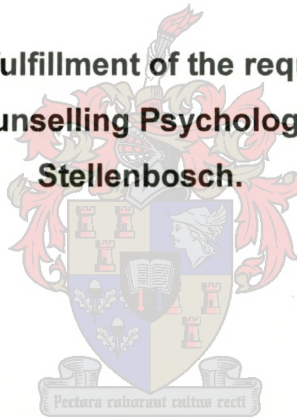


**DIRECT AND INDIRECT AGGRESSION : A COMPARISON OF FOUR
CULTURAL GROUPS IN SOUTH AFRICA**

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**Thesis presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Science (Counselling Psychology) at the University of
Stellenbosch.**



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STATEMENT OF ORIGINAL WORK

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work in this thesis is my own original work, and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it at any university for a degree.

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Signature

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Date

ABSTRACT

The primary aim of the present study was to examine cross-cultural differences in direct and indirect aggression between Xhosa, Zulu, Coloured and White South African students. A total of 832 students completed the Richardson Conflict Response Questionnaire (RCRQ), a measure of direct and indirect aggression. The Coloured participants reported using significantly higher levels of direct aggression than any of the other cultural groups involved. The Zulu participants reported using significantly more indirect aggression than their Xhosa or Coloured counterparts. No significant gender differences could be established. It was concluded that culture was more predictive of differences in aggressive behaviour than was sex of the participants. It is hoped that these results may contribute towards the effective management of aggression in South Africa and assist in promoting international understanding of the cultural diversity in this country.

OPSOMMING

Die primêre doel van die huidige studie was om kruis-kulturele verskille ten opsigte van direkte en indirekte aggressie tussen Xhosa, Zulu, Kleurling en Blanke Suid-Afrikaanse studente te bestudeer. 'n Totaal van 832 studente het die Richardson Conflict Response Questionnaire (RCRQ), 'n vraelys wat direkte en indirekte aggressie meet, voltooi. Die Kleurling-deelnemers het beduidend-hoër vlakke van direkte aggressie gerapporteer as enige van die ander groepe. Die Zulu-deelnemers het beduidend-hoër vlakke van indirekte aggressie as beide die Xhosa- of Kleurling-deelnemers gerapporteer. Geen beduidende geslagsverskille kon vasgestel word nie. Daar is tot die slotsom gekom dat kultuur 'n groter bepaler van verskille ten opsigte van aggressiewe gedrag was as geslag van die deelnemers. Daar word vertrou dat die resultate van die huidige studie 'n bydra sal maak tot die effektiewe bestuur van aggressie in Suid-Afrika, asook tot die bevordering van internasionale begrip vir die kulturele diversiteit van die land.

STATEMENT OF DEPARTMENT

This work is the result of a research project, which is of the same extent as that required for a master's thesis.

It is the rule of the Department of Psychology that the report of the research may take the form of an article, which is ready for submission for publication to a scientific journal.

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South Africa is a country with a notorious reputation for violent and aggressive interpersonal behaviour. Thamm (1999) refers to a Rainbow Nation of angry people where road rage and air rage are amongst the commonly occurring forms of overt aggression that are becoming everyday realities in the lives of many. Botha and Van Vuuren (1993) note that the violent struggle for and against apartheid paved the way for what has become a culture of violence. These facts highlight the pressing need to take steps to curb the internationally recognised and often tragic consequences of violence and aggression in South African society. Interventions aimed at eliminating the harmful effects of aggression and ultimately preventing its occurrence are however possible only through accurate understanding of the behaviour involved, and this in turn presupposes that relevant studies be undertaken. Kynoch (1999) is of the opinion that, despite significant public concern, surprisingly little effort has been made to explore the reasons behind high levels of aggression in South Africa's current post-apartheid era.

Violence and aggression in South Africa have not only had a negative effect on the individual's psyche; they have in many cases also encouraged categorical thinking and sharp divisions between friends and foes (Netshiombo, 1994). This reality is a significant result of apartheid's racial segregation which was equivalent to cultural segregation. Any research on interpersonal behaviour in South Africa must therefore take what Thamm (1999) calls the Rainbow quality of the nation into account. Kruger (1990) acknowledges that cultural differences need to be understood, though not at the cost of ignoring similarities, when seeking to understand different cultural groups in South Africa. Schlebusch, Wessels and Rzadkowolsky (1990) add that the role that cross-cultural issues may play in aggressive behaviour cannot be overestimated. It seems appropriate to deduce that, in agreement with Kunene (1999), meaningful research on aggression, that can promote mutual understanding and improved communication between diverse people in South Africa, should be of a cross-cultural nature. Such research appears to be lacking at present, as evidenced by

the shortage of relevant literature. Björkqvist and Niemelä (1992) point out that, internationally, research on aggression often tends to be ethnocentric. The present study will include four culturally diverse groups, namely a Xhosa, Zulu, Coloured and White group.

Hofstede (in Smith & Bond, 1993) defines culture as the collective programming of the mind that distinguishes the members of one group from those of another. Ramirez (1999) notes that, internationally, cultural variations in aggressive behaviour do exist. There are in fact several existing studies that point to such variations. One example is the work of Österman et al. (1994). In their study African American children appeared to be more physically, verbally and indirectly aggressive than children from other ethnic groups. They concluded that aggressive behaviour is dependent on culture and sex, and that variation due to culture may be greater than that due to sex. Rohner (in Österman et al.) found that culture is more predictive of level of aggression than is gender. Smith and Bond found that expressed aggression varies substantially across cultures and suggested that the fact that the murder rate in South Africa is three times that in Britain illustrates this point. These cultural variations exist despite the fact that there are certain universal truths regarding aggression. One example is the notion that it is wrong to kill. There are also certain gender differences that transcend cultural barriers. One of these is that males are generally more aggressive than females, a tendency that may also indicate a biological cause for aggression (Smith & Bond).

Aggressive behaviour is often categorised in terms of dichotomies of which physical versus verbal, instrumental versus expressive, and direct versus indirect are examples (Björkqvist & Niemelä, 1992). This latter distinction between direct and indirect aggression has been employed in studies by Österman et al. (1994) and Österman et al. (1998), amongst others, to explain cultural variations in aggressive behaviour. It is also worth noting that Björkqvist (1999) has identified an international need for controlled studies on direct and indirect aggression. It is

therefore meaningful to define aggression as either direct or indirect in the present study.

Baron and Richardson (in Walker, Richardson & Green, 2000) defined aggressive behaviour in general as behaviour that is intended to harm or injure another living being who is intent on avoiding such treatment. Direct aggression is defined by Björkqvist, Österman and Kaukiainen (in Richardson, Spina, Green, & Oksengorn, 1998) as the delivery of an aversive stimulus to another person in a face-to-face confrontation, and indirect aggression as harm delivered circuitously, often with the aggressor remaining anonymous. Lagerspetz and Björkqvist (1994) point out that this allows the aggressor to escape counterattack or social disapproval. According to Green, Richardson, and Lago (1996) indirect aggression may include manipulating another person's social relationships in a negative manner, or secretly destroying something of personal importance to that person. Lagerspetz, Björkqvist and Peltonen (in Walker et al., 2000) refer to indirect aggression as social manipulation because it implies the utilisation of the existing social structure in the execution of the indirectly aggressive behaviour. They add that dense social networks inhibit the use of direct aggression because the aggressor can be easily identified. The same dense networks however facilitate the use of indirect aggression.

Björkqvist, Österman and Kaukiainen (1992) point out that the development of direct and indirect aggression generally follows a distinct pattern. Small children initially resort to direct physical aggression. They begin to utilise direct verbal aggression when the required verbal skills are sufficiently developed. Indirect aggression appears as social skills develop. According to Björkqvist et al. development brings an increasing awareness of the undesirability of aggressive behaviour, resulting in a gradual change from direct to indirect strategies that are less recognisable. Österman et al. (1998) note that the development of cognitive capacities facilitates the use of these non-physical, indirect forms of aggression.

Direct verbal and indirect aggression can be expected to co-exist in later adolescence and adulthood. Direct verbal aggression may be employed where expressions of anger are called for (in other words, emotional aggression), and indirect aggression where it is important to remain unidentified. Because of their acceptability and effectiveness, indirect aggressive strategies eventually replace physical aggression, so that normal adults may resort to physical aggression only in extreme situations (Björkqvist et al., 1992)

Björkqvist, Österman and Lagerspetz (1994) use the effect/danger ratio to explain the appeal of indirect aggression. Individuals generally tend to maximise the effect of aggression and minimise the risks involved. Risks may be physical, psychological or social. The effect/danger ratio will improve (in other words, the aggressive behaviour will become more effective and at the same time less risky) as the individual is able to utilise verbal and social skills that become available during development. Indirect aggression can be highly effective as the perpetrator remains unidentified and the risks involved are thus few. It therefore has a more favourable effect/danger ratio than other forms of aggression.

Aggression often takes different forms in males and females and these differences can be explained by considering it to be either direct or indirect, and may otherwise be overlooked (Österman et al., 1998). Owens, Shute and Slee (2000) point out that males have in the past been regarded as the aggressive sex, but that this notion has been challenged by considering different forms of aggression, in particular direct and indirect aggression. Österman et al. found that adolescent girls were indirectly more aggressive than adolescent boys, and that they used indirect aggression proportionately more than any other form of aggression. They also found that adolescent boys used physical or verbal aggression more than indirect aggression. Richardson and Green (1999) found that, amongst students, males reported using equal amounts of direct and indirect aggression, while females reported using more indirect than direct aggression. Björkqvist, Lagerspetz and Kaukiainen (1992) found that adult

females relied more on indirect aggression than did their male counterparts. Campbell, Sapochnik and Muncer (1997) confirmed these trends.

The patterns of gender differences illustrated by the above-mentioned studies are largely due to the fact that boys are physically stronger than girls and develop physical means to a greater degree. Girls tend to utilise indirect aggression before boys do because they generally mature faster and, according to Maccoby and Jacklin (in Björkqvist et al., 1992), this means that their verbal development occurs more quickly than is the case with boys. Björkqvist (in Walker et al., 2000) maintains that men and women experience hostile feelings to the same degree, but that their differing physical strengths imply that women are inclined to use less physical aggression than men. Lagerspetz and Björkqvist (1994) refer to socialization as an important reason for girls to make considerable use of indirect aggression. Björkqvist et al. expand on this by explaining that the intimate groups or pairs that girls often form are more conducive to activities such as gossiping, while the larger, less defined groups that boys generally form, do not offer as many opportunities for indirectly aggressive behaviour.

The relationship between gender role and direct and indirect aggression has been investigated. Hammock and Richardson (in Walker et al., 2000) found that masculinity was a predictor of direct aggression, while femininity was unrelated to direct aggression. Walker et al. (2000) are of the opinion that it is more difficult to make predictions between gender role and indirect aggression. They found that individuals who perceived themselves as assertive and instrumental (in other words masculine) reported using indirect strategies. On the other hand Green et al. (in Walker et al., 2000) argue that individuals who are inclined to be more "feminine" (whether male or female) may function well within the context of high-density networks, be more interpersonally orientated and consequently utilize indirect aggression to a greater extent.

When considering direct and indirect aggression within a cross-cultural South African context, it is beneficial to form a basic understanding of the socio-cultural norms and values that may contribute to variations in aggressive behaviour. Moghaddam, Taylor and Wright (1993) note that cultural norms and values determine the amount and expression of aggression and contribute to varying levels of aggression in different societies. In Japan, for example, there are strong values and norms against violence. People are encouraged to yield rather than fight. In Western societies on the other hand, there is an emphasis on counter-aggression that encourages aggressive behaviour. According to Moghaddam et al. norms and values of a society determine what is acceptable and justifiable in that group. Taylor, Peplau and Sears (2000) add that social norms dictate whether aggression is anti-social, sanctioned or pro-social. Individuals in a culture need to know the relevant social norms so as to be able to differentiate between these three and thus function effectively in society.

Both Xhosa and Zulu South Africans stem from the Nguni tribe (Maake, 1991). Traditionally their cultures are characterised as having many rituals as well as strong beliefs in magic and witchcraft (Liebenberg, 1997). The solidarity principle of ubuntu is embedded in Xhosa and Zulu societies. Ubuntu is a Zulu word meaning "I am a human being through other human beings" (Broodryk, 1998). According to this principle all people are entitled to unconditional respect, dignity, acceptance and care from their relevant community, irrespective of survival challenges. Unconditional trust and co-operation are implicit (Mbigi & Maree, 1995). Ebersohn (1987) adds that responsibility for misdeeds including violence and crime is collective. Each man is his brother's keeper and protector.

Although certain similarities can be identified when comparing traditional Xhosa and Zulu cultures, there are also significant differences between them. It is in fact as erroneous to assume that all Black South Africans are the same because they are black as it is to assume that all inhabitants of Europe are the same because they are white. The Zulus represent the biggest single ethnic group in South

Africa (the Xhosas are the second largest) and are a people with a proud history as ruthless and respected warriors (Breytenbach, 1991). In more recent times the violence that has occurred in Kwazulu Natal has been the result of faction fighting within the ranks of the Zulu people. High unemployment levels have resulted in increased poverty and idle youths have resorted to criminal gang activities. The political struggle has resulted in friction between supporters of opposing political parties and divisions between culturally diverse groups. According to Breytenbach, the Zulus will not be ruled by the Xhosa (and vice versa) in the much the same way that the French do not wish to be ruled by the Germans. The Xhosas do not share the Zulus' warring traditions to the same degree, but they too are a proud people who in their history were never defeated by any other warring tribe (Elliott, 1970). These battles did not however leave as significant an impression as is the case with the Zulus. This latter group has, according to Breytenbach, inherited a marked culture of violence that is today still a part of many of their people's lives.

Group identification, which may be regarded as an outcome of the collective programming of the mind referred to by Hofstede (in Smith & Bond, 1993) in his definition of a culture, was a major source of conflict in South Africa during the apartheid years. In a sense the legislation of racial classification authorised group awareness. The social, economic and political situation led on the one hand to the development of certain attitudes and behaviours within groups, and on the other hand to the depersonalisation and stereotyping of members of outgroups. It thus became easier to dehumanise members of other groups and commit acts of extreme aggression against them. Socio-economic differences cannot be eradicated overnight and thus, even after the end of the apartheid era, groups still play an important role in identity formation and the fulfilling of specific social and emotional needs of their members. It is therefore possible that ingroup behaviour in South Africa may be based on the principles of ubuntu and thus be less violent than between-group interactions where the legacy of apartheid has yet to be discarded (Bornman, Van Eeden & Wentzel, 1998).

Netshiombo (1994) is of the opinion that many Black youths in South Africa have, as a result of the country's political past, been left with a legacy of violence according to which they accept aggression as part of everyday life. It is possible that White youths have on the other hand often been sheltered from such exposure.

South African society is generally patriarchal (Lemmer, 1989). Goldberg (in Campbell, 1999) defines a patriarchy as a system of organisation in which the majority of upper positions in hierarchies are occupied by males. Hofstede (1996) would describe such a society as masculine in that men are seen as assertive, tough and focused on material things, while women are supposed to be modest, tender and concerned with the quality of life. Lemmer is of the opinion that variations of patriarchy are sustained in the different ethnic groups in South Africa. Overt discrimination against women is often traditional. Labour is traditionally a male function, while domesticity and reproduction fall in the female domain. Lemmer adds that White and Black (including Xhosa and Zulu) South Africans subscribe to particularly strong authoritarian norms which strengthen the patriarchal ethic and result in rigid sex-role differentiation. According to Campbell women's aggression is often seen as deviant in a patriarchal society while male aggression may be considered gender-congruent and thus more acceptable.

According to Ngcongo (1993) Xhosa and Zulu women are traditionally not encouraged to think independently, and those who do are seen to be treading on male territory. These women stem from collectivist cultures in which customs such as arranged marriages (Hofstede, 1996), polygamy and lobola (Kunene, 1995) were and may still be common practice. They may thus be disinclined to challenge authority and unlikely to resort to direct aggression, particularly where such aggression is directed at males. Kunene suggests that White South African culture may in contrast place a greater emphasis on empowering women. Direct aggression may be more acceptable behaviour for these women than for Xhosa and Zulu women.

Some writers are of the opinion that Coloured South Africans do not constitute a homogenous group, but that they were rather merely grouped together by apartheid legislation (Du Pré, 1997). Those involved have however shared unique experiences that may have contributed to the development of a common identity. The gang culture and related violence are, for example, everyday realities of life in many sectors of the Coloured community (Kynoch, 1999). Du Pré notes that most Coloured people probably identify with a broader Western culture and share language, religion, geography and history with other White South Africans. The present study will attempt to establish whether or not this group is distinct with respect to aggressive behaviour.

In conclusion it seems important to emphasise the considerable diversity of the people of South Africa, of which the preceding paragraphs provide a glimpse. The country's unique social and political contexts relative to other countries, as well as the fact that the contexts of various groups of people within the country differ, must, according to Gibson (1993), be taken into account when studying aggressive and violent behaviour. In the light of this diversity it becomes possible to expect differences in aggressive behaviour between different cultural groups in South Africa.

Due to the fact that very little similar cross-cultural research had been done in South Africa, the present study was of an exploratory nature. The following primary hypothesis was investigated :

- Cross-cultural differences in direct and indirect aggression would exist between the Xhosa, Zulu, Coloured and White groups

The secondary hypotheses were the following :

- Cross-cultural differences in direct and indirect aggression would exist between the Xhosa, Zulu, Coloured and White males
- Cross-cultural differences in direct and indirect aggression would exist between the Xhosa, Zulu, Coloured and White females



- There would be sex differences regarding direct and indirect aggression within each of the Xhosa, Zulu, Coloured and White groups.

METHOD

Participants

A total of 832 students participated in the present study. This group included Xhosa (94 male and 100 female), Zulu (88 male and 103 female), Coloured (101 male and 100 female) and White (99 male and 147 female) students. The participants were students at the University of the Western Cape, the University of Zululand, the University of Stellenbosch and the Cape Technikon. Their ages ranged between 18 and 30 years.

Questionnaire

The Richardson Conflict Response Questionnaire (RCRQ), a self-report measure of direct and indirect aggression that was compiled by Dr Deborah R. Richardson, was administered (Richardson & Green, 1999).

The RCRQ consists of 28 items of which 10 measure direct aggression, and examples are "yelled or screamed at them" and "threatened to throw something at them". A further 10 measure indirect aggression, and examples include "spread rumours" and "made up stories to get them in trouble". The remaining eight items are filler items. Most of the direct aggression items as well as the eight filler items originated from the Strauss (1979) Conflict Tactics Scale. The indirect aggression items were influenced by the work of Zelli and Huesmann, and Björkqvist et al. (in Richardson & Green, 1999).

Each item of the RCRQ was rated on a five-point Likert-type scale from never (1) to very often (5), depending on how often the respondent engages in each of the 28 actions. The questions of the RCRQ are set in the context of anger to ensure

that the specified behaviours are understood as being intended to retaliate against or harm the target.

The RCRQ has previously been administered to 1000 respondents ranging in age from 12 to 90 years in eight different studies. Alphas of .77 to .90 for the direct aggression scale and .80 to .83 for the indirect aggression scale point to the internal consistency of the individual scales. Although the measures of direct and indirect aggression do share some variance, they are relatively independent. The average correlation between the two measures across all studies is .42 (Walker et al., 2000). According to Richardson and Green (1999) self and peer reports of direct and indirect aggression on the RCRQ are moderately and significantly correlated. This points to the validity of the RCRQ.

Procedure

The RCRQ was completed on a voluntary basis by male and female students at the University of Stellenbosch, the University of the Western Cape, the University of Zululand and the Cape Technikon. Written requests to administer the questionnaire were sent to the relevant departments and the necessary permission was obtained. Lecturers of the involved classes assisted with the administration of the questionnaire during allocated time slots in the students' classes.

RESULTS

It should be noted that the totals in subsections of some of the following tables differ, and that this is due to the fact that questionnaires in which one or more of the relevant items (for either direct or indirect aggression) were not completed, were not included in the statistical analysis.

A oneway analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted to test for the significance of cross-cultural differences in direct and indirect aggression between the Xhosa, Zulu, Coloured and White groups. Descriptive statistics for the four groups regarding direct and indirect aggression appear in Table 1.

Table 1.

Descriptive Statistics for the Xhosa, Zulu, Coloured and White Groups

		<u>n</u>	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error
Direct Aggression	Xhosa	181	15.92	5.83	.43
	Zulu	162	16.32	5.46	.43
	Coloured	196	18.46	6.83	.49
	White	242	15.07	4.71	.30
	Total	781	16.38	5.85	.21
Indirect Aggression	Xhosa	182	15.76	4.49	.33
	Zulu	164	17.58	5.68	.44
	Coloured	199	15.99	4.35	.31
	White	246	16.64	4.41	.28
	Total	791	16.47	4.74	.17

Results of the oneway ANOVA appear in Table 2.

Table 2

Results of the ANOVA for Cross-Cultural Differences for the Total Group

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	<u>F</u>	<u>p</u>
Direct	Between Groups	1303.34	3	434.45	13.31	.00
Aggression	Within Groups	25368.48	777	32.65		
	Total	26671.82	780			
Indirect	Between Groups	345.74	3	115.25	5.21	.00
Aggression	Within Groups	17407.31	787	22.12		
	Total	17753.05	790			

It is evident from Table 2 that the F-statistics for direct aggression ($F[3, 777] = 13.31$, $p < 0.01$) and indirect aggression ($F[3, 787] = 5.21$, $p < 0.01$) are significant. This indicates that there was at least one significant difference between a pair of the cultural groups regarding direct aggression, as well as at least one significant difference between a pair of the cultural groups regarding indirect aggression.

The groups between which the significant differences existed were ascertained by calculating Bonferroni confidence intervals, controlling the familywise error rate. The results are reported in Table 3.

Table 3

Results of the Bonferroni Post Hoc Comparison for the Total Group

Dependent Variable	(I) Group	(J) Group	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval		p
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound	
Direct Aggression	Xhosa	Zulu	-.40	.62	-2.04	1.23	1.00
	Xhosa	Coloured	-2.55	.59	-4.11	-.99	.00
	Xhosa	White	.84	.56	-.64	2.33	.80
	Zulu	Coloured	-2.14	.61	-3.75	-.54	.00
	Zulu	White	1.25	.58	-.29	2.78	.19
	White	Coloured	-3.39	.55	-4.84	-1.94	.00
Indirect Aggression	Xhosa	Zulu	-1.82	.51	-3.15	-.48	.00
	Xhosa	Coloured	-.23	.48	-1.50	1.05	1.00
	Xhosa	White	-.88	.46	-2.09	.34	.34
	Zulu	Coloured	1.59	.50	.28	2.90	.01
	Zulu	White	.94	.47	-.32	2.19	.29
	White	Coloured	.65	.45	-.53	1.84	.88

It is evident from Table 3 that there were significant differences in the reported levels of direct aggression between the Xhosa and Coloured groups, between the Zulu and Coloured groups, as well as between the White and Coloured groups ($p < 0.01$). The Coloured group ($M = 18.46$) reported significantly higher levels of direct aggression than the Xhosa ($M = 15.92$), Zulu ($M = 16.32$) and White ($M = 15.07$) groups.

Table 3 also indicates that there were significant differences in the reported levels of indirect aggression between the Xhosa and Zulu groups, as well as between the Zulu and Coloured groups ($p < 0.01$). The Zulu group ($M = 17.58$) reported significantly higher levels of indirect aggression than both the Xhosa ($M = 15.76$) and Coloured ($M = 15.99$) groups.

A oneway analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted to test for the significance of cross-cultural differences in direct and indirect aggression between the Xhosa, Zulu, Coloured and White males. Descriptive statistics for the four groups of males regarding direct and indirect aggression appear in Table 4.

Table 4

Descriptive Statistics for Xhosa, Zulu, Coloured and White Males

		<u>n</u>	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error
Direct Aggression	Xhosa	87	15.60	5.86	.63
	Zulu	78	16.31	5.42	.61
	Coloured	96	17.85	6.88	.70
	White	97	15.46	4.74	.48
	Total	358	16.32	5.85	.31
Indirect Aggression	Xhosa	87	15.86	4.94	.53
	Zulu	69	17.64	5.22	.63
	Coloured	99	16.13	4.97	.50
	White	99	16.74	4.35	.44
	Total	354	16.53	4.87	.26

Results of the oneway ANOVA appear in Table 5.

Table 5

Results of the ANOVA for Cross-Cultural Differences between Males

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	p
Direct Aggression	Between Groups	342.44	3	114.15	3.41	.02
	Within Groups	11865.62	354	33.52		
	Total	12208.06	357			
Indirect Aggression	Between Groups	143.47	3	47.82	2.03	.11
	Within Groups	8228.75	350	23.51		
	Total	8372.22	353			

It is evident from Table 5 that the F-statistic for direct aggression is significant. ($F[3, 354] = 3.41, p < 0.05$). This indicates that there was at least one significant difference regarding direct aggression between a pair of the cultural groups.

The groups between which a significant difference existed were ascertained by calculating Bonferroni confidence intervals, controlling the familywise error rate. The results are reported in Table 6.

Table 6

Results of the Bonferroni Post Hoc Comparison for Males

Dependent Variable	(I) Group	(J) Group	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval		p
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound	
Direct Aggression	Xhosa	Zulu	-.71	.90	-3.11	1.69	1.00
	Xhosa	Coloured	-2.26	.86	-4.53	0.02	.05
	Xhosa	White	.13	.86	-2.13	2.40	1.00
	Zulu	Coloured	-1.55	.88	-3.89	.80	.48
	Zulu	White	.84	.88	-1.49	3.18	1.00
	White	Coloured	-2.39	.83	-4.60	-.18	.03
Indirect Aggression	Xhosa	Zulu	-1.78	.78	-3.85	.30	.14
	Xhosa	Coloured	-.27	.71	-2.16	1.62	1.00
	Xhosa	White	-.88	.71	-2.77	1.02	1.00
	Zulu	Coloured	1.51	.76	-.51	3.52	.29
	Zulu	White	.90	.76	-1.12	2.92	1.00
	White	Coloured	.61	.69	-1.22	2.43	1.00

It is evident from Table 6 that there was a significant difference in the reported levels of direct aggression between White and Coloured males. ($p < 0.05$). Coloured males ($M = 17.85$) reported significantly higher levels of direct aggression than their White counterparts. ($M = 15.46$).

A oneway analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted to test for the significance of cross-cultural differences in direct and indirect aggression between Xhosa, Zulu, Coloured and White females. Descriptive statistics for the four groups of females regarding direct and indirect aggression appear in Table 7.

Table 7

Descriptive Statistics for Xhosa, Zulu, Coloured and White Females

		<u>n</u>	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error
Direct	Xhosa	94	16.21	5.83	.60
Aggression	Zulu	84	16.33	5.54	.60
	Coloured	100	19.05	6.76	.68
	White	145	14.81	4.69	.39
	Total	423	16.43	5.85	.28
Indirect	Xhosa	95	15.67	4.06	.42
Aggression	Zulu	95	17.54	6.01	.62
	Coloured	100	15.85	3.66	.37
	White	147	16.58	4.46	.37
	Total	437	16.42	4.64	.22

Results of the oneway ANOVA appear in Table 8.

Table 8

Results of the ANOVA for Cross-Cultural Differences between Females

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	<u>F</u>	<u>p</u>
Direct	Between Groups	1070.42	3	356.81	11.16	.00
Aggression	Within Groups	13391.13	419	31.96		
	Total	14461.55	422			
Indirect	Between Groups	207.58	3	69.19	3.27	.02
Aggression	Within Groups	9171.11	433	21.18		
	Total	9378.68	436			

It is evident from Table 8 that the F-statistics for direct aggression ($F[3, 419] = 11.16$, $p < 0.01$) and indirect aggression ($F[3, 433] = 3.27$, $p < 0.05$) are

significant. This indicates that there was at least one significant difference between a pair of cultural groups regarding direct aggression, as well as at least one significant difference between a pair of cultural groups regarding indirect aggression.

The groups between which significant differences existed were ascertained by calculating Bonferroni confidence intervals controlling for familywise error rate. The results are reported in Table 9.

Table 9
Results of the Bonferroni Post Hoc Comparison for Females

Dependent Variable	(I) Group	(J) Group	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval		p
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound	
Direct Aggression	Xhosa	Zulu	-.12	.85	-2.37	2.13	1.00
	Xhosa	Coloured	-2.84	.81	-4.99	-.68	.00
	Xhosa	White	1.40	.75	-.59	3.38	.37
	Zulu	Coloured	-2.72	.84	-4.93	-.50	.01
	Zulu	White	1.52	.78	-.54	3.57	.30
	White	Coloured	-4.24	.74	-6.18	-2.29	.00
Indirect Aggression	Xhosa	Zulu	-1.86	.67	-3.63	-0.09	.03
	Xhosa	Coloured	-.18	.66	-1.92	1.57	1.00
	Xhosa	White	-.90	.61	-2.51	.70	.82
	Zulu	Coloured	1.69	.66	-0.06	3.43	.07
	Zulu	White	.96	.61	-.65	2.56	.69
	White	Coloured	.73	.60	-.85	2.31	1.00

It is evident from Table 9 that there were three significant differences in the reported levels of direct aggression between the pairs of cultural groups. These differences occurred between the Xhosa and Coloured females, the Zulu and

Coloured females, and between the White and Coloured females. ($p < 0.01$). Coloured females ($M = 19.05$) reported significantly higher levels of direct aggression than Xhosa females ($M = 16.21$), Zulu females ($M = 16.33$) and White females ($M = 14.81$).

There was a significant difference in the reported levels of indirect aggression between the Xhosa and Zulu groups ($p < 0,05$). Zulu females ($M = 17.54$) reported significantly higher levels of indirect aggression than their Xhosa counterparts ($M = 15.67$).

A oneway analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted to test for the significance of gender differences regarding direct and indirect aggression between Xhosa males and females. Descriptive statistics for these groups appear in Table 10.

Table 10
Descriptive Statistics for Xhosa Males and Females

		<u>n</u>	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error
Direct Aggression	Male	87	15.60	5.86	.63
	Female	94	16.21	5.83	.60
	Total	181	15.92	5.83	.43
Indirect Aggression	Male	87	15.86	4.94	.53
	Female	95	15.67	4.06	.42
	Total	182	15.76	4.49	.33

Results of the oneway ANOVA appear in Table 11.

Table 11

Results of the ANOVA regarding Gender Differences for the Xhosa Group

		Sum of	df	Mean	<u>F</u>	<u>p</u>
		Squares		Square		
Direct	Between Groups	17.09	1	17.09	.50	.48
Aggression	Within Groups	6106.66	179	34.12		
	Total	6123.76	180			
Indirect	Between Groups	1.61	1	1.61	.08	.78
Aggression	Within Groups	3651.23	180	20.29		
	Total	3652.84	181			

There were no significant differences in reported direct or indirect aggression between Xhosa males and females.

A oneway analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted to test for the significance of gender differences regarding direct and indirect aggression between Zulu males and females. Descriptive statistics for these groups appear in Table 12.

Table 12

Descriptive Statistics for Zulu Males and Females

		<u>n</u>	Mean	Std.	Std. Error
				Deviation	
Direct	Male	78	16.31	5.42	.61
Aggression	Female	84	16.33	5.54	.60
	Total	162	16.32	5.46	.43
Indirect Aggression	Male	69	17.64	5.22	.63
	Female	95	17.54	6.01	.62
	Total	164	17.58	5.68	.44

Results of the oneway ANOVA appear in Table 13.

Table 13

Results of the ANOVA regarding Gender Differences for the Zulu Group

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	p
Direct	Between Groups	0.03	1	0.03	.00	.98
Aggression	Within Groups	4805.28	160	30.03		
	Total	4805.31	161			
Indirect	Between Groups	.41	1	.41	.01	.91
Aggression	Within Groups	5253.56	162	32.43		
	Total	5253.97	163			

There were no significant differences in reported direct or indirect aggression between Zulu males and females.

A oneway analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted to test for the significance of gender differences regarding direct and indirect aggression between Coloured males and females. Descriptive statistics for these groups appear in Table 14.

Table 14

Descriptive Statistics for Coloured Males and Females

		n	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error
Direct	Male	96	17.85	6.88	.70
Aggression	Female	100	19.05	6.76	.68
	Total	196	18.46	6.83	.49
Indirect	Male	99	16.13	4.97	.50
Aggression	Female	100	15.85	3.66	.37
	Total	199	15.99	4.35	.31

Results of the oneway ANOVA appear in Table 15.

Table 15

Results of the ANOVA regarding Gender Differences for the Coloured Group

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	p
Direct	Between Groups	70.04	1	70.04	1.51	.22
Aggression	Within Groups	9024.71	194	46.52		
	Total	9094.75	195			
Indirect	Between Groups	3.94	1	3.94	.21	.65
Aggression	Within Groups	3742.04	197	19.00		
	Total	3745.98	198			

There were no significant differences in reported direct or indirect aggression between Coloured males and females.

A oneway analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted to test for the significance of gender differences regarding direct and indirect aggression between White males and females. Descriptive statistics for these groups appear in Table 16.

Table 16

Descriptive Statistics for White Males and Females

		<u>n</u>	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std Error
Direct	Male	97	15.46	4.74	.48
Aggression	Female	145	14.81	4.69	.39
	Total	242	15.07	4.71	.30
Indirect	Male	99	16.74	4.35	.44
Aggression	Female	147	16.58	4.46	.37
	Total	246	16.64	4.41	.28

Results of the oneway ANOVA appear in Table 17.

Table 17

Results of the ANOVA regarding Gender Differences for the White Group

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	<u>F</u>	<u>p</u>
Direct	Between Groups	24.57	1	24.57	1.11	.29
Aggression	Within Groups	5320.10	240	22.17		
	Total	5344.66	241			
Indirect	Between Groups	1.50	1	1.50	.08	.78
Aggression	Within Groups	4753.02	244	19.48		
	Total	4754.52	245			

There were no significant differences in reported direct or indirect aggression between White males and females.

DISCUSSION

It was expected that there would be cross-cultural differences in direct and indirect aggression between the four different cultural groups and two significant differences were apparent from the results. Firstly, the Coloured group reported using significantly higher levels of direct aggression than any of the other three groups involved. And, secondly, the Zulu group reported using significantly more indirect aggression than both the Xhosa and Coloured groups, but did not differ significantly from the White group in this regard.

There is a distinct pattern in the development of direct and indirect aggression whereby adults ultimately resort primarily to indirect aggressive strategies and reserve direct aggression for use only under extreme provocation (Björkqvist et al., 1992). Some researchers have however pointed out that cultural differences play a role in the development of aggressive behaviour. Ramirez (1999) is of the opinion that culturally mediated childhood experiences need to be considered, and adds that the social approval of aggression varies cross-culturally. It is possible to assume that cultural factors played a role in the Coloured group's significantly higher levels of self-reported direct aggression than any of the other groups. This group of participants stemmed primarily from a Western Cape community where the gang and drug culture with its associated violent, aggressive and criminal character are often part of everyday life (Kynoch, 1999). This exposure may well have played a role in making direct aggression an acceptable alternative for this group, as illustrated in the present study.

It is important to note that the Zulu participants reported significantly higher levels of indirect aggression than the Xhosa or Coloured participants. According to Maake (1991) the Xhosa and Zulu cultures both stem from the Nguni tribe, making it possible to expect a degree of similarity between them. Although the Xhosa and Zulu groups did not differ significantly with regard to reported levels of direct aggression, the Zulu group indicated using significantly more indirect

aggression than their Xhosa counterparts. At this point it is worth considering that Breytenbach (1991) has indicated that the Zulu people may, by way of their heritage and as a result of the violent climate they often live in, be inclined to be aggressive. Furthermore, Netshimo (1994) has commented that Black South Africans have come to accept violence as part of everyday life. In the light of these comments it is possible to expect significant levels of direct aggression from the Zulu group in particular, and to view their significant use of indirect strategies as a contradiction of this expectation. On the other hand, indirect aggressive strategies merely represent a different manifestation of aggressive behaviour, and therefore the significant levels of indirect aggression reported by the Zulu group may provide ample illustration of their cultural tendency to aggressive behaviour. It is also a possibility that the education level of the participants played a role in this result : students at tertiary institutions such as those who participated in the present study may be capable of relatively high levels of emotional self-regulation that would incline them to use more indirect than direct aggressive strategies (Walker et al., 2000).

One explanation for the differing levels of indirect aggression reported by the Xhosa and Zulu groups may lie in the geographical locations and contexts of the participants. Gibson (1993) is one writer who is of the opinion that it is important to take existing social and political contexts into account when studying violence. It is notable that the majority of the Zulu group was students at the University of Zululand. At the time of the present study they were living in Kwazulu Natal, the traditional home of the Zulu people, and many had grown up in the area. The Xhosas traditionally originate from the Eastern Cape, but the participants in the present study were students in the Western Cape. They had therefore been removed from their traditional roots and exposed to Western culture for varying lengths of time. Outside influences may in the process have overshadowed certain cultural traditions. This being the case it becomes possible to deduce that the Zulu custom of ubuntu with its emphasis on unconditional respect, dignity and mutual acceptance (Mbigi & Maree, 1995) may still have a greater influence in

the lives of the Zulu participants than in those of their Xhosa counterparts. Direct aggressive strategies are contradictory to the spirit of ubuntu while indirect aggression may be more acceptable because of its subtlety and the fact that, according to Lagerspetz and Björkqvist (1994), the aggressor will probably go unnoticed. This may explain the Zulu group's use of indirect rather than direct strategies.

Certain cross-cultural differences in direct and indirect aggression were expected between the four groups of males involved in the present study. One significant result was obtained, namely that the Coloured males reported significantly higher levels of direct aggression than their White counterparts.

This result may well reflect on the differences in the backgrounds of the two groups of participants. Coloured males have in many cases grown up to accept violence as a common occurrence (Netshiombo, 1994) while their White counterparts have been sheltered from such exposure (Botha & Van Vuuren, 1993). The Coloured group may therefore be more familiar with and thus utilise direct aggressive strategies more than the White group of participants. Lagerspetz and Björkqvist (1994) have referred to socialisation as an important factor in the development of differences in direct and indirect aggression between people. The Coloured and White males in the present study have probably been socialised differently within their respective cultures. This implies that the Coloured males who participated in the present study may well have been exposed to more aggressive role models than the White male participants, and that direct aggression may well be more acceptable in the Coloured than in the White community.

In their study involving American students Richardson and Green (1999) found that male students reported using equal amounts of direct and indirect aggression. When considering means obtained in the present study, it appears that, in comparison, the Xhosa, Zulu and White male participants reported using

slightly more indirect than direct aggression. This may be considered to be in accordance with the developmental theory of Björkqvist et al. (1992) whereby more indirect than direct aggression can be expected from adult males as well as females. Means obtained for the Coloured group however pointed to a preference for direct aggression. Again, this is most likely attributable to their unique circumstances.

A further expectation of the present study was that there would be cross-cultural differences in direct and indirect aggression between the four groups of women who participated. In this respect the Coloured women reported significantly higher levels of direct aggression than any of the other groups of women involved.

It is evident that a clear pattern emerged from the results of the present study in that the Coloured group (including males and females) showed a consistent preference for direct aggression in relation to other participants. It would seem that, despite the fact that Coloured people were, according to Du Pré (1997), grouped together by apartheid legislation, they have shared common experiences which are unique to them and which have helped to shape them as a cultural group. The influence of the gang culture and related violence, as well as the effect that they have on determining aspects such as role models and socialisation, cannot be overestimated.

In considering female preferences for either direct or indirect aggression it is again worth considering the work of Richardson and Green (1999) with American students. They found that female students utilised more indirect than direct aggression. Österman et al. (1998) also found that females preferred indirect aggressive strategies. In the present study the White and Zulu females reported using more indirect than direct aggression. The Coloured and Xhosa women however reported using more direct than indirect aggression.

Ngcongco (1993) points out that, traditionally, Xhosa and Zulu women are encouraged to be submissive. It may well be expected that indirect aggression should then be more acceptable for them. This seems to be the case with the Zulu women who, as mentioned previously, came from a more traditional environment than the Xhosa women. The fact that many members of the latter group probably no longer live in their traditional environment may have played a role in their slight preference for direct aggression, as illustrated by the means obtained.

Finally, sex differences regarding direct and indirect aggression were expected within each of the four cultural groups. No significant differences relating to either direct or indirect aggression were however reported.

Certain international studies have indicated that females utilise more indirect aggression than is the case with their male counterparts. Österman et al. (1998) found this to be the case amongst adolescents while Björkqvist et al. (1992) reached a similar conclusion relating to adult females. Richardson and Green (1999) also found that female students showed a marked preference for indirect aggression relative to their male counterparts. In the light of these findings it is worth speculating on the possible reasons for the fact that no significant sex differences were found in the present study. It may be that the culture of violence and aggression that has for so long been a feature of South African life (Botha & Van Vuuren, 1993) has impacted to such an extent on both males and females that gender differences have consequently been evened out. Girls are taught to be as vigilant as boys in avoiding danger. It is possible that girls and boys in South Africa are no longer socialised in completely different ways when it comes to dealing with aggression, and that gender roles learnt in this respect do not differ as markedly as may have been the case in a previous generation. Other aspects of South African life may have had an influence. Migrant labour, for example, has in the past disrupted Black family life and left women to fend for themselves and their families (Ramphela, 1986). This South African

phenomenon may have had the effect of forcing women who would traditionally have been submissive to become more assertive and use direct aggression more than would otherwise have been the case.

In South Africa's patriarchal society women are conditioned to be less assertive than men and there are often strong authoritarian norms that result in rigid sex-role differentiation (Lemmer, 1989). This could well lead one to expect more indirectly aggressive behaviour from women than from men. Results obtained here are therefore surprising. The question can be asked whether the patriarchal ethic and other entrenched norms do in fact still play a role in separating the sexes in South Africa, at least as far as aggression is concerned. Perhaps in a violent society sex differences are evened out in the struggle to preserve the self.

Another documented reason for sex differences in aggressive behaviour is differing socialisation (Lagerspetz & Björkqvist, 1994). It is interesting to note that the fact that females generally form intimate groups that facilitate indirect aggression, while males are more likely to socialise in larger, less defined groups where indirect aggression is not as easy, did not impact on these results. It is again possible to speculate that the violent climate in South Africa has had the effect of eliminating sex differences in aggressive behaviour.

While reflecting on the preceding arguments it is worth considering a comment by Rohner (in Österman et al., 1994) that culture is more predictive of level of aggression than gender. This is seemingly supported by the results of the present study where all significant differences in aggressive behaviour were in a cross-cultural context, while not a single intra-cultural gender difference was recorded. The significantly higher level of indirect aggression reported by the Zulu participants when compared with the Xhosa participants is for example illustrative of the influence that culture has on aggressive behaviour.

It is hoped that the present study will stimulate further interest and research into aggression in South Africa in particular, and trends in cross-cultural behaviour in the country in general. Furthermore, if the present study is able to encourage readers to strive to understand those who are different from themselves, thereby facilitating improved communication, it may well make a valuable contribution in promoting tolerance.

Although awareness and consideration can go a long way towards eliminating the harmful effects of aggression, they may not in themselves be sufficient. A proactive stance whereby interventions are planned and implemented to curb escalating levels of aggression is needed. Results of the present study as well as those of similar studies can assist in ensuring that such interventions are successful.

The participants in the present study represent the generation that will in the foreseeable future play an important role in South Africa. They will become leaders, decision-makers and citizens whose responsibility it will be to manage aggression and all its ramifications. It is hoped that the results obtained in the present study and similar studies will contribute to their mutual understanding of each other, and in so doing assist in facilitating the task that lies ahead of them. Furthermore, comparisons of the present study's results with the those of similar international studies involving the same generation (Richardson & Green, 1999) will hopefully shed more light on South African conditions and facilitate international understanding of the country.

In reflecting on the present study it becomes possible to make certain suggestions for further research and the refining of similar future studies. A comment relating to urban and rural differences in South Africa has relevance. The present study did not set out to consider the effect that such differences would have on patterns of aggressive behaviour. Certain aspects of the results can however be better understood when considering the differing regional

backgrounds of some of the participants, and this includes urban and rural influences. These influences could be taken into account in future studies of this nature.

A further suggestion that can be made relates to the effect of group identification in South Africa. According to Bornman et al. (1998) group identification as a result of apartheid was a major source of conflict in the past. Socio-economic differences that were created by it may however still be relevant in the current situation and may give rise to differing attitudes towards members of ingroups and outgroups. The design of the present study did not require participants to differentiate between their ingroup and outgroup aggressive behaviour, so that while some may have considered their behaviour towards ingroup members, others may well have considered their outgroup. In future studies of this nature it may be worthwhile to include this differentiation with regards to the target of the aggressive behaviour.

The true nature of male and female aggression in South Africa remains an interesting area for further study. The absence of significant gender differences in the results of the present study, as well as the reasons behind these results, may open up many worthwhile questions to be answered in further studies.

A final suggestion relates to social networks. Lagerspetz et al. (in Walker et al., 2000) considered social networks of their participants in their work on direct and indirect aggression. They concluded that dense social networks inhibit direct aggression and facilitate indirect aggression. It may well be worthwhile for future studies of the nature of the present study to include network density as a variable because it appears to be a decisive factor in determining the choice of direct or indirect aggression.

In conclusion the following comment made by the then president of the Republic of South Africa, F. W. De Klerk, in 1991 has relevance : "The spiral of violence is

the most serious single obstacle to negotiation for a new constitution : ... Therefore all of us have to make a concerted effort to end the violence – and make that effort now." (in Botha & Van Vuuren, 1993, p. 78). Almost a decade on it remains true that violence and aggression of the proportions that are at times evident in South Africa can jeopardise the prosperity and harmony that should be the rights of all the inhabitants. Aggression does not always equate to violence, but it can cause as much hurt and separation between people and may even be the precursor of terrible acts of violence. The importance of addressing the problem of aggression can therefore not be overemphasised. Finally, it is of particular importance to consider the cross-cultural nature of South African life when addressing the problem of aggression. When exploring the nature of differences between people in South Africa, it remains, in the words of Lorde (in Coetzee, 1990), essential not to see them as insurmountable barriers, but to identify them as springboards for creative, positive change in the country. This is a very apt point of departure from which to consider differences in aggressive behaviour between fellow South Africans.

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APPENDIX

The Richardson Conflict Response Questionnaire (RCRQ)

Think of all the times in the past month or so in which someone did or said something to make you angry. Indicate how frequently YOU did the following in those situations. Please make an X over the number that best describes how you acted.

1. Yelled or screamed at them.	1. never	2. seldom	3. sometimes	4. often	5. very often
2. Did things to irritate them	1. never	2. seldom	3. sometimes	4. often	5. very often
3. Threatened to hit or throw something at them	1. never	2. seldom	3. sometimes	4. often	5. very often
4. Made up stories to get them in trouble	1. never	2. seldom	3. sometimes	4. often	5. very often
5. Did not show that I was angry	1. never	2. seldom	3. sometimes	4. often	5. very often
6. Cursed at them	1. never	2. seldom	3. sometimes	4. often	5. very often
7. Threw something at them	1. never	2. seldom	3. sometimes	4. often	5. very often
8. Tried to make them look stupid	1. never	2. seldom	3. sometimes	4. often	5. very often
9. Stormed out of the room	1. never	2. seldom	3. sometimes	4. often	5. very often
10. Made negative comments about their appearance to someone else	1. never	2. seldom	3. sometimes	4. often	5. very often
11. Hit (or tried to hit) them with something hard	1. never	2. seldom	3. sometimes	4. often	5. very often
12. Insulted them or called them names to their face	1. never	2. seldom	3. sometimes	4. often	5. very often
13. Talked the matter over	1. never	2. seldom	3. sometimes	4. often	5. very often
14. Spread rumours about them	1. never	2. seldom	3. sometimes	4. often	5. very often
15. Sulked and refused to talk about it	1. never	2. seldom	3. sometimes	4. often	5. very often
16. Kicked (or tried to kick) the other person	1. never	2. seldom	3. sometimes	4. often	5. very often
17. Dropped the matter entirely	1. never	2. seldom	3. sometimes	4. often	5. very often
18. Took something that belonged to them	1. never	2. seldom	3. sometimes	4. often	5. very often
19. Hit (or tried to hit) the other person with my hand or fist	1. never	2. seldom	3. sometimes	4. often	5. very often
20. Gossiped about them behind their back	1. never	2. seldom	3. sometimes	4. often	5. very often
21. Pushed, grabbed or shoved them	1. never	2. seldom	3. sometimes	4. often	5. very often

22. Called them names behind their back	1. never	2. seldom	3. sometimes	4. often	5. very often
23. Told others not to associate with them	1. never	2. seldom	3. sometimes	4. often	5. very often
24. Waited until I calmed down and then discussed the problem	1. never	2. seldom	3. sometimes	4. often	5. very often
25. Told others about the matter	1. never	2. seldom	3. sometimes	4. often	5. very often
26. Threw something (but not at the other) or smashed something	1. never	2. seldom	3. sometimes	4. often	5. very often
27. Destroyed or damaged something that belonged to them	1. never	2. seldom	3. sometimes	4. often	5. very often
28. Gathered other friends to my side	1. never	2. seldom	3. sometimes	4. often	5. very often