this incident, he proposes he would act the masculine role of being a father and a protector. This illustrates the negotiation of masculine roles depended on the passenger in the car. Drivers, therefore, perform different roles of masculinity based on the audience, which impacts their responses to other road users. Masculine identities constantly negotiate their discourses depending on the passengers and the context they are driving in (Balkmar & Genus, 2007). This is demonstrated in James identifying that in the instances where his children are present his masculine role shifts and the way he positions himself is different. Fatherhood is an important role of masculinity in contemporary culture. The narrative of physical and emotional presence is becoming a dominant display of fatherhood (Langa & Leopeng, 2022; Morgan, 2005). This might explain the prioritisation of the father role over reclaiming masculinity through retaliation.

This subtheme has explored the ways masculinity is performed in the presence of different passengers. It highlighted how important audiences are in order to validate one's masculine identity. This makes road rage a power struggle in that it relies on emasculating other men to reclaim power and masculinity. It also illustrates how aggression is used in instances when one's masculinity is threatened, thus the aggression is used to reinstate power. However, masculinity is not only related to aggression. Different roles of masculinity exist, such as the role of fatherhood (Langa & Leopeng, 2022; Morgan, 2005). Although this role still holds a position of power as observed in families, the discourse of men is still associated with power (Morgan, 2005). However, this form of masculinity can be performed in ways that do not relate to aggression. This subtheme has explored how men respond to a threat to their masculinity relating to their position of power. This provided insight into how the tenets of masculinity influenced the way men perceived experiences on the road and how the principles of masculinity shaped their responses to incidents on the road. Emotional expression can also be perceived as a threat to masculinity (De Boise & Hearn, 2017). How men understand their emotions in relation to masculinity requires further exploration.

Feeling the Road

Ideals of masculinity norms diverge from the expression of emotions as emotions are associated with irrationality and vulnerability (De Boise & Hearn, 2017). The use of cars has been linked to excitement, confidence, and thrill (Alam, 2020; Walker et al., 2000). However, the high-risk nature of the road also comes with anxiety and fear for some (Urry, 2006). The experience of these emotions may be perceived as a threat to the ideal masculinity norms. Men protect their masculine identities and are more likely to respond aggressively or violently when their masculinity is threatened (Mathews et al., 2015; O'Dea et al., 2022). Aggression is used as a means to re-establish masculinity and to equalise power balance in incidents where they feel emasculated. This subtheme explores the way men respond to feelings on the road and the ways they make sense of their emotions. The particular emotions explored are fear, anger, and feeling disrespected. Tom explains the anger men experience on the road.

Researcher:	*Why do you think road uhm, acts of road rage happen?*
Tom:	*Yeah, just like, I think, I think when people do things on the road, that endanger you, or like, like, if I mean, the one side, like legitimate, you feel you've been endangered.*

Researcher*:* *Mhm.*

Tom: *And I think in any person that can like spark, like outrage, if someone does something openly, you know, stupid in front of you that could have crashed your car or your life or something.*

Researcher*:* *Mm.*

Tom: *Your sort of gut reaction is to almost want to, like, punish that person to be like, you know, you jumped to red lights. Uhm don't do that again and you might feel you want to like hit them or something, you know, get some like instant justice.*

Tom explains men's experiences when their lives feel threatened on the road, particularly in the context where other drivers make careless errors on the road. In these instances, one might feel angry, which may lead to an urge to act violently upon the other driver. When one's life is threatened, it might elicit the biological response of fight or flight. What is often observed in men is the inclination for a fight response (O'Dea et al., 2022). This is not coincidental; it is embedded into masculine cultural norms. Therefore, men are more likely to respond aggressively to perceived threats and attacks (O'Dea et al., 2022). This may explain the urge of wanting to harm others and respond violently when faced with an incident that threatens one's life. Further, Tom explains the act of violence as a form of discipline as well as seeking justice. This illustrates the positions of authoritative power men assume on the road and the sense of taking justice into their own hands. This is explored further in the section on power; however, it portrays how men's violence is multifaceted and can hold multiple meanings at once. This means violence can perform various aspects of masculinity. Additionally, Tom implies that in the instance where men might be angered on the road, there may be other vulnerable feelings that may be associated with a life-threatening experience. This leads to the question of how masculinity influences the way vulnerable emotions are understood by men.

Nick: *Oh, flip. That's scary though, because he wedged him. Um, yoh, and I don't know if it's because of my personality, I avoid conflict. Mm-hmm. Uh, but I do wonder in that situation, it's a bit hard to tell, I guess. Like just knowing myself that I avoid conflict. I don't know if I would've apologised or said like, 'Sorry man like I think there's a misunderstanding,' or there is a side of me could have gotten angry, like, 'Dude, what are you doing? Why were you indicating this way or that way?' Um, but I think it's to the extent of how much my life would be in danger caused by that can elicit more anger based on that.*

Researcher*:* *Um, and why do you think acts of road, rage happen?*

Nick: *Personally? I think it's a combination of fear. Um because something like I was learning about is that like fear, like is the root of anger sometimes is fear. Mm-hmm. Uh, so for example, if someone almost creates an accident, It's fear that you were gonna get hurt, people in the car were gonna get hurt, damages of your car. And that fear lists as anger. So I think it is that. The second one is maybe the feeling disrespected as well as if, like, who are you to now disrespect me on the road right now. So I think that's what's….*

Researcher: *Mhm. So, like in those moments of feeling disrespected, then the person would want to communicate that feeling.*

Nick: *They wanna either disrespect that person or gain back their respect by disrespecting the other person.*

In both these extracts, Nick describes how he experiences feelings on the road. He establishes a relationship between anger and the feeling of endangerment. He explains that in moments that are more life-threatening he experiences more anger. Later in the interview, he explains the relationship between anger and fear. He describes how the anger is rooted in the fear he feels on the road. What is of note is how the vulnerable feeling is avoided and expressed as a more aggressive feeling, like anger. As noted in literature, hegemonic masculinity promotes and prohibits certain emotions in men (Lorber, 1994). Men are socialised into repressing vulnerability and emotions associated with vulnerability (De Boise & Hearn, 2017). Nick also attributes the acts of violence on the road to men feeling disrespected on the road. He describes interactions where disrespecting the other is a form of reclaiming their respect. This suggests that when men feel their masculinity is threatened on the road, they emasculate their offenders as a means of reclaiming their masculinity. This way of understanding aggressive behaviour has also been observed in intimate partner violence in heterosexual relations (Mathews et al., 2015). This is congruent with the way aggressive behaviour in men has been theorised; when their masculinity is threatened, they perform in ways to protect their masculinity (O'Dea et al., 2022; Tappan, 2009).

The theme defence of honour explored the way men protect the prestigious and highly esteemed position of hegemonic masculinity. This depicted the way masculinity is performed on the road and the principles of masculinity that govern the road. Passengers play an important role in being observers of masculinity as well as influencers of the way masculinity

is performed. Aggressive forms of masculinity are observed in instances when one's masculinity is undermined because the acts of aggression act as a means of reclaiming masculinity. A man's masculinity may be threatened by the way other road users interact with him and by the emotions evoked during incidents on the road. Emotions such as fear, anger, and feeling disrespected may lead to aggressive responses towards those who elicit these emotions. Further, men are inclined to a fight response when they perceive danger. Although there are biological explanations for this response, it is not isolated from the cultural influence of masculine cultural norms (O'Dea et al., 2022). Other forms of masculinity that diverge from aggression also exist on the road. These forms include fatherhood, which is enacted in the role of being a protector during incidents of road rage. The fulfilment of masculinity and the defences of masculine identities indicate that masculine cultural norms curate the experience of men on the road. This perception is influential in the way one acts in order to place oneself as a part of hegemonic masculinity.

Power

The theme of power underpins the overlapping aspects of car culture and masculinity. This theme discusses the way power is communicated and expressed on the road. This looks at the different symbols of power on the road. The subtheme 'power codes on the road' explores the different markers of power on the roads. These codes relate to social categories existing in society, such as class and masculinity. However, the road setting and car culture produces a distinct set of codes and signs as representations of these social divisions. Further, other codes of power are unique to the nature of the road. The subtheme 'law enforcement' discusses the different dynamics and positions people hold in relation to the law, which may be interpreted and perceived as an exertion of power. Some participants understood law defiance as a factor that impacts incidents of road rage as it was perceived as an entitlement or communication of ownership of the road. Law enforcement also speaks to the power that road users exercise in reprimanding other road users when they have broken the laws. This leads to a conversation about power and modern society's power structures, particularly linking this to masculine roles and their assumption of authority roles.

Power Code on the Road

The key characteristics of masculinity are power, strength, and domination (Dharani et al., 2021). Men perform this identity in different spaces for different audiences in order to prove their masculinity (Tappan, 2009). Given the masculine nature of car culture and the association of cars with a masculine culture, one would expect that the road is a site where

masculinity is performed. The current research results indicate that indeed the principles of masculinity such as power and domination are expressed on the road. However, within the road setting, there are unique symbols and codes used to express power. This theme discusses the ways in which domination is understood on the road and the codes that symbolise power in the context of the road. Some of the main codes explored are the ownership of vehicles, the socio-economic aspects of vehicle ownership, the size of the vehicle as well as the driving styles. The interaction below outlines the symbolic meaning of car ownership in South Africa.

Researcher: *Okay. Um, and what do you understand about, because at some point, the biker then asks the passenger, do they own a car? And what do you make… Like, how do you make sense of him asking the passenger if he owns a car?*

Themba: *Yeah, for me, it's like, a way to try humiliating. It's like, why, why you even talking to you not even a driver, you're sitting in the passenger, passenger seat of this car. So for me, it's like a way of insulting him. It's basically calling him a scrub. And saying, like, you're not even you're not even worth an opinion. Because you're sitting in the backseat, you know, you want to drive?*

Researcher: *So, it almost it almost feels like you're saying it felt like he was playing out those sort of hierarchies. You're speaking out and saying that, then he doesn't have a place to?*

Themba: *Yeah, yeah. I agree. It's basically a way to exclude him from having an opinion, based on the fact that he doesn't seem to be driving his own car, or, yeah, he can't afford to drive his own car. So, he's driving with a friend. Therefore, he shouldn't really have an opinion.*

Researcher: *Okay. And what do you understand about this question in relation to the fact that the biker also, like, doesn't have a car? He's on a bike?*

Themba: *Oh, yeah, that's actually an interesting question. I understand it in the sense of economic status, basically. You're a passenger, you use public transport. I think he's applied differently in different contexts, because this video feels like it's in the UK. Just based on the accents, excuse me. But in South Africa, the context would be like, you ride on a taxi, what are you even saying, you know, like, don't talk to me, I'm on the road, because I'm self-made or I worked so that I can buy my own bike or my own car. So, I understand it in terms of trying to play out that economic side of things that, you know, I have more things than you, therefore, you shouldn't even have an opinion.*

Themba explains the meaning of car ownership in the South African context. He speaks about the status that comes with the use of private cars in comparison to using public transport. On the road, this determines who can have an opinion and those who have no power to voice their opinions about road matters. This is congruent with literature that found that there was a valuation of cars in South Africa (Luke, 2018). Although Luke (2018) identified the avoidance of public transport in South Africa was due to the inadequacy of the public transport systems, Themba presents a different aspect relating the use of public transport to refer to a lower status in relation to economic class. Therefore, car ownership is understood as a symbol of economic power, which affords one social power. This can be seen as related to middle-class masculinity that performs masculinity through consumerism (Langa & Leopeng, 2022). Additionally, this text above further indicates the way in which car culture produces unique codes and symbols that are associated with existing social division categories. In this instance, class divisions and hierarchies are understood through the lens of car ownership or lack thereof.

> Thabiso: *Uhm and a car be it right or wrong it does alleviate the extent or the possibility of people looking at you higher before they know you, they may not like you when they know you but when we come in and then come in walking versus driving, be friends, family or women, they see it differently... Maybe you are a terrible person but that moment when you have a car you, it's like looked at… That higher in status or attention or even respect that change.*

Similarly, Thabiso speaks of the status that car ownership comes with that alters the manner in which society views an individual. He indicates that the status that comes with car ownership is experienced beyond the road. Therefore, this is a code that influences an individual's social position in other social settings outside of the road. This could possibly indicate that social settings do not exist in isolation and are interconnected with one another. Although this topic is not the scope of the research, it might explain the ways in which the road is a reflection of societal divisions. This further supports the argument that the road is a place where social interactions occur even without the meeting of the eyes, contrary to what is suggested by Urry (2006).

The interactions of cars inevitably result in assumptions about the individual inside the car. This may expand the understanding of the assemblage of the human and the car and the relationship between humans and cars. Another factor which communicates power on the road is the size of vehicles.

Themba: *I think it definitely does. If the person was driving, you know, a Mercedes Benz SUV, and they weren't even on the same eye level, it would have a much different effect on the conversation, because the person will be like, maybe the person on the bike would respond less aggressively. Because we could be like, ooh, this car's expensive. What if I actually scratch this car, and then I have to pay for whatever it is. Or who is this rich person who's in this car, they might have had a different attitude towards them, because of how they perceive that person's economic status.*

Beyond the ownership, the type of car one owns further influences their position in relation to having power on the road. Those with cars that are more expensive hold a position of power in comparison to those who might drive less expensive cars. This illustrates how the classist nature of the road impacts the experience of different road users. Therefore, while car ownership on its own is a symbol of an individual masculine position, the type of car an individual drives is another way economic stratification is achieved on the road. This is in support of authors who reported that middle-class masculinity was associated with the ownership of luxury cars (Langa & Leopeng, 2022). The type of car one drives is a representation of their economic resources. Themba also alludes to the size of the car influencing the hierarchies. He metaphorically compares the hierarchies of car size to the physical representation of being at different eye levels, suggesting that those with bigger cars hold more power. He still links this to the economic status of the drivers. This is different to the account Nick provides related to the size of the vehicle.

Nick: *I think because I guess he was in a bus, maybe made him feel like he had more authority in that, that situation and used the bus to also wage him to say, 'Hey, I like, I assert dominance on the road.' Maybe. So I think like, I think with that initial thing when he got out the bus, there was, he still had that energy to him. Um, yeah.*

Nick: *I even see it like with the more like bigger looking cars like a Range Rover, stuff like that, or the Defender, whatever. It's kind of like you won't wanna even do anything remotely, like don't crash into them. You'll probably, your car will get destroyed, not theirs type of thing. So, I think, I think it does play a role.*

For Nick, the size of the car is not related to economic resources, but the potential physical danger and property damage the larger car posed to other divers. Both Nick and Themba place bigger cars and vehicles as having more power on the road. However, the threat that bigger cars have makes other drivers on the road more aware of the way in which they drive

when they are near these vehicles. The dominance of large vehicles is related to the fear that other road users experience in their presence, which could be understood as an emasculation to some extent. Fear is a feeling that diverges from the strength and power of masculinity.

Driving style also plays a role in the performance of masculinity on the road.

> Tom: *I've done that before, where I've, you know, I've seen like a taxi, trying to come into the queue or, or do something like that, and, you know, not necessarily with bad intention or intention to road rage, but just sort of asserting yourself on the road and, you know, like not them, just jump into the queue. The man filming this, was justified in asserting his position on the road. I mean, he didn't try and push him off the road. He didn't he didn't do anything illegal other than sort of just, you know, hold his position.*

In the extract above, Tom explains how not allowing other cars to overtake you is a form of asserting yourself and holding your position. This insinuates that when other drivers overtake, it may be related to expressing dominance on the road. This kind of behaviour or driving style may be related to what is defined as aggressive driving on the road. Tailgating, speeding, and breaking the rules of the road are forms of expressing dominance and performing masculinity on the road (Graham & White, 2007). Thus, blocking others from doing this might also be understood as a form of enforcing the road rules on the road.

This subtheme portrays the perception males have regarding their position as car owners and users. This clearly highlights the power hierarchies on the road and decodes the symbolic meaning ascribed to certain features of vehicles. Cars are identified as a symbol of financial and social power. Therefore, the appreciation assigned to cars also translates into the admiration of the person who drives the car. This links with the unique assemblage of the car and the person. Thus, for men, car ownership is a symbol of greater masculine status. Features such as the size of the vehicle, the costs of the vehicle, and the driving style contribute to positionality of the driver. Bigger cars are described to exert more dominance on the road in comparison to smaller vehicles.

Law Regulation

Law defiance has been identified as a cause of conflict on the road (Dawson et al., 2020). This behaviour may be perceived in various ways. Law defiance has been associated with masculine domination on the road (Balkmar & Genus, 2007). This subtheme explores how men perceive law defiance on the road. It was noted that some men respond to this by assuming the role of law enforcers and reprimanding other road users. Both law defiance and

law regulating can be seen as positions of expressing power. In the extract below, John explains the meaning ascribed to behaviours of law infringements.

John: *But he is able to manoeuvre his bike to get in front of traffic, which is, like I say, probably not legal. And he was probably just saying that listen. Yeah, he's probably just alluding to the fact that because the back is able to squeeze through small spaces and skip, you know, or get to the front of the robot before other cars and he did. So do you believe that he owns the law sort of above him just because he's on a small bike.*

John describes the way he perceives motorcyclists who do not abide by the laws of the road. From his understanding, breaking the law indicates that the individual believes they are not equal to the other road users who follow the law. This has the potential to cause tension on the road between other road users. Dawson et al. (2020) found that law defiance influences incidents on the road and causes tensions between road users. Further, the author identifies that when road users break the law, they are perceived as unpredictable, unregulated, and entitled. This could illustrate the way law defiance is perceived as a form of communicating power on the road and expressing masculine domination (Walker et al., 2000). Law defiance is associated with aggressive forms of driving, which are associated with masculine culture (Brewer, 2000). In response to law-defying behaviour, some men on the road can assume the road of law enforcement.

Researcher: *Um, have you ever been involved in road rage?*

Nick: *Not to the extent where like I was arguing with someone like that. But definitely where like I think one person cut me off then we both kind of like stopped, but through our windows, not the windows down. He's throwing hand signs and I'm hooting and like that type of thing, but I've never been to the extent where like we are out of our cars, windows are down. Arguing like that. I think it's just been a thing of like where we did stop the road or people behind us because something happened. But yeah, I think those is one there. I can't really think of another.*

Researcher*: Mhm, and what was your role in the incident?*

Nick: *It was basically someone turning in, it's green for me, and he just decided to go, so he almost bumped me. So, my thing was, in my perspective, it was like he had no right of way. In that moment, I got mad that he almost created an accident. So my role was kind of like, I guess hooting and trying to like reprimand him through me saying, What are you doing? You're breaking the rules of the road. Yeah.*

Nick describes ways that enforce the law onto another road user and reprimands them when they are defying the law. This illustrates the disciplinarian power that men assume on the road. This form of masculinity is similar to the discourse about white masculinity in relation to violence. It portrays the role of protecting society and being a hero (Marks, 2001). This form of masculinity legitimises violence and aggression, while still holding the power of controlling others and their behaviours.

Power is the thread that ties masculinity and car culture together as it forms the foundation for both these social constructs. The way power and masculinity are performed on the road is unique to the codes and symbols of car culture. Cars can be a symbolisation and communication of power on the road and in other settings. This is associated with consumerism and the way middle-class masculinity is performed. An extension of this class-based power on the road is also evident in the respect attached to drivers who own luxury cars. Further, the size of vehicles also symbolises power. Larger cars are associated with power in two ways. The first is in relation to the financial expense of these cars. The second is the danger that they pose to other road users. Driving style is another way power is expressed on the road. Aggressive and law-defying driving is associated with an expression of domination. In response to this, men might assume the role of being a disciplinarian and reprimand other drivers on the road. This role also holds an assumed position of power on the road.

Conclusion

Masculinity and car culture have been a central factor in understanding how men perceive road rage. The premise of this study is that car culture is a form of masculinity that manifests on the road and is related to automobility. Similar to theories that have understood masculinity as an influencing factor in men's violence, this study postulates that road violence is influenced by car culture. Thus, car culture is how masculinity is performed on the road. The key principle of masculinity is power, therefore, on the road, power is expressed and performed using social action that is unique to the road setting. Further, the performance of masculinity on the road is a reflection of the social dynamics that exist in society. Power on the road is marked by ethnicity, gender, the types of vehicles, and economic status.

When describing masculinity, words such as 'bigger', 'better', 'big boss', 'domination', and 'ego' were used by the participants. This reflects the main principle of masculinity, which is about having power over another. This power exists in a dynamic where

one party is subordinated, and the masculine individual takes a dominant position. Economic status plays an important role in masculinity as those who have more economic resources are more powerful in comparison to those who have less. Cars are used as a marker to gauge an individual's economic status. Thus, car ownership validates and establishes an individual's power on the road. By linking car culture and road rage, violence on the road can be conceptualised in multiple ways, which is a form of embodying a masculine identity. One of the ways road rage can be understood is as a power struggle. It is an interaction where men re-establish their masculinity by emasculating other men and subordinating their opponents. Road rage can also be understood as a performance of masculinity where the audiences are convinced of the individual's masculine identity.

Chapter Five: Conclusion

Introduction

This research aimed to understand how the principles of masculinity and car culture predicted the way men understood and responded to incidents of road rage. This was undertaken by answering the following research questions: How do men understand their role as car owners or drivers? And how do male drivers use the principles of masculinity and car culture to interpret road rage? This was conducted to provide a socio-cultural perspective for understanding the statistical gender disproportion of road accidents and road rage incidents recorded. This study provided nuanced information on the social dynamics of the road and their influence on driving behaviour. This chapter discusses the theoretical implications of a socio-cultural model of road rage. Further, the study has implications for road safety interventions aimed at combating road accidents, which are also discussed. Additionally, there are limitations to this study, namely with the sample and data analysis procedures. Future recommendations for studies related to the topics discussed in the present study are also mentioned. To conclude this chapter, the main arguments and results of this research are discussed.

Theoretical and Practical Implications

In terms of theory, this research provides nuanced information related to road rage theories and understanding men's vulnerability on the road. The results have indicated that understanding road violence, aggressive driving, and road fatalities from a socio-cultural perspective provides a different framework for theorising incidents relating to the road that diverges from the medical models currently used. The intersectionality of masculinity and car culture possibly explains the discrepancy in road fatalities between men and women. This uncovers the influences of gender norms on the patterns of aggression observed on the road, which consequently has implications for the deaths and accidents on the road. This sheds light on the influence cultural norms have on driving practices. Masculinity and car culture affect the way in which individuals understand their position on the road as well as the way their identities are performed. This, in addition to medical models, indicates that road behaviour is multilayered. Therefore, the results gained from this research reflect that in order to conceptualise road behaviour, the multiple facets of this phenomenon have to be considered.

Practically, the implications of this study are beneficial to multiple stakeholders such as researchers and policymakers requiring a deeper understanding of underlying aggressive

behaviours on the road. This research could inform interventions targeting road fatalities and combating road violence. This calls for interventions that target the social aspects of road fatalities amongst men and the high percentages of perpetrators who are vulnerable to road violence. This research could also expand the understanding of violence inflicted by men in other spaces outside of the road. By identifying the factors contributing to road rage, interventions aimed at promoting road safety can use this information to inform their development.

Limitations of the Study

There are limitations in the study that are important to take into consideration. The first limitation is the sample. The sample only consisted of men who were drivers. Having a sample of the various road users, and different genders, may have impacted the themes developed from the data. Further, the sample was made up of nine men based in Johannesburg, which limits the generalisability of the study, thus the results may not apply in different settings.

Due to the nature of the study being qualitative using a thematic analysis for analysing the data, the results obtained are largely subjective and based on the researcher's interpretation. Therefore, the judgments of the researcher impacted the themes and the reported results. The researcher was also an outsider to the sample as she was a female, which may have impacted the responses of the participants and influenced the amount of openness during the interviews.

Future Recommendation

For future studies, more information about the profile of the driver could be included in order to provide more context on each driver and to have a discussion that encompasses the different factors that may influence driver behaviour. These factors may include the number of years each participant has been driving, the amount of time each participant spends on the road, and their car ownership status. A description of the nature of their driving could also provide more information on the participant, for example, what time of the day they drive or if they drive as part of their job.

Heterogeneity in the sample would be recommended. This may include females in the study for a comparison of the perspectives of different gendered drivers. The sample could also be sourced from different locations in order to identify the impact of context as well. Other road users such as pedestrians, cyclists, and motorcyclists could be interviewed as well.

To understand road dynamics, it would be useful to gather perspectives from the different stakeholders on the road and their understanding of the dynamics of the road.

Different forms of interviews such as focus groups and interviews not based on vignettes may provide perspectives that are not limited to the stimulus, which may invite a broader set of ideologies and themes. This may allow for an understanding of road users' perspectives of road rage in a manner that is personalised and tied to their experiences on the road directly.

Additionally, future studies could focus on a sample group with perpetrators of road rage. This would extend the current research and provide insight into the experiences and perspectives of those who participate in incidents of road rage. This would provide information on how the tenets of masculinity and car culture as well as other factors influence the behaviour of perpetrators.

Finally, discourse analysis could be utilised as a method of analysis. A discourse analysis examines how the use of language reflects and constructs relationships, identities, beliefs, and knowledge (Hjelm, 2021). This could highlight how language is used to communicate and perform the power dynamics that exist in masculinity and culture. Such a study would provide nuanced information regarding the dynamics of the road and extend the findings by linking them to other critical methods of analysis.

Conclusion

Instrumentally, the function of motor vehicle use is the movement and transportation of goods and people. However, these machines have evolved over time to have social and affective value in the lives of their owners. This social aspect of the road and car use was the point of interest in this research. This research evaluated the social dynamics on the road and how they influence road behaviour. The social-political climate of the road was proposed to provide insight into the high prevalence of males who are perpetrators of road rage. Further, these social dynamics were also linked to young men’s vulnerability to road accidents and road fatalities. Masculinity and car culture were concepts used to account for men’s behaviour on the road and their engagement in aggressive conduct. The aims of this study were to understand how men conceptualise car ownership and the value of cars outside of the instrumental value of transportation. Further, the research investigated how masculine culture and car culture influences men’s perceptions of road rage and how this shapes their experience on the road.

Masculine identities are performed across contexts to establish an individual's identity as masculine across contexts and time. To carry out this social action, men strategically make use of the resources available to create gendered power dynamics. On the road, cars are used to express and establish masculinity. The main finding of the research is that the principles of masculinity and car culture are used to make meaning of men's experiences on the road. The engagement in road rage incidents can be explained as a power struggle; this a process where men reclaim their power following an instance where they have been emasculated. The domination of other men or women is required to reestablish their masculinity and reclaim power.

The underpinning for both masculinity and car culture is power. The road has a unique set of codes and symbols for power. As an example, car ownership is a symbol of power. This is due to cars being the dominant vehicle type on the road setting as well as the class status associated with car ownership. Among car owners, there are further divisions that determine the social hierarchies on the road. These divisions include the car body type, the performance of the car, the size of the car, and the brand of the car. These all hold symbolic value in relation to power and predict the positioning of those who own cars. These symbols of power affirm one's masculinity on the road. Further, masculinity co-exists in a myriad of other social constructs, therefore, road setting reflects the intersection of race, class, and masculinity. Therefore, power dynamics on the road are embedded in the intersection of car culture and masculinity as well as the way masculinity, class, and race co-create and influence each other.

Uncovering the social relations that exist on the road implies that phenomena that occur on the road can be influenced by the social dynamics of the road. Therefore, driver behaviours such as aggressive driving and law defiance may also be explained by the social aspects of driving and being on the road. This means masculinity explains the prevalence of men's engagement in road rage. This is congruent with models of understanding men's violence as a tool of masculine social action. Further, this could account for the disproportion between men and women regarding statistics of road fatalities and involvement in incidents of road rage. Therefore, interventions aimed at achieving safer roads should incorporate consideration of the social components that determine the crisis of road rage and road fatalities.

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Appendix A: Participant Information Sheet

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG

SCHOOL OF HUMAN AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT
PSYCHOLOGY

Greetings,

My name is Qhawekazi Mabongo, and I am a student completing my master's degree at the University of Witwatersrand.

My research aims to understand how masculinity and car culture are used as resources for understanding incidents of road rage. To participate, you will be asked to answer several questions in the form of an in-depth interview. The interviews will happen individually and at a time that is convenient for you, with the entire procedure taking between 60 and 90 minutes. I would thus like to invite you to consider taking part in this study.

Participation in this study is voluntary and as such you are free to withdraw from the study at any time for any reason, no questions asked, and will experience no penalty for leaving. There are no foreseeable benefits or harms in participating in this study and confidentiality is guaranteed as all results will be published using data in abstraction from participants. As soon as the data is collected, it will be assigned an anonymous code. No findings that could identify any individual participant will be published and the raw data will only be accessed by my supervisor, Miss Vuyolwethu Ncube and me.

By taking part in this study, you as a participant, agree to allow the data collected from this study to be published and used in further studies and consent to the above information.

While this is low risk study and it is not likely that participation will be emotionally upsetting, should you need to consult a mental health profession, I have provided details of mental health organisations below. Should you have any further questions please do not hesitate to contact me. My contact details appear below my signature.

Thank you for considering taking part in the research project.

Kind Regards,



Appendix B: Consent Form

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG

SCHOOL OF HUMAN AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT
PSYCHOLOGY

Greetings,

I, _____ consent to being interviewed by Qhawekazi Mabongo, for her research project focused on the exploration of young men's perceptions on rage and how car culture and masculinity influence their interpretations. I understand that;

• Participation in this study is completely voluntary and that at any time before the researcher leaves, I may withdraw from the study.	Yes	No
• I may decline to answer any question I do not feel comfortable answering.	Yes	No
• The tapes, transcribed documents and consent forms will be kept in password protected files which only be accessed by the researcher and her supervisor.	Yes	No
• All information provided will remain confidential.	Yes	No
• Direct quotes from my interview may be written up in the research report but my name will be substituted with a pseudonym e.g., participant 1.	Yes	No
• There are no risks or benefits associated with this study.	Yes	No
• I am aware that the results of the study will be reported in the form of a research report, which upon completion will be available online on the university thesis database.	Yes	No
• The research report being undertaken is in partial completion of a master's degree at the University of the Witwatersrand.	Yes	No
• The interview will be recorded.	Yes	No
• My data can be used as secondary data for future research.	Yes	No

Signed: _____ Date: _____

Appendix C: Participant Interview Schedule

Video one: https://youtu.be/B9mMfXffvyE (0:30- 01:30)

1. What is happening in the video? (Explore why they perceive video in that way)
2. What would you do in this situation as the driver, as the biker and as the passengers?
3. What do you understand by the driver saying, "Do you own this road"?
   Prompt 1: Who owns the road? / Who has rights on the road?
4. What do you understand by the biker asking the passenger "Do you have a car"?
   Prompt 2: What do you understand by this question in relation to the fact that the biker is also not driving a car?
   Prompt 3: What would it mean to have a car?
5. How would you explain the biker saying, "you got a shit car"?
   Prompt: Do you think the type of car played a role in this exchange?
6. Whose actions are justified? Why?

Video two: https://youtu.be/URDMKBThoXY

1. What is happening in the video? (Explore why they perceive the video in that way)
2. What would you do if you were the taxi driver and if you were the man in the car?
3. What do you understand by the man in the car calling the taxi driver a criminal?
4. What is your understanding of the change in tone in the way he speaks to the taxi driver and to the child?
5. Whose actions are justified? Why?

Video three: https://youtu.be/AZbrzaJkep8 (07:30- 08:18)

1. What is happening in the video? (Explore why they perceive the video in that way)
2. What would you do if you were the man on the bike and if you were the man in the bus?
3. What do you think about the commentary of the biker?
4. What is your understanding of the dynamic of the bus and the biker?
5. Whose actions are justified? Why?

Directed questions:

1. Have you ever been involved in road rage? What was your role in that incident?
2. Have you ever witnessed road rage? explain what happened.
3. Who was right and who was wrong? Why?
4. Why do you think acts of road rage happen?
5. Do types of vehicles play a role in these acts?
6. Which social factors do you think play a role in road rage (class, race, gender)?

Appendix D: Ethics Certificate

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND JOHANNESBURG

SCHOOL OF HUMAN AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT ETHICS COMMITTEE
CONSTITUTED UNDER THE UNIVERSITY HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (NON-MEDICAL)

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE:	**PROTOCOL NUMBER: MCLIN/22/01**
PROJECT TITLE:	Car culture and masculinity as resource for understanding road rage.
INVESTIGATOR	Mabongo Qhawekazi (1848256)
SCHOOL/DEPARTMENT OF INVESTIGATOR	SHCD/Psychology
DATE CONSIDERED	10 June 2022
DECISION OF THE COMMITTEE	Approved unconditionally
RISK LEVEL	Low Risk
EXPIRY DATE	31 December 2024

ISSUE DATE OF CERTIFICATE 11 August 2022 **CHAIRPERSON** C Harvey
(Dr Clare Harvey)

Cc: Ms Vuyolwethu Noube (Supervisor)

DECLARATION OF INVESTIGATOR

To be completed in duplicate and **ONE COPY** returned to the Chairperson of the School/Department ethics committee.

I fully understand the conditions under which I am are authorized to carry out the abovementioned research and I guarantee to ensure compliance with these conditions. Should any departure to be contemplated from the research procedure as approved I/we undertake to resubmit the protocol to the Committee.

Signature **Date** 13 / 08 / 2022

PLEASE QUOTE THE PROTOCOL NUMBER ON ALL ENQUIRIES