

THE CONTRIBUTION OF HIP HOP TO THE CONSTRUCTION OF PERSONAL IDENTITIES OF SOUTH AFRICAN FEMALE LATE ADOLESCENTS

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Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for

PHILOSOPHIAE DOCTOR

at the

Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University

2012

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DEDICATION

To the honour and glory of the Almighty God

To my dearest mother, Mary Wanjiru,

To my father, Gitonga Wahome,

To my brother, Mwaniki Gitonga

To my sister, Mumbi Gitonga

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to extend my sincere appreciation and gratitude to:

- My promoter, Professor Aletta Delport, for your belief in me. With love, you offered expert advice, excellent guidance, and unconditional encouragement throughout my studies;
- My co-promoter, Dr Noluthando Toni, for your invaluable guidance and support;
- The critical reader, Dr Mathabo Khau, for your guidance and enlightenment on the use of visual methodology;
- Professor Naydene de Lange for your expertise in using visual participatory approaches;
- Professor Lesley Wood for your help in data coding;
- Anthony Sparg for your expertise and dedication in language editing;
- Professor Olive Mugenda for your unconditional support and your encouragement;
- Ms Nyaradzo Dhliwayo for your research assistance and transcription of data;
- Dr John Odindi, Dr Mathew Munji, Mr Frank Murage, and Mr Noah Ochomo for all your emotional support and technical support, as well as your prayers;
- My colleague, Ms Robin Notshulwana, for your support and the much-needed humour that we shared every day;
- My son, Eric Gitonga, my brother, Patrick Muturi, my sister, Charity Gitonga, and my aunt, Gladys Wanja, for all your prayers, boundless emotional support, and your belief in me.
- Professor Wilson Njue, Emma Nyaga, Jackline Nyaga, Adam Nyaga, Vic and Lathicia Klackers, and the Cotway family. The direct and indirect support and encouragement that you gave me is much appreciated.

This study was made possible by financial support received from the Department of Research Capacity Building, Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University, and Kenyatta University, Kenya.

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ABSTRACT

Identity construction is an integral task during late adolescence. In this study, I argue that hip hop music contributes to the process of identity construction among female late adolescents. The contexts that the female late adolescent is exposed to affect her process of identity construction. These contexts include family, friends, peers, religion, and popular culture, among other things. Hip hop music forms part of present-day popular culture. Adolescents have access to this genre of music via the mass media and social networks.

The aim of this study is to explore the nature of hip hop's contribution to the identity construction of female late adolescents in South Africa. To this end, I engaged seven female late adolescents in several research activities, which enabled them to make sense of their perceived identities in the context of hip hop music. I then interpreted the participants' stories, in order to understand the process by which hip hop had contributed to their sense of personal identity.

The participants in this study were first-year students in the Faculty of Education, Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University, who were all in the developmental phase of late adolescence. Narrative inquiry and participatory research (PR) approaches were the preferred strategies of data generation. The data-generation techniques included the use of drawings and lyric inquiry. These techniques served to stimulate the generation of narrative data. They also provided frameworks within which the participants could engage with their sense of identity in the context of hip hop music.

The research revealed that hip hop music does indeed contribute to the process of personal identity construction of the female late adolescents who participated in the study. It does so by compelling the adolescent to think about herself in relation to her *continual* self, which draws from her past, present, and future, her *interactional* self, both at the personal and social levels, and her *situational* self. The appeal of hip hop to her cognitive capabilities is enhanced through the strong link that hip hop has with her emotions.

The significance of this study can be summarised in three points. Firstly, this study provides empirical evidence of hip hop as a meaningful resource for the female adolescent as she constructs her identity. As such, the findings of this study negate the public notion of hip hop as being a bad influence on young people, and provides proof of its significant role in the

lives of South African female adolescents. Secondly, this study is important for education in South Africa. The significance of hip hop music in education settings lies in its fundamental communicative capabilities, which can be effectively utilised in the classroom situation. Thirdly, this study strengthens educational research in South Africa, especially research aimed at the liberation and emancipation of female adolescents in South Africa. In this regard, this study provides alternative methodologies of inquiry to conventional research strategies, such as questionnaires and surveys.

KEYWORDS:

Identity, adolescence, female late adolescence, personal identity, social identity, popular culture, hip hop, participatory approaches, visual methodology, lyric inquiry methodology

ACRONYMS

AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
CD	Compact Disk
DJ	Disk Jockey
DVD	Digital versatile disc
FET	Further Education and Training
FP	Foundation Phase
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Syndrome
IIM	Identity in Music
IT	Identity Theory
MII	Music in Identity
NMMU	Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University
PR	Participatory Research
PRA	Participatory Rural Appraisal
SABC 1	South Africa Broadcasting Corporation channel 1
SIT	Social Identity Theory

CHAPTER 1: ORIENTATION TO THE STUDY

1.1. INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

This is for my girls all around the world,
Who've come across a man who don't respect your worth,
Thinking all women should be seen, not heard,
So what do we do girls? Shout out loud!

Letting them know we're gonna stand our ground,
Lift your hands high and wave them proud,
Take a deep breath and say it loud, Never can, never will,
Can't hold us down.
(Lyrics from the song *You can't hold us down* by Christina Aguilera¹ and Lil' Kim²).

Music contributes significantly to the construction of personal and social identities (Ruud 2004; Hargreaves and Marshall 2003; Hargreaves, Miell and MacDonalds 2002). This study contends that hip hop music plays a significant role in the construction of the personal identities of young people, particularly female late adolescents.

Since its inception in the 1970s, the hip hop industry has generally been male-dominated (Krimms 2000; Rose 1994). However, women have, since the 1980s, participated in the hip hop industry. Sha Rock, a member of the Funky Four Plus One group, is regarded as the first female rapper³ (MC) of the 1980s. Before then, women participated in the industry only as dancers and backup singers (Perkins 1996). Women rappers of the 1980s did not only seek to display their competence in rhyming, but they also used rap music as a vehicle through which matters faced by inner-city women could be revealed, particularly issues surrounding concerns of sexuality and gender (Perkins 1996, 16). In recent years, the nature of female participation in the hip hop music industry has widened, to encompass active production of music of this genre. In their music, women rappers address matters that are pertinent to women. Such matters include issues of female empowerment and female success. The chorus of the song *Can't hold us down* by Christina Aguilera and Lil' Kim, quoted at the beginning

¹ Christina Aguilera, also known as Christina Maria Aguilera, is an American recording artist and actress. Some of her most famous debut tracks include *You can't hold us down* (BMG 2003), which she collaborated with Lil' Kim. She also recorded an album, *Christina Aguilera* (1999). See <http://www.christinaaguilera.com/us/home>.

² Lil' Kim, also known as Kimberly Denise Jones, is an American rapper and actress. Her career began in 1995 in a group called Junior M.A.F.I.A. See <http://www.atlanticrecords.com/>.

³ Rap constitutes the MC component of hip hop culture. An MC, or the rapper, is involved in delivering a chant alongside a pre-recorded instrumental track and cannot also work together with the DJ.

of this chapter, is an example of a song that seeks to make women aware of the masculine hegemonies that hinder them from taking action to transform their own lives.

In South Africa, the scope of female participation in the music industry encompasses the role of women as DJs and rappers, as well as active producers of hip hop music. The most prominent of these women are DJ Cndo⁴, DJ Roxxi, and DJ Linda⁵. The participation of females in the hip hop industry in South Africa is evident also in the consumption of hip hop. The advancement of technology and the mass media have made it possible for young people to access and share hip hop music more easily.

This study stems from my interest in the rapid growth of hip hop culture among young South Africans. I have been particularly curious about the role of hip hop in their lives. On my arrival in South Africa in 2007 as an international postgraduate student from Kenya, I became increasingly aware of the significant number of young people who listened to hip hop. These young people always had loud music playing from their cellphones or iPods as they walked to and from their classes, the computer laboratories, and the library. Of particular interest was the considerable number of female students who listened to hip hop music. As the years went by, I also noticed an increase in the number of reality shows and hip hop contests broadcast during prime time on national television programmes. I observed that in recent years hip hop has been growing in popularity in South Africa, with an increasing number of young females identifying with this genre.

In order to understand the reasons for hip hop's growth in popularity among young women in South Africa, I needed to understand what this genre meant to them. I therefore set out to randomly ask three specific questions to young female students that I encountered in the university library and corridors, as well as in the taxis. I asked three questions: *What is the name of the artist that you are listening to? What kind of music does he/she sing? Why do you like his/her music?* From the responses I received, it was apparent that a significant number of young women listen to hip hop music. Their favourite singers were mainly male and female American and South African hip hop artists. The female students that I spoke to admitted that they enjoy listening to hip hop music for a variety of reasons. These included the

⁴ DJ Cndo's real name is Sindisiwe Zungu. She developed an interest in deejaying and started learning the skill at Durban's Finest DJ Academy in Durban. See the Music Industry Online (<http://www.mio.co.za/>).

⁵ Her real name is Kasi Groover. She was born and bred in Soweto, South Africa. She is currently a music producer, as well as an established DJ. See http://www.house-mixes.com/profile/DJ_Linda.

reasons “Hip hop is real to me” and “Hip hop makes me become me and happy”. As I continued to engage with these females, the significance of hip hop in their lives became apparent. Expressions such as “hip hop is real to me” further stirred my curiosity, as it alluded to the notion of an identity in the music, or through the music. I was therefore motivated to explore *why* and *how* the music was experienced as “real” to them, despite negative public notions that hip hop music has a bad influence on young people (Gitonga 2009; Taylor and Taylor 2007; Perullo 2005; Taylor and Taylor 2004). These negative assumptions claim that hip hop idolises topics related to the youth’s need for self-indulgence and instant gratification, such as drugs, violence, and promiscuity (Gitonga 2009, 3).

My curiosity motivated me to consult related literature. It became clear that globally adolescents constitute the largest number of music consumers. This was evidenced by research studies that drew from record sales, top music charts, and other social networks (Larson 2001; North and Hargreaves 2000; North and Hargreaves 1999; Larson and Kubey 1983). Adolescents listen to such music for a variety of reasons, such as mood regulation and entertainment, and the experience and expression of identity (Campbell, Connell and Beegle 2007). Therefore, based on my observations alluded to earlier, as well as confirmation from relevant literature sources, I decided to continue my exploratory journey of how music, and, in particular, hip hop, informed the young female’s sense of “the real me”, as expressed by several students that I had interacted with. Whereas there is no contention of the significance of music in identity construction (Ruud 2004; Hargreaves and Marshall 2003; Hargreaves et al. 2002), the aim of this study is to provide insight into the nature of the female adolescent’s use of hip hop music during the construction of her⁶ identity. In other words, I wanted to determine how hip hop music contributes to female’s increasing sense of self. I also aimed to understand the processes underlying the contribution of hip hop music to identity construction.

1.2. RATIONALE FOR THE STUDY

Identity construction is a major task during late adolescence (Kroger 2007). The physical, biological, psychological and social transitions that an adolescent experiences during this phase have implications for the process of identity construction. The contexts that the female

⁶ Throughout this study I will refer to individuals in the female form.

late adolescent is exposed to also affect her process of identity construction. These contexts include family, friends, peers, religion, and popular culture, among other things. Hip hop music forms part of present-day popular culture. Although several research studies confirm the link between music and identity construction during adolescence (Ruud 2004; Hargreaves and Marshall 2003; Hargreaves et al. 2002; Roe 1999), minimal literature focuses on the influence of specific music genres on this process. This research study thus seeks to contribute to the existing body of knowledge that links music and identity construction during adolescence, by exploring this process in the context of hip hop music.

The increased consumption of hip hop music by females suggests increased identification with this genre of music. The implications of this increased engagement on the developing identity of the female late adolescent need to be understood. The late adolescence phase is conceptualised as the exit point of childhood, when the adolescent enters adulthood. By then the adolescent is perceived to have a reasonably established sense of her identity. I was therefore encouraged to explore which aspects of hip hop music stimulate her to consider aspects of herself in terms of her fast approaching adulthood, when she will be required to have a clearer sense of her personal identity in terms of career choices, expected gender roles, and so forth.

1.3. RESEARCH QUESTION

In accordance with the above, the primary question that guided this study was the following: *How does hip hop music contribute to the construction of the personal identity of female late adolescents in South Africa?*

Consequently, the following sub-questions guided my quest for answers to the primary question:

- Why do female late adolescents identify with hip hop music?
- What are the *influences* of female late adolescents' identification with hip hop on these adolescents' sense of self?

1.4. THE AIM AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The ultimate aim of the study was to determine *how* hip hop music contributes to the construction of the personal identity of the female late adolescent in South Africa. I also

wanted to understand *why* she identifies so strongly with a genre that has been male-dominated since its inception in the 1970s, and how, by using hip hop music, she positions herself and assumes agency in this context.

To attain this endeavour, I identified a number of objectives that enhanced my understanding of the issue. These objectives served to shed light on the nature of adolescents' engagement with hip hop music. In addition to consulting literature pertaining to adolescents' use of hip hop, I aimed to establish the prevalent themes in most of the favourite hip hop songs that are listened to by the participants. It was my assumption that these themes would indicate the kind of messages embodied in the lyrics of songs preferred by the participating female adolescents. I also aimed to determine the reasons why the participants of this study identify with hip hop music. This would shed light on the various uses of hip hop music by adolescents. It would also indicate which aspects of the genre resonated with the participants. I also wanted to explore the relationship between the themes embodied in the text of their preferred songs and the participants' expressed identities, in order to understand the influences of their identification with hip hop on their sense of identity. It is my contention that understanding such relationships shed light on the processes by which hip hop music contributes to the construction of a female late adolescent's.

1.5. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The role that hip hop music plays in young females' lives requires interrogation. It is my contention that educational institutions can utilise this genre's embedded attributes to enable young people to find solutions to problems that are pertinent to them, and in so doing contribute to the construction of their personal identities. The outcomes of this study revealed hip hop's fundamental communicative capabilities. These have a direct influence on the identity construction process of female late adolescents. It is my contention that aspects of these communicative capabilities can be utilised in classroom situations, particularly in terms of the proper management and expression of the adolescent's emotionality. The study is also significant for educational research in terms of its utilisation of specific participatory approaches, such as drawings, lyric inquiry, and narrative inquiry. The appropriateness of participatory research methods in studies aimed at the empowerment and transformation of South African females was evident.

1.6. DELIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

This study confines itself to first-year female students enrolled in the faculty of education at Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University. These students encompassed education student pursuing all courses offered at the faculty. These courses include the foundation, intermediate and further Education and Training (FET) phase courses. These students were all female late adolescents between 18 and 22 who identified strongly with hip hop music. Due to time and financial constraints, the study did not pursue a quest into the behavioural manifestation of manifested identities; neither did it purport to provide explanations for the same.

1.7. CONCEPT CLARIFICATION

The key concepts that constitute the primary research question guiding this study are briefly clarified in this section as they are used in the study. These include the concepts of *identity*, *personal identity*, *identity construction*, *late adolescence*, and *hip hop*. More detailed discussions of these concepts will be provided in Chapter 2.

Identity

The concept of identity is often referred to as the “self-concept” or “the self” (Gouws, Kruger and Burger 2008; Kroger 2007; Jenkins 2004). In addition, the terms “I” and “me” are frequently considered as referring to the notion of identity. Identity as self-concept sees identity as a social product whose construction is necessitated by the reaction of significant others towards the self (Oyserman 2004). Self-concept consists of one’s self-image and one’s self-esteem (Coleman and Hendry 1990). The notion of what other people think about us, as well as their reaction towards us, has implications for our sense of identity.

The self is also view as an array of self-relevant knowledge (Brewer and Hewstone 2004, 6). It is the tool that we use to make sense of our experiences and the process that constructs, defends, and maintains self-relevant knowledge (ibid.). Rodgers and Scott (2008) perceive the self as that which informs identity. As such, they see the self as “the meaning maker”, and identity as “the meaning made” (Rodgers and Scott 2008, 279). They further argue that the self, in its completeness, remains unknowable. The self constitutes the essential meanings that we make of ourselves over time. Subsequently, the self remains recognisable and coherent, and by doing so, it allows us to move in the world with a certain degree of confidence (ibid.).

“I” and “me” are terms that we use when we refer to our sense of identity. Hargreaves et al. (2002, 15) explain that I is that part of our identity that reflects on me and consists of the unchanging self as experienced by the active processor. Me is that part of who we are that can be observed and known and is composed of social categories (ibid.). Hence, the notions of self-concept and the self can both be conceptualised as contributing to one’s overall sense of identity.

In this study, the concept of identity is understood as that which provides an answer to the question *Who am I?* both at a personal level and a social level, and also in terms of one’s present, one’s past, and one’s future. In the stories of the participants generated during this study, the use of terms such as “self”, “I” and “me”, as well as participants’ descriptions of themselves in social contexts, were all understood as referring to their sense of identity as female late adolescents.

Personal identity

Personal identity is conceptualised as a component of the self that is experienced privately. It is, however, observable publicly in and to the outside world (Jenkins 2004). Erikson (1968, 50) conceptualises personal identity as the conscious sense of sameness and continuity of the self that we develop through social interaction. In other words, the aspect of personal identity that is observable in and to the public is a synthesised product of our continuous same self, as informed by our social interactions. It is also contained in articulations of I and me and reflects the values and ideals of the self that a person acquires from her social interactions (Parekh 2009; Hatch and Schultz 2004).

In this study, the concept of personal identity is conceptualised as being entrenched and articulated in participants’ expressions of the self, I and me. The articulation of personal identity is perceived as containing both the private experience of the participant in the context of hip hop, as well as the meanings, beliefs, and values acquired from influential significant others, including hip hop artists.

Identity construction

The Oxford Paperback Dictionary Thesaurus and Word Power Guide (Soanes 2001, 182) defines the term “construct” as “an act of building or erecting a theory or an idea”. The term “construction” is defined as “the act or process of constructing an idea or a theory” (ibid.).

Literally understood, the concept of identity construction can then be seen as an act of building or forming an identity from various elements. These elements may consist of music, peers, and social networks.

Beauchamp and Thomas (2009, 178) see identity itself as a dynamic phenomenon that is characterised by constant shifts and invariable reshaping. The language used to depict this non-fixed and dynamic nature of identity varies across the literature. This language is used simultaneously and analogously to describe the dynamic process of identity construction. Terms used in this regard include “identity development” (Watson 2006; Erikson 1968), “identity negotiation” (Søreide 2006), “identity formation” (Rodgers and Scott 2008; Cobb 2004), “identity making” (Sfard and Prusak 2005), “identity shaping” (Flores and Day 2006), and “identity architecture” (Day, Kington, Stobart and Sammons 2006).

Parekh (2009, 271) believes that the process of identity construction is too complex to be captured by terms such as “self-discovery”, “self-creation”, and “self-authorship”. Parekh views these as “active processes” involved during the process of identity construction. Coldron and Smith (1999, 711) see identity construction as a process through which an identity is partly given and achieved by an individual’s active location in a social space. Their view also regards the process of identity construction as a cumulative process which occurs during an individual’s active interaction with an array of possible relations that an adolescent may have with others. Similarly, Watson (2006, 512) sees identity construction as an ongoing, effortful and dynamic process that needs to be sustained.

Identity construction in the context of this study’s focus on hip hop music is conceptualised as a conscious and ongoing process of active interaction of the adolescent with the music that she listens to. Identity construction in this study is thus understood as being intricately connected to the process of identity negotiation, which is seen as the means by which an individual negotiates and chooses what may best suit her identity.

The late adolescent

Adolescence refers to a particular phase between childhood and adulthood. The phase has three chronological sub-phases, namely early, middle and late adolescence (Kroger 2007). Late adolescence is defined as the period between 18 and 22 years of age. This study focuses on females in this period.

Hip hop music

Hip hop music is characterised by four distinct elements, namely disc-jockeying (deejaying/DJ), rapping (emceeing/MC), break-dancing, and graffiti art. The term hip hop is also broadly used to refer to a culture (Nganyi 2009; Alridge and Stewart 2005; Chang 2005; Rose 1994). Disk-jockeying is hailed as the first element of hip hop to emerge in the 1970s. It entailed utilisation of a technique called “scratching” (Taylor and Taylor 2004, 252). The technique involved use of the turntable to create unique sounds and rhythmic patterns by scratching a phonograph record with the needle (ibid.). Emceeing is said to have developed alongside the disk jockeying (Garofalo 1993, 245). It utilised rapping as a method of declaring pride in one’s community, skills and competence in language and musical expression. The break-dancing, also referred to as breaking” or “b-boy” developed closely with deejaying and emceeing (Perkins 1996, 13). Break-dancing is also described as part classical, part popular dance, part street language and part performance art (Perkins 1996, 14). Graffiti is referred to as harmless words or drawings on public spaces such as walls and door (Varshavsky 2009, 70). It has its roots in the public name writing tradition that emerged from a growing subculture in the late 1960s. (Stowers 2010; Stowers 2009. Graffiti can be distinguished into three main types namely political, gang-related and hip hop (Varshavsky 2009, 71). The hip hop graffiti emerged along with break-dancing, deejaying and emceeing. During this time, graffiti became the visual component that took shape as streetwise alternative to gangs and gang graffiti. As such it became a stylised system of subcultural status and street-level communication, a sort of visual rap laid down on the surfaces of the city (Ferrell 2001 quoted in Varshavsky 2009, 71) This study focuses predominantly on the rap (MC) and the disk jockey (DJ) components of the hip hop genre, although the general hip hop culture encompasses all four elements, as well as characteristic fashion, hairstyles and language. The various components of hip hop music are discussed in detail in Chapter 2 of this dissertation.

1.8. THE RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

This is a qualitative study. The concept of identity construction is explored from psychosocial and philosophical perspectives. The psychosocial perspective acknowledges identity construction as a developmental process as well as a social formation (Moje and Luke 2009, 422). The perspective posits that the self develops over time as a result of interaction with people (ibid.). It emphasises an account of an individual over time as influenced by her social

contexts. It sees identity as both a process and a product of social interaction (Beauchamp and Thomas 2009). The philosophical approach emphasises the persistent qualities that distinguish an individual from others. It also constitutes aspects of the continuity of self over time and over space. These essential qualities constitute aspects of our past that influence the way we view ourselves at the present and in the future (ibid.). Both these perspectives hold that our present identities entail memories of our past and incorporate recollections of how these memories have been shaped over time. In this regard, the narratives of the participants in this study are understood as reflections of their sense of self in the context of hip hop music, as informed by their past, their present and their future conception of self, in addition to their social contexts.

Consequently, this study has situated itself within the social constructionist, interpretive and critical Paradigms. In order to generate data, the study embraced participatory research approaches. Narrative data was obtained as stories which the participants told, while explaining their drawings and song lyrics.

The participants in this study were female late adolescents within the age group 18 to 22 years who indicated that they identify strongly with hip hop music. Purposive sampling was used to identify the participants from a population of first-year education students at the Faculty of Education, Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University (NMMU). Initially, a sampling questionnaire⁷ was administered to all the first-year education students to identify those students who listened to hip hop. A total of 50 female students met the required criteria. Through further purposive sampling, the number of participants was reduced to seven female students. A more detailed account of the sampling process is provided in Chapter 3 of this study.

Data analysis followed the guidelines provided by Lincoln and Guba (1985). I used the Constant Comparative Method (Lincoln and Guba 1985). The units of comparison were provided by the participants themselves during the participatory analysis activity. Additional units were identified as informed by the literature reviewed in this study. An independent coder assisted with the coding process. A consensus meeting was then held to reconcile and compare the codes that we had identified. In Chapter 4, the data is presented in a table in

⁷ See Appendix 1

which a summary of the themes and categories is given. An interpretation and discussion of the themes and categories follows in narrative format.

The study complied with the ethical measures stipulated by the Ethics Committee of Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University. Ethical clearance was granted by this committee. The study aimed to uphold the four guidelines of ethical measures proposed by Christians (2005, 145). These guidelines entail obtaining participants' informed consent and assuring participants' privacy and confidentiality. The guidelines also required that I do not deceive the participants and that I remain accurate in the analysis and the reporting of the data. As the researcher, I declare, however, that my interpretation and discussion of the data were not entirely value-free, since I interpreted and made meaning of the stories told by the participants. I applied these meanings in relation to the research question posed in the study.

1.9. OUTLINE OF THE CHAPTERS

This study consists of five chapters. This section contains a summary of what the chapters contain.

Chapter 1: Orientation to the study; introduction and the background to the study; the rationale for the study; the problem statement; the research question and the objective of the study; concept clarification; the research design and methodology; delimitation of the study; the research outline; and a conclusion.

Chapter 2: Identity: the adolescent and her identity; understanding the concept of identity; personal and social identity; the theoretical lenses of the study; models of identity construction; early and mid-adolescence; the construction of identity in late adolescence; intimacy and identity in late adolescence; music and the adolescent's identity; the adolescent, popular culture, and hip hop culture; and the conclusion to the chapter.

Chapter 3: Research design; philosophical foundations and the methodology; the research paradigm of the study; the research strategy of the study; the actual data-generation process; data analysis; ethical considerations; and the conclusion to the chapter.

Chapter 4: Data presentation; interpretation and discussion of the findings; and a conclusion.

Chapter 5: Conclusion of the study; the significance of the study to education; and implications of the study.

1.10. CONCLUSION OF THIS CHAPTER

This chapter provided an orientation to the study. In summary, the chapter explained the context, the rationale for the inquiry, a statement of the problem, and the aim and objectives of the study. The chapter also clarified the key concepts embodied in the title of this dissertation. I also introduced the research design and the methodology used in the research

The next chapter will provide the theoretical framework for the study. I will engage with the concepts of identity and identity construction in female late adolescence, as informed by the literature. The chapter culminates in a detailed review of the literature pertaining to the identity tasks of these adolescents. I interrogate the different contexts, in particular hip hop, and transitions pertinent to the developmental phase of adolescence, and how these transitions influence the female adolescent's sense of identity.

CHAPTER 2: IDENTITY AND IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION IN LATE ADOLESCENCE

2.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter introduces the reader to the concepts of identity and identity construction in late adolescence by discussing notions put forward by various scholars. The term “identity construction” is contained in the title of this study. Therefore, clarification of the term has been done in relation to other common terminology that has been used analogously to explain the notion of fluidity that is associated with the phenomenon of identity. The concepts of personal identity and social identity are also discussed. In addition, I engage with the literature on the adolescent and her identity construction, by discussing two influential models, propounded by two esteemed scholars, namely Erikson (1968, 1964) and Marcia (1987, 1966a, b). The literature on popular culture and hip hop as an integral part of the late adolescent’s life is also included.

This study examines the concept of identity construction from a psychosocial, as well as a philosophical, perspective. The psychosocial perspective acknowledges the social and developmental implications to the process of identity construction and emphasises the influences, over time, of our social contexts on accounts of ourselves. It regards identity as both a process and a product of social interaction (Beauchamp and Thomas 2009). The philosophical approach tends to emphasise the persistent qualities that make an individual distinct from others. It emphasises aspects of continuity of the self over time. These essential qualities constitute aspects of our past that influence the way we view ourselves in the present and in the future. In other words, our view of our identity in the present entails memories of our past and includes our recollection of how such memories have been shaped over time. In this regard, the stories of the participants in this study are understood as reflections of their sense of self in the context of hip hop music, as informed by their past, their present, and their future.

2.2. CONCEPTUALISING IDENTITY

Identity is a complex entity to define (Beauchamp and Thomas 2009; Gouws et al. 2008; Kroger 2007; Mederoi 2005). According to Beauchamp and Thomas (2009, 176), some of the major challenges in finding a concrete definition of identity have been the struggle to comprehend the close connection between identity and the Self, the role of emotion in shaping identity, the power of stories and discourse in understanding identity, the role of reflection in shaping identity, the link between identity and agency, and the contextual factors that promote or hinder the construction of identity. This complexity has prompted many researchers to pursue varied approaches in an attempt to define and explain the concept. Since this study's main focus is the identity of female late adolescents, and how hip hop contributes to the construction of their identity, it is paramount that attention be given to this concept at this juncture.

What is identity?

Scholars interested in the concept of identity use differing terminology when referring to identity or to phenomena closely related to it. The literature reviewed in this chapter also applies terminology such as “I”, “me”, the “self”, and “ego” in this regard. In this study, I will retain the terminology used by each theorist cited herein.

The major focuses of the academic fields that have concerned themselves with identity are more often in the quest to answer questions such as *What is identity? How is an identity attained by an individual or individuals? Does identity change with time and in alternative contexts? Can one choose what to become?* These questions reflect core issues that every human being deals with during her life.

Erikson (1968, 209) uses the term “identity” to refer to that which results from the “silent doings” of ego synthesis, namely the sense of inner solidarity with the ideals and values of a significant social group. The “silent doings” referred to here can be understood as the private processes of the ego that contribute to a sense of identity. Erikson asserts that identity is a result of the gradual integration of self-images which culminate in a sense of identity (Erikson 1968, 209). This integration is done through the ego synthesis process which tests, selects, and integrates self-images of oneself in social reality to give an individual a sense of self. Ego identity, therefore, is the “forever-to-be-revised” sense of self within social reality

(Erikson 1968, 211). This view of identity sets the stage from which we can understand the Self as a product of social interaction (ibid.).

Other identity theorists view identity as the different meanings that people assign to themselves (Jenkins 2004; Oyserman 2004; Ross and Buehler 2004; Mead 1934). These meanings can derive from two levels, namely individual and group identity levels (Moeng 2009; Puusa and Tolvanen 2006; Jenkins 2004; Blumer 1998). In the following section, I elaborate on the concept of identity as conceptualised by various theorists.

The “I” and the “Me”

In our day-to-day interactions, we use the words “I” and “me” constantly while referring to actions and associations, or simply when we give explanations of why we make certain decisions about anything that concerns us. What do these two words refer to in relation to ourselves? Two esteemed scholars who developed seminal identity theories, namely William James (1890) and Herbert Mead (1934), offer distinctions and explanations of the “I” and the “Me” as key components of identity. These two components are parts of a whole, but are separable in behaviour and experience. According to James (1890), the “I” is that part of our identity that reflects on “Me” and is constituted of the unchanging self as experienced by the active processor. The “Me” is that part of who I am that can be observed and known and is composed of social categories. The “I” gives us novel behaviour and experiences, while the “Me”, emanating from our assumptions of the attitudes of others towards us, is more closely aligned with expectations and social responsibilities (Mead 1934). Mead (1934, 174) argues that the two components are related by virtue of being phases of a social process in which the “I” is the historical precedent of the “Me”. He further asserts that incorporation of others’ attitudes towards the Self (the “Me”) is the mechanism by which the community becomes part of the individual. The novelty of a response which the “I” is capable of becomes the mechanism by which an individual can alter society (Mead 1934).

Charles Cooley (1902), another seminal identity theorist, explains the synthesis of identity in the essentialist view of identity (Hatch and Schultz 2004, 10). He considers the concepts of individualism and socialism as partial yet intricately linked perspectives of identity. These concepts can be seen as analogous to the notions of “I” and “Me”, as explained by Mead (1934) and James (1890) in the previous paragraph. Cooley (1902) stresses both the unity of the whole and the peculiar value of the individual by explaining “each by the other”, an idea

that, according to Hatch and Schultz (2004, 11), took its shape from contrasting the distributive (persons makes society) and the collective (society makes a person) perspectives about the relationship between the individual and society. Cooley's essential claims are embodied in his view that society and the individual do not denote separable phenomena but are simply collective and distributive aspects of the same entity (ibid.). This implies that one cannot explain any of the two concepts as independent entities, but one would rather explain each through making reference to the other. These two concepts are therefore inseparable and exist in the same body.

The "I" and the "Me" are thus significant attributes of an individual's identity. They are inseparable and are difficult to explain in isolation of each other. Drawing from Mead's (1934) view of the "I" being the historical precedent of the "Me", it is true to say that the "Me" is the expression of the "I" and is greatly informed by it. Whereas the "I" constitutes the ongoing moments of unique individuality of an individual, the "Me" refers to the internalised attitudes of the definitions offered by others (Jenkins 2004, 18). Hence, in the context of this study, the participants' references to "I" and "Me" are considered as their articulations of identity in the context of hip hop music.

Self-identity

Brewer and Hewstone (2004, 6) view the self as an array of self-relevant knowledge. They claim that the self is the tool that we use to make sense of our experiences and that it is also the process that constructs, defends, and maintains self-relevant knowledge (ibid.). Erikson (1968, 217) sees the self as what the "I" reflects on when it sees or contemplates the body, the personality, and the roles to which it is attached for life. Similarly, Rodgers and Scott (2008, 279) perceive the self as "the meaning maker", and they regard identity as "the meaning made". The self, in its completeness, remains unknowable. Yet, despite inevitable discontinuities, change, and the intangible nature of self, there exists, over time, a "self" that is recognisable and a coherence that allows one to move in the world with a certain confidence (ibid.).

The self can also be defined in social terms (Hatch and Schultz 2004; Jenkins 2004). Jenkins (2004, 28) explains the self through the concept of the "Self" and the "Person". He sees the "Self" as the individual's private, internal experience, while the "Person" is what appears publicly in and to the outside, external world (ibid.). As such, he refers to "selfhood" and

“personhood” as aspects of individual identification (ibid.). The difference between “Personhood” and “Selfhood” is difficult to explain, as they are as completely and utterly implicated in each other, and absolutely interactional. Individual selfhood is constructed in terms of the Other and in terms of one’s perceived similarity and difference to others (Jenkins 2004, 51). In a similar view, Erikson sees the counterplayers of the “self” as the “Others” with whom the “I” compares the “Self” (ibid.). Cooley also regards the Self as dependent upon immediate Others. The development of the Self is necessitated by reactions of an individual to an Other (Cooley 1902, xxiv). These responses generate emotions, which are, according to Nussbaum’s Neo-Stoic theory, evaluative judgements about the relation of these external objects or Others to the well-being of the self (Nussbaum 2001). The self is thus embedded in its own emotions (ibid.). It is a complex and vast “continent”, inhabited by all kinds of desires, memories, fears, anxieties, phobias, complexes, emotions, and passions acquired during the course of one’s life (Parekh 2009, 271).

The understanding of the self as discussed in previous paragraphs reveals an intricate reference to the “I” and the “Me” (Mead 1934), the individual and the Other, the internal and the external, the private and the public (Jenkins 2004). Although the self is deeply marred by vast inhibitions that individuals are not always aware of (Parekh 2009), reference to the self in this study is understood as referring to the wholeness of the participant’s sense of identity as informed by her own unique characteristics, as well as the conceptions of herself in relation to Others. In other words, articulation of her sense of identity is comprehended as a linguistic construction which connotes reference to the Other, which, in the context of this study, includes peers and hip hop music as a social phenomenon.

Self-concept and self-identification

Burris (1979, 5) sees self-concept as a composite image of what we think we are, what we think we can achieve, what we think others think of us, and what we would like to be. In other words, it is what we think we are in relation to ourselves and the world around us (ibid.). Self-concept refers to the ways in which people understand and perceive themselves, their own agency, and their personality (Coleman and Hendry 1990, 45). It is reciprocally linked to Others’ reactions towards the self. As such, self-concept becomes a social force that influences what the self perceives, feels, and reacts to (Burris 1979, 6). It affects our behaviour and reaction towards Others and, inevitably, Others’ reactions towards us (ibid.).

For instance, an adolescent's reaction to her peers' reactions to the appearance of an acne breakout on her face is also likely to influence the reaction of her peers in a given context. Oyserman (2004, 8) thus sees the self-concept as an "information processor", functioning to reconfigure social contexts, diffusing negative circumstances, and promoting positive outcomes for the self. It is what comes to mind when we think about ourselves (Tajfel 1981). It strives to provide the basic answer to the questions *Who am I? Where do I belong? How do I fit in?* (Brewer and Gaetner 2004; Oyserman 2004).

Hogg and Abrams (1988, 24) describe the self-concept as textured and structured into circumscribed and relatively distinct constellations, called "self-identification". Self-identification, according to these authors, comprises two separate subsystems of the self-concept, namely the personal identity and the social identity (ibid.,25). They see the social identity as containing social identifications, while the personal identity comprises personal identifications (ibid.). In other words, social identity contains self-descriptions derived from membership of social categories, while personal identity, which is the focus of this study, contains self-descriptions, which are more personal in nature, depicting specific attributes of the individual (ibid.). Self-concept thus consists of self-images. It also comprises an evaluative concept of the Self, in other words, one's self-esteem (Buris 1979, 5). It thus is closely related to both general social adjustment and the stability of one's self-concept (Coleman and Hendry 1990, 46) and includes emotional as well as cognitive aspects (Hargreaves et al. 2002, 7). The higher an individual's self-esteem, the more stable her self-concept and identity become (Coleman and Hendry 1990, 46). Self-concept, then, becomes the totality of self-descriptions and self-evaluations subjectively available to the individual (Buris 1979, 5).

The self-concept changes and finally consolidates during adolescence (Coleman and Hendry 1990). The consolidation of the self-concept is enhanced by the various physical, cognitive and social changes during adolescence (ibid.). Coleman and Hendry (1990, 7) thus regard self-concept as being directly linked to the individual's sense of identity, and they use these two concepts interchangeably. In this study, the female late adolescent's self-concept is conceptualised as being analogous to her personal identity. Hip hop music is regarded as a significant Other in her life, with whom she identifies and to which she responds. These

reactions influence the construction of her self-image, herself-esteem, and ultimately her self-concept and personal identity.

2.3. WHAT IS IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION?

The *Concise Oxford English Dictionary* (Soanes and Stevenson 2004, 218) defines the term “construct” as an act of building, erecting or forming a theory from various conceptual elements. Literally, the concept of identity construction can be seen as the act of building or forming an identity from various elements. These elements may consist of music, peers, and social networks. For Erikson (1968, 50), identity construction is both a conscious and an unconscious process through which an individual strives for continuity of personal character. Beauchamp and Thomas (2009, 178) regard identity as a dynamic phenomenon that is characterised by constant shifts and invariable reshaping. This implies ongoing construction. Coldron and Smith (1999, 711) also consider identity construction to be a continuing process through which an identity is partly given and achieved by an individual’s active location in a social space. This implies that the process of identity construction is a cumulative process which is achieved during an individual’s active interaction with an array of possible relations that she may have with others. Similarly, Watson (2006, 512) sees identity construction as a continuous, effortful and dynamic process that needs to be sustained.

The terms that are used to depict the dynamic nature of identity vary across the literature, and those that refer to identity construction include, for example, “identity development” (Watson 2006; Erikson 1968), “identity negotiation” (Søreide 2006), “identity formation” (Rodgers and Scott 2008; Cobb 2004), “identity-making” (Sfard and Prusak 2005), “identity shaping” (Flores and Day 2006), and “identity architecture” (Day, Kington, Stobart and Sammons 2006). In this regard, Parekh (2009, 271) argues that the process of identity construction is too complex to be captured by single terms. As such, he regards the processes of self-discovery, self-creation, and self-authorship all as active and collective constituents of the process of identity construction.

Identity construction in this study is conceptualised as a conscious process which also happens during the adolescent’s active interaction with hip hop music, and which is sustained through the interaction between the adolescent and the music itself. Identity construction in this study is thus understood as being intricately connected to the process of identity

negotiation, which is seen as the means by which the female late adolescent negotiates and chooses what will best suit her personal identity.

2.3.1. Identification in identity construction

Identification is the process by which groups or individuals create distinction, establish hierarchies, and renegotiate rules of inclusion to consolidate a sense of identity (Cerulo 1997, 394, 395). Identification is crucial during personal identity construction, as it enables an individual to determine who she is and who she wants to become (Kirsh 2006, 86; Jenkins 2004, 18). People identify in order to associate with a group, in order to form a group, or to dissociate and exclude themselves from a group (Moeng 2009; Jenkins 2004). This comes about when an individual differentiates herself from others by defining the category within which she exists (Moeng 2009; Hogg 2004; Hogg and Abrams 1988; Tajfel 1981).

Jenkins (2004, 4) holds that identification involves meaning-making, which leads to an interaction. These interactions can be in the form of agreement, disagreement, communication, or negotiation. He distinguishes between two kinds of identification, namely the “individual unique” and the “collective shared” (Jenkins 2004, 15). However, although these kinds of identification are unique, they are also deeply entangled. These identifications are constituted during the internal and the external dialectic processes, embodied in the selfhood (Jenkins 2004, 18).

Erikson (1968, 155) emphasises that, in terms of personal identity construction during childhood and adolescence, identification is a critical process. During childhood, these identifications are characterised by childhood playfulness and the experimental zest of youthfulness (ibid.). During adolescence, identifications are achieved in absorbing sociability and competitive learnership with and among an individual’s peers (ibid.). Such identifications during adolescence are significant, as they force individuals into choices which will lead to identity commitments for life (ibid.). Identity construction in adolescence constitutes mutual assimilation of childhood identification and the absorption of this identification into new configurations, which, in turn, are dependent on the process by which the society concerned identifies the individual (Erikson 1968, 159). The society’s way of identifying the individual is met by the individual’s way of identifying with others. This is intermittently characterised by periods of moratorium. The family, the school, the neighbourhood, and peers serve as contacts and experimental identifications from which successive tentative identifications

occur (*ibid.*). Final identity, usually fixed at the end of adolescence, is ordered to any single identification of an individual's past. It includes all significant identifications, and also alters them in order to construct a unique and reasonably coherent whole (Erikson 1968, 161).

Cohen (1985, 14) asserts that symbols and boundaries are crucial to the process of identification. Symbols in this context are those meanings that we intuitively ascribe to more instrumental and pragmatic 'things' in ordinary use. They do more than just represent something, as people can use them to supply part of their meanings. Symbols may be shared, but the meanings that emanate from them are subjective, as mediated by the idiosyncratic experience of the individual (*ibid.*, 14).

Lamont and Molnar (2002, 1) argue that we draw symbolic boundaries to categorise people. Boundaries are thus conceptual distinctions made by social actors to categorise objects, people, practices, and even time and space. The content of symbolic boundaries varies with the cultural resources that an individual has access to and the structural conditions within which the boundaries are placed (Lamont and Fournier 1992; Lamont 1992). Such resources may draw from national, historical, cultural or subcultural sources. In other words, individuals or groups do not just create new boundaries, but they borrow from general cultural repertoires supplied to them by the society in which they live. They then recycle these boundaries according to the general definitions of valued traits within their collectives (Lamont 1992, 7). Identity is made evident within boundaries by these markers (Lamont and Molnar 2002; Scott 2000; Lamont 1992; Lamont and Fournier 1992; Cohen 1985). Cohen (1985, 15) furthermore asserts that boundaries constitute elements of symbols that serve certain purposes and, in certain respects, those that are considered to be more similar than they are different. Communities and collectives function as a boundary-expressing symbol (*ibid.*). In these boundaries, expressing symbols are held as common by the members of a community, but their meanings may vary within each member's unique orientation to them. For instance, dance is an expressive symbol of most African communities, but at a personal level, an individual may use dance to represent other aspects, such as identity, spiritual beliefs, sexuality, political beliefs, and professionalism, depending on the context, the experience, the historical experiences, and the interaction that the person has had with dance. However, the consciousness of the community is kept alive through manipulation of its

symbols (Cohen 1985). Through symbolic construction and embellishment, the efficiency and the reality of the community's boundaries can be realised (Cohen 1985, 6).

In hip hop, for example, language, music, dress, and walking style can be seen as markers within the boundaries of hip hop subcultures. Markers residing within boundaries create other boundaries within them, which define similarities or differences between the marker wearer and the marker perceiver (Lederach 2010, 2). For instance, the marker of music style within a youth subculture may vary among several youth subcultures. The effectiveness of a marker in terms of consolidating group identity depends on a shared understanding of the marker's meanings. Markers can be inclusive or exclusive. An inclusive boundary or marker is one which other people are ready and able to associate with (Brewer and Pierce 2005). An exclusive marker, on the other hand, is a marker which imposes restriction on the behaviour of others. An inclusive marker may become exclusive, in the sense that if it places restrictions on those people it has included, making it difficult for them to be included in other boundaries (ibid.).

Establishing and negotiating boundaries is thus central to the processes of constituting Selfhood and constructing personal identity (Lamont 1992, 11). As people try to erect boundaries to define themselves, they constantly draw inferences regarding their similarities to or differences from others. Indirectly, they are reproducing a classification system, and subsequently define who they are in a relational manner. Jenkins (2004, 123) sees this as a "process of internal-external dialectic of collective identification". Within the boundaries, the insider eventually then experiences herself as belonging.

In the context of this study, an understanding of the significance of boundaries and symbols in the construction of identity is important. This is because such knowledge sheds light on the understanding of the various markers, symbols, and boundaries embodied in hip hop music that the participants of this study engage with. Ultimately, such knowledge brings with it an understanding that will help in the explanation of how hip hop contributes to the sense of personal identity of female adolescents in South Africa. Moreover, it enlightens the meanings ascribed by the adolescents as they assimilate or do not assimilate such meanings into their sense of identity.

2.4. PERSONAL IDENTITY AND SOCIAL IDENTITY

“Personal identity” and “social identity” are terms that will be used regularly in this study. It is therefore paramount that I focus on each of these terms in detail at this point. Hogg and Abrams (1988, 25) hold that personal identity and social identity constitute separate subsystems of the self-concept. Parekh (2009, 268) regards these two identities as inseparable components that constitute an individual’s identity. In other words, they constitute the overall identity of a human being. Personal identity makes reference to the “I” and the “Me” (Shalom 1989; Tajfel and Turner 1979). As discussed earlier, the attributes of “I” and “Me” are parts of a whole but are separable in terms of behaviour and experience (Hatch and Schultz 2004, 10). As such, I argue that both the ‘Me’ and the ‘I’ attributes of an individual constitute her personal and social identities at the time of their salience.

Therefore, although the primary focus of this study is the construction of the personal identity of late female adolescents in South Africa, the emphasis on personal identity requires that I also appreciate the significance of the participants’ social identification with regard to the construction of their personal identity. Such appreciation is reinforced by the fact that the study involves the social phenomenon of hip hop music as the stimulus through which reflection of personal identity is undertaken.

2.4.1. Personal identity

Personal identity is an important attribute of the self, and, as such, is embodied in selfhood and personhood (Parekh 2009; Jenkins 2004). Personal identity is what appears publicly in and to the outside world and can be defined in terms of the psychological characteristics of the self (Jenkins 2004, 28). This implies that it is a product of the internal processes of the self, as well as the social contexts of the self. Parekh (2009, 268, 269) describes personal identity as the ineliminable inner life and distinct sense of selfhood or subjectivity. Personal identity is constituted by beliefs, attitudes to life, and values in terms of which individuals define or identify themselves as certain kinds of persons (ibid.). It articulates an individual’s conception of herself. It constitutes her fundamental orientation and provides a framework within which she can view herself and the world. Personal identity thus also acts as an intellectual and moral compass. It becomes a relatively clear point of reference. Consequently, personal identity is also viewed as closely bound up with an individual’s sense of self-worth, due to its close association with the self-image and self-esteem associated with

the self-concept (ibid., 270). Personal identity, according to Parekh (2009, 270), guides one's choices and actions and makes these coherent and consistent. It provides the norms by which an individual judges herself. As such, it forms the basis of her integrity.

The processes of self-understanding and self-reflection, which form the basis of self-definition, do not take place in a social vacuum (Parekh 2009). These occur against the background of past influences, and within the framework of the range of possibilities, ideals of life, and forms of thought available in one's society (ibid., 268). These processes are also shaped by one's immediate environment, intellectual and moral resources, fears and hopes for the future, one's position in society, and one's silent and vocal and planned and unplanned dialogue with significant others. Personal identity is thus always fluid and not static (Parekh 2009, 269). It is never a finished product, but is continually evolving. New experiences, new insights of oneself, social changes, exposure to other world views, and deeper reflection lead to regular revisions of one's personal identity (ibid.). Personal identity thus provides a vantage point from which one can view one's past and construct meaningful narratives of one's life (ibid., 271).

Erikson (1968, 50) conceptualises personal identity as the perception of "self-sameness" and continuity of one's existence in time and space, as well as others' recognition of one's sameness and continuity. It is the subjective awareness that there is a "self-sameness" and continuity which coincide with one's meaning for significant others (ibid.). It is the conscious sense of self that one develops through social interaction. It is that which differentiates the unique Self from all other selves (Jenkins 2004, 89). In other words, it is the personal awareness that separates one person from another person.

Personal identity is thus distanced from one's social associations, but cannot be understood without considering the underlying social contexts that inform it (Sen 2009). Social associations in this context are understood to refer to groups an individual may belong to. An individual's ability to balance and prioritise different identities acquired from different group membership and social interactions results from the dialectic between her self-understanding and her social environments (Parekh 2009, 267). In my view, these dialectics are also central to the sustainability of the personal identity in social or group associations in varied ways. For instance, social interactions in social groups generate reactions on the self-concept of an individual that shape her personal identity. In the context of this study, some hip hop songs,

which form the basis of interaction in adolescent peer relations, can contain aspects that a peer group may adopt as their label. An adolescent's participation in such peer groups may consequently assume such labels as part of her personal identity.

Sen (2009, 287), however, believes that an individual who comes from a population that is divided into "boxes" of either religious or political affiliation may find it difficult to reason about social priorities without threatening her personal identity. In the context of this study, which is based in South Africa, this claim by Sen (2009) leads me to acknowledge that the South African population is highly compartmentalised in terms of race, socio-economic background, education, ethnicity, traditions, and culture. As such, I recognise that the participants in this study may be socially divided according to one or more of the above characteristics. I therefore acknowledge that participants' sense of these divisions may encroach on their sense of personal identity in varied ways, particularly on how they engage with hip hop music, as well as how they choose to define their sense of identity in the context of this genre of music.

Choice plays an important role in the process of personal identity construction. Choice here refers to the sense by which we deliberate and decide what to define ourselves by. It also refers to the sense by which we seek to become this or that kind of person (Parekh 2009, 269). In the context of this study, the construction of personal identity by the study participants in the context of hip hop music involves choice and the application of reason. Submission to reason in the context of hip hop music facilitates deliberation and self-evaluation of one's sense of self in relation to hip hop music itself, as well as to other influences available to one.

2.4.2. Social identity

Jenkins (2004, 4) asserts that all human identities are, by definition, social identities. Social identity is complexly implicated and embodied with selfhood. In other words, it is an ongoing process which involves a synchronised synthesis of the internal (self-definition) and the external (definition of oneself offered by others) (Jenkins 2004, 18). As such, selfhood is socially constructed and is defined and redefined through interaction (ibid.).

Jenkins thus sees no difference between social identity and cultural identity. Identifying ourselves or others is a matter of meaning which emanates in and through interaction (ibid.).

During the process of interaction, individuals define and redefine themselves and others throughout their lives (Jenkins 2004). The concept of social identity constitutes the “Me” constituent of identity as highlighted by Hatch and Schultz (2004, 10).

2.5. THEORETICAL LENS OF THE STUDY

This study embraces the principles of the symbolic interactionism and social identity theories to understand how one’s social identity informs one’s sense of personal identity.

2.5.1. Symbolic Interactionism

Symbolic Interactionism has two schools of thoughts, namely the Iowa and the Chicago schools. The Chicago school is very influential in the social sciences and emphasises the role of interaction in constructing social reality. On the other hand, the Iowa school sees personal and social identities as representative of and connected to social structures. To observe identity scientifically, the Iowa school insists on qualitative surveys, while the Chicago school emphasises ethnomethodology and qualitative observation techniques (Babbie and Mouton 2001, 35).

This study follows the Chicago school’s tradition, especially the works of George Herbert Blumer (1998) and George Herbert Mead (1934), in particular their concept of Symbolic Interactionism theory. Mead (1934) argues that most interactions revolve around the process by which an individual reaches a common understanding through language and other symbolic interactions (Babbie 2005, 36). The Symbolic Interactionism theory is built on three core principles, namely meaning, language, and thought (Smit and Fritz 2008, 92). Meaning is regarded as central to human behaviour, in the sense that human beings act towards people and “things” based on the meaning they have attributed to those people or those things. Language is seen as a means by which human beings construct and negotiate meaning through symbols. Thought, on the other hand, modifies the interpretation of these symbols, with language being used during interaction with others. In this study, the participants negotiate their various identities by interacting with the Other, who, in the context of this study, is hip hop music itself, as well as peers that also identify with hip hop music.

Blumer (1998) expands the principle of meaning, asserting that there are two ways through which human beings can account for meaning. First, meaning is seen as intrinsically attached to an object, event, phenomenon, and so on (Blumer 1998, 5). Second, meaning may be

understood as a “physical accretion” imposed on objects, events, and the like by people (ibid.). Meaning, therefore, is a social product formed during people’s interactions. Blumer (1998, 2) accordingly proposes three premises for the understanding of Symbolic Interactionism:

- Human beings act towards “things” on the basis of the meaning that those “things” have to them. “Things” in this context may be objects, experiences, or music, among other things. The meanings that people attach to such “things” must be considered in their own right if human behaviour is to be properly understood.
- Meaning arises from the social interactions that one has with one’s fellows (Blumer 1998, 2). In other words, meaning arises from a learning process which is produced through contact and interaction with a community of actors (Babbie and Mouton 2001, 31). The way people react to a “thing” is what enables them to develop meaning towards it.

Meanings are handled in and modified through an interpretative process used by the person when dealing with the “things” she encounters. This implies that the meanings obtained through social interaction are not applied wholly by the individual. Such meanings undergo a process of interpretation by, firstly, the individual indicating and pointing to herself the “things” that have meaning. This process may occur at the individual level (Jenkins 2004). Interpretation, then, becomes a matter of handling meaning (Blumer 1998). The individual then selects, regroups, suspends, and transforms the meaning in the light of the situations in which she is placed and the direction of her action. The meaning plays its part in action through a process of self-interaction (Blumer 1998, 5). Interpretation is not just an automatic application of meanings; it is a formative process in which meanings are used and revised as instruments for guidance and the formation of actions (Blumer 1998, 5).

The emphasis on social interaction put forward by the Symbolic Interactionism theory is crucial, as it sees interaction as an important process that forms part of human conduct, rather than merely setting an environment for the expression or release of human conduct. Mead (1934) accordingly identifies two levels of social interaction in human society. These are symbolic interaction (the use of significant symbols) and non-symbolic interaction (“conversation of gestures”). Symbolic interaction refers to a representation of gestures and a response to the meaning of those gestures, whereas non-symbolic interaction occurs when

one responds directly to the action of another, without any interpretation of the action, for instance responding to a tone of voice (Blumer 1998, 8). A “gesture” is conceptualised as any part or aspect of ongoing action that signifies the larger act of which it is a part. It has a meaning both to the person who makes it and the person to whom it is directed.

Symbolic Interactionism in the context of this study

This study considers Symbolic Interactionism as an appropriate theoretical standpoint due to its emphasis on interaction, language, meaning, and thought in the construction of identity (Smit and Fritz 2008; Babbie and Mouton 2001; Berg 1995). It provides an understanding of the interaction between individuals and social phenomena, such as hip hop music. The construction of identity, according to this theory, is pitted in relation to a generalised Other. In this study, the participants were asked to describe their personal identity in relation to hip hop as a social phenomenon. In this regard, hip hop is conceptualised as a generalised Other. As the researcher, I had to establish the different meanings sourced from the hip hop music that the adolescents in this study engage with, in order to determine *how* such meanings are handled and interpreted to inform these adolescents’ personal identity.

2.5.2. The Social Identity Perspective

The Social Identity Perspective emphasises that identity is built on two foundations, namely the social identity and the personal identity (Hogg and Abrams 1988; Tajfel and Turner 1979; Tajfel 1978; Turner 1975). The basis of social identity is reviewed with two different yet inseparable outlooks in mind. These are the Social Identity Theory outlook (SIT) and the Identity Theory (IT) outlook (Deux 1992). The notion of social identity in the Social Identity Theory (SIT) is based on the uniformity of perception and identification among group members, while the basis of social identity in Identity Theory (IT) lies in the perception and action that accompany a role as it relates to counter-roles. Although the argument of the SIT and the IT regarding the basis of identification is different, this study views these two theories as being simultaneously relevant to a proper understanding of the process of identity construction of female adolescents in the context of hip hop. This is because, as much as the adolescent’s sense of personal identity can draw from her perception of belonging to a wider group that identifies strongly with hip hop, that perception is also significantly informed by the various roles assigned to her, for instance as a female, as a mother, and as a choir leader, among other roles.

Social Identity Theory (SIT)

Social Identity Theory is based on the assumption that an interrelationship exists between people and society (Moeng 2009; Hogg and Abrams 1988). This theory deals with intergroup relations. In other words, it seeks to understand how people come to see themselves as members of one group in comparison with another (Stets and Burke 2000, 224). This theory bases its explanations of identity construction on social categories or social groups. Social Identity Theory thus regards a social group as a set of individuals who hold a common social identification or view of themselves as members of the same social category. These members, who share a common identification, are referred to as the “in-group”, in contrast to the “out-group”, which is constituted by a set of individuals who do not share a common identification. Hogg and Abrams (1988, 21) point out that the actors of an in-group need not be in a physical group in order to interact with each other. Provided they hold the same perceptions or beliefs, or any other form of identification, they may be regarded as a “group”. The participants in this study shared a common musical preference, namely hip hop music. Therefore, they may be considered as an in-group in their own right.

Social Identity Theory thus proposes two components in the identity construction process, namely self-categorisation and social comparison (Hogg and Abrams 1988). Self-categorisation refers to the categorisation of the Self in relation to others. Social comparison is central to the process of self-categorisation. The Self realises itself as an individual in relation to other social categories or classifications (Stets and Burke 2000, 224; Hogg and Abrams 1988, 21). The outcome of self-categorisation is an accentuation of similarities between self and other in-groupers, on the one hand, and differences between self and out-groupers, on the other hand. This accentuation may be expressed in attitudes, beliefs, values, effective reactions, behavioural norms, styles of speech, music preferences, and many more (Stets and Burke 2000, 225).

Hogg and Abrams (1988, 21) argue that the process of self-categorisation achieves two outcomes at the same time. Firstly, this process enables an individual to perceive herself as identical to other members of a social group. Secondly, it generates category-congruent behaviour in terms of dimensions that are stereotypical of the particular category. In other words, it transforms individuals into groups (ibid.). Hence, the action of coming together as a

physical group is a behavioural consequence of the individual members who have a common identification (Stets and Burke 2000, 227).

Social Identity Theory posits that the group to which an individual belongs can provide members with a sense of self-definition. The sense of uniformity may be expressed in cognitive, attitudinal or behavioural tendencies. Cognitive expressions may include stereotyping towards an out-group, for example, in the context of this study, those that do not identify with hip hop. Attitudinal tendencies may include a positive or a negative outlook on matters that confront individuals in life. Behavioural tendencies may be seen in the efforts by individuals to consolidate a group (Hogg and Abrams 1988, 21).

According to Smit and Fritz (2008, 93), an individual's social identity is shaped and established with socially constructed categories of people (for example, hip hop lovers), or one's position within a social structure (for example, the different environments that the adolescent who strongly identifies with hip hop music may find herself in). According to Smit and Fritz (2008), an individual's social identity remains the "same" as long as one's position in socially structured relationships remains stable (*ibid.*). The continued engagement with hip hop music by the participants of this study can be seen as a social structure through which their social identities can be sustained. These social structures may be tangible structures, such as clubs or groups where they listen to music together. They can also be imagined structures, by virtue of these individuals' perception of themselves as members of the hip hop culture. People depend on mutual recognition by others, and sometimes they manifest social identities in their situational enactments. The research process of this study can be seen as a situational context in which the adolescents were required to reflect on and communicate their personal identities in the context of hip hop. This experience in itself gave the participants a sense of belonging to a social structure. It is my contention that availing the participants of this environment had implications for the extent to which their sense of social identity informed their sense of Self-definition in the context of hip hop music.

Identity Theory (IT)

The manifestation of social identity in situational enactments brings into play the notion of "role" as part of one's social identity. According to Smit and Fritz (2008, 94), roles are attached to certain positions or tasks, with which a person may or may not identify. As such,

identities are shaped by so-called internalised role expectation (ibid.). Therefore, it is difficult to consider Social Identity Theory in isolation to Identity Theory.

Identity Theory emphasises the uniqueness and interconnectedness in the expression of social identity, through stressing the individuality and interrelatedness of an individual's role with others who have the same role in a group during the interaction process (Stets and Burke 2000, 226). It is important to point out at this juncture that one of the reasons that the SIT and the IT outlooks are difficult to separate is that social categorisation, which is also a central process in the construction of identity in SIT, is dependent on the roles designated by symbols, which are relatively stable components of social structures (ibid.). As a result, an individual incorporates the meanings and expectations of the role into the Self, and thus these meanings become standards associated with the role. Therefore, according to Stets and Burke (2000, 227), one always occupies a role and belongs to a group. Hence, role identities and social identities are always simultaneously relevant to and influential on perceptions, affect, and behaviour (ibid, 228).

As mentioned earlier, identification happens through the meanings we constantly create. These meanings are in line with our self-concept and our social categories (Jenkins 2004, 4). It is through identification that it is made possible to move from defining oneself as an individual person, to identifying oneself in terms of social identity and group behaviour (Dick et al. 2005; Brewer and Gaetner 2004). Self-identification is therefore how one defines oneself as an individual, as well as a collective. Consequently, having a particular role identity means acting to fulfil the expectations of the role, in other words, coordinating and negotiating interaction with other individuals who have the same role (Stets and Burke 2000, 225). Naming of a particular role in Identity Theory, which may include aspects relating to the Self and the Other, takes meaning in relation to plans and activities of the individual. This study acknowledges that the participants of this study were not only members of social groups such as peers, but in their lives they also assume other roles, such as siblings, girlfriends, and students, and that these roles have been assigned by the society they live in. Therefore, the meanings that the adolescents in the study negotiated and constructed in relation to hip hop music could have been negotiated amid other meanings that accompany their various roles.

By underpinning this study in the Symbolic Interactionism Theory, as well as in the Social Identity Theory, I acknowledge the role of a person's social dimension on her sense of personal identity. These two theories' emphasis on the role of language and interaction in the process of identity construction further motivated my choice to base my study accordingly. It is my belief that the participants' narratives provide this inquiry with a detailed account of the wholeness of identity experience. This has been attained by a focus on the interactive dimension, as well as the situational dimension, which are central building blocks to adolescents' sense of identity.

2.6. THE ADOLESCENT AND HER IDENTITY

The term "adolescence" is derived from a Latin word, *adolescere*, which means "growing up into adulthood" (Gouws et al. 2008; Kroger 2007; Gouws and Kruger 1994; Kruger 1994; Steinberg 1993; Steinberg and Silverberg 1986). Adolescence refers to a developmental phase in the human life cycle that occurs between childhood and adulthood (Gouws and Kruger 1994, 3). This section focuses on the adolescent and her identity. In order to understand the phenomenon of identity construction in late adolescence, two prominent identity models by Erikson (1968, 1964) and the Identity Statuses Model by Marcia (1987, 1966a) will be discussed. A brief review of early and middle adolescence, as preceding phases, is also provided to illuminate the identity construction tasks of the late adolescent.

2.6.1. Models of identity construction

Although there are many models that seek to explain the concept of identity construction, this section presents two popular and influential models that have informed several studies on identity construction, particularly during adolescence. These models are the *Eight Stage Identity Development Model*, as proposed by Erikson (1968, 1964), and the *Identity Statuses Model*, as propounded by Marcia (1987, 1966b). The two models are of particular significance to this study in their emphasis on the psychosocial contexts that influence identity construction in adolescence. It is my belief that these models clarify the identity construction of the adolescents who participated in this study.

2.6.1.1. Erikson's Eight Stage Development Model

The Eight Stage Identity Development Model was conceptualised by Erikson (1968, 1964) to illustrate his theory on identity formation and personality development (Gouws et al. 2008, 78). The model presents eight phases of identity development from childhood throughout the lifespan (Erikson 1968, 161). A summary of Erikson's Eight Stage Development Model and the associated psychosocial crises is provided in **Table 2.1**. Erikson's scheme highlights the role of psychological as well as social and cultural contexts that influence an individual's identity (Moje 2000, 422). The model offers a basic framework through which an understanding can be reached of young people in relation to themselves and to the societies in which they grow up (Gouws et al. 2008; Kroger 2007; Gouws and Kruger 1994). The model also attempts to account for ongoing changing individual needs and capabilities, on the one hand, and ongoing changing societal elements and rewards, on the other hand. Moje (2000, 422) sees Erikson's perspective of identity construction as presenting a linear path, one which can move forward or backwards, or simply rest in what can be called a "psychological moratorium". The forward and backward movements in the model are evident in his conception of two extremes which point towards implications of a positive and or a negative identity (ibid.).

Each stage of identity construction in Erikson's model is characterised by a "crisis". A "crisis" here is not seen as an imminent disaster, but rather as a developmental "turning point" at which the individual must choose one course or another, simply because it is no longer possible to continue as before. Each crisis must be resolved before the individual can proceed to the next developmental stage (Erikson 1968, 162). Resolving a crisis here entails working through previous crises again, while subsequent crises are receiving attention (ibid.). At such a "turning point", an individual is propelled to seek answers or resolutions to questions about the meaning of life and one's purpose in life (Kroger 2007, 11).

Table 2.1 Erikson's eight phases of development

Stage	Psychological crises	Age
Stage 1	Basic trust as opposed to mistrust (Synthesis: hope)	1st year of life
Stage 2	Autonomy as opposed to reticence and doubt (Synthesis: willpower)	2nd year of life
Stage 3	Initiative as against guilt (Synthesis: goal-directedness)	3rd to 6th year
Stage 4	Productiveness as against inferiority (Synthesis: proficiency)	6th to 12th year
Stage 5	Identity as against identity diffusion (Synthesis: dependability)	Puberty to late adolescence
Stage 6	Intimacy versus isolation (Synthesis: love)	Early adulthood
Stage 7	Generativity versus stagnation (Synthesis: providence)	25 to 65 years
Stage 8	Integrity versus despair (Synthesis: wisdom)	65 to 70 years

Source: (Gouws et al. 2008, 79

2.6.1.2. Marcia's Identity Statuses Model

The Identity Statuses Model of identity construction has been propounded by Marcia in an attempt to explain the adolescent's identity development (1987, 1966a). The "status" approach is an attempt to establish construct validity for Erikson's fifth stage, by refining and extending it (Rosen 2007; Marcia 1987, 163). Gouws et al. (2008, 113) believe that Marcia's model foregrounds two dimensions of identity construction, namely exploration and commitment. "Exploration" here refers to the adolescent's exploration of various identity alternatives available to her. "Commitment" involves making decisions and personal "investments" in an identity. The decision to commit to an identity is, however, preceded by a crisis (ibid.).

Marcia's model highlights the role of social contexts in the construction of identity during late adolescence. In doing so, Marcia conceptualised four "statuses" that present varied modes of identity construction. These are the *identity achievement status*, the *moratorium*

status, the *identity foreclosure status*, and the *identity diffusion status*. The development of these statuses does not follow any chronological order. Marcia believes that any adolescent between the ages of 18 and 22 years should be “categorisable” into any of the four statuses (Marcia 1987, 163).

Identity achievement status

Marcia believes that an individual who has an *identity achievement status* has gone through a period of exploration of alternatives and has made well-defined commitments (Gouws et al. 2008, 113). As such, this particular individual can be regarded as being at the most advanced level of development (ibid.). Individuals with this status have a reasonably stable identity, due to strong commitments and a stable self-concept (Gouws and Kruger 1994, 89). Individuals with this status may, however, begin to question current achieved commitments. In doing so, they revert to a moratorium status before they resolve their crisis (Moshman 2005, 83).

Moratorium status

Individuals with a *moratorium status* are actively involved in the exploration of alternatives. They have vaguely formed commitments (Marcia 1987, 163). During this phase, the individual experiments with a wide range of commitments. She is ready to choose any of these, but has not made a particular choice yet (Gouws and Kruger 1994, 89). She may eventually resolve her crisis by making a positive or a negative commitment. If a positive commitment is made, the individual achieves identity achievement status, as described above. If otherwise, she retreats to the identity diffused status (Moshman 2005, 83).

Identity foreclosure status

Individuals with an *identity foreclosure status* have not explored available alternatives (Marcia 1987, 163). They are still firmly committed to childhood-based values (ibid.). In other words, this status is characterised by internalisation of commitments to values and objectives acquired from parents and other identity agents. The individual’s commitments are not self-chosen, and alternative commitments have not been investigated (Moshman 2005, 83). Marcia believes that an individual who fails to achieve the identity achieved status cannot revert to the identity foreclosure status (Rosen 2007; Moshman 2005).

Identity diffused status

Individuals with an *identity diffused status* are considered to have the least developmental advancement as compared to those with the other statuses. Individuals with this status are not committed to any direction in their lives, regardless of whether they have explored the alternatives available to them or not (Marcia 1987, 163).

Kroger (2007, 106) points out that Marcia's Identity Statuses Model has been applied in several studies that have investigated the influence of parenting styles on adolescents' identities. According to the results of these studies, most adolescents with *identity achievement statuses* represented families that emphasise individuality and connectedness, whereas adolescents with *identity foreclosure statuses* mostly came from close and child-centred families.

In relation to this study, the two models presented here enhanced my understanding of the participants. Erikson's model emphasises that the adolescent's sense of identity should be understood as a product of both psychological and social influences that have been at work since her childhood. Although ascertaining the actual influence of these contexts falls outside the scope of this study, Erikson's insights require that I acknowledge and appreciate these influences, not only during the research process, but also when I analyse and present the data. Similarly significant is the focus of Marcia's model on the influence of contexts on the identity construction of the late adolescent. Although the actual establishment of the particular status of each participant was outside the scope of this study, Marcia's explanation of the statuses equipped me with an understanding of the participants' possible developmental status. This knowledge not only prepared me for it, but it also provided further insight into how participants with different statuses were likely to define their identity through the narrative data. This knowledge was instrumental during the analysis and presentation of the findings in relation to the way the participants engaged with hip hop music to construct a sense of personal identity.

2.7. PHASES OF DEVELOPMENT DURING ADOLESCENCE

Social scientists who study adolescence usually differentiate between three characteristic phases of the adolescent's development. These are *early adolescence*, *middle adolescence*, and *late adolescence* (Gouws et al. 2008; Kroger 2007; Gouws and Kruger 1994; Steinberg 1993; Ingersol 1989). These phases are all marked by clearly discernible physical,

physiological, sociological and economic transitions, which impact on the adolescent's sense of identity (Kroger 2007; Gouws and Kruger 1994, 4). I will now briefly discuss these three phases according to the chronological age and the associated psychosocial tasks of each phase.

2.7.1. Early adolescence

According to Kroger (2007), early adolescence, also referred to as puberty, occurs between ages 11 to 14. Although it is not easy to identify the onset of adolescence by age, it is marked by clearly discernible physiological changes (Ahmadi, Anooshehand, Vaismoradi and Safdari 2009, 257; Gouws et al. 2008, 2). In this stage, the child becomes a sexually mature adult, capable of reproducing. The child develops the height, weight, body contours, as well as the increased physical strength and perseverance needed to perform the physical activities typical of adulthood (Kroger 2007, 35). These biological transformations vary in timing among adolescents, due to diverse factors, such as genetics, ethnicity, nutritional conditions, and secular trends, among other things (Kroger 2007, 47; Archibald et al. 2003). Steinberg (1993, 7) and Kroger (2007, 38) point out that these changes impact on the adolescent's psychological development and social relations, which ultimately affect her sense of identity.

Cognitively, early adolescence is characterised by the emergence of more sophisticated thinking abilities (Steinberg and Morris 2001, 56). With such thinking abilities, the adolescent is able not only to think about hypothetical situations, but is also much better able to think about abstract concepts (ibid.). Such thinking abilities enable an adolescent to think at a higher level about herself, her relationships, and the world around her (ibid., 56). The effect of heightened cognitive ability on the process of identity formation is further complicated by the rapid biological changes, the demands placed upon adolescents by the societies in which they reside, and their desire for autonomy (Kroger 2007, 47).

Social transition in early adolescence entails integration of the individual into the various distinguishing roles set by the society in which she lives (Steinberg 1993, 8). Different societies mark this phase of life in various ways. For instance, most traditional societies in Africa will have a "rite of passage" to delineate a change in status and mark the movement from childhood to adulthood (Kroger 2007, 41; Schlegel and Barry 1980). These ceremonies indicate separation from previous social roles. The adolescent can now be incorporated into a new role or status in the society. Examples include male and female circumcision (Langley

1979), cleansing and seclusion of the girl after her first menses (Carstens 1982), tattooing (Singh and Bronstad 1997; Burris 1979), and beautification rituals (Gennep 1965). These ceremonies not only inform the adolescent of varied social expectations that will accompany her new status in her society, but they also inform the community of a change in the way they are to interact with the adolescent (ibid.). Rites of passage thus signal a transition to a new identity.

Biological changes of puberty bring forth discontinuous shifts in an individual's personality, as well as a reorganisation in parent-child relationships. The increased desire for self-regulation and independence from parents feeds to the quest to consolidate stronger bonds with friends and peers (Zimmer-Gembeck and Collins 2003, 175). This becomes an important context for the construction and development of identity throughout adolescence (Brown and Klute 2003, 330). The physical changes during this time, together with the adolescent's social contexts, thus become incorporated into her sense of identity (ibid., 50). Kroger (2007, 52) holds that, since pubertal changes are more prominent during the years of early adolescence, the effect of these on the adolescent's sense of personal identity is stronger during this phase compared to the subsequent phases.

Group identification in early adolescence plays a critical role in the foundation of later individual identity exploration and commitment (Newman and Newman 2001, 156). The individual's association with same-sex peer groups established in childhood slowly gives way to association with peers of the opposite sex as the individual proceeds to middle adolescence (Kroger 2007). These associations also set the basis for the possibility of the establishment of solid intimate relations in late adolescence and in adulthood (ibid.). The individual outgrows the dyadic peers, who may include siblings and cousins, and becomes more associated with small peer groups consolidated on the basis of commonality of activities and interests, also referred to as "cliques". Such groups are consolidated on the basis of being seen as supportive of and understanding to the individual (Brown and Klute 2003, 131). As the individual develops, and as the interaction between different peers proceeds, she joins larger peer groups known as "crowds" or "sets". Unlike cliques, which are determined by interaction, crowds are based on reputation and consist of individuals who have established a basic image or identity among peers (ibid.). Peer interaction thus provides the basis on which the adolescent can test new ideas, relate skills, and obtain social support in the form of approval from peers.

This becomes a strong predictor of self-worth. In other words, the stronger the adolescent's friendship with her peers, the higher her self-esteem becomes, and the converse is also true (Kroger 2007, 56).

2.7.2. Middle adolescence

Middle adolescence occurs between ages 15 and 17 (Kroger 2007, 60). Adolescents in this phase of development are considered to have started accepting many of the pubertal changes of early adolescence and have started consolidating these changes into a revised sense of Self (Cobb 2004, 24). During mid-adolescence, the "Significant Other" still constitutes the basis on which identity construction can occur (Kroger 2007, 63). As such, new identifications that no longer draw from childhood dyadic peers begin to emerge as the adolescent begins to revise earlier identifications, synthesising them into new identity structures that she may consider as uniquely own. Friends and peers become the primary focus of her relational energy and change in identity (ibid.).

An adolescent in this phase also begins to experiment with meaningful vocational direction, values, and sense of sexual and sex role identity (Kroger 2007, 64). This experimentation enables her to integrate elements that fit into her sense of identity (ibid.). Consequently, peer support and guidance from the parent serve as an essential function towards self-identification (ibid.).

Higher-level cognitive abilities begin to emerge as the adolescent progresses further to attain full formal operation (Kroger 2007, 65). The adolescent's increased cognitive ability provides her with broader possibilities of imagining alternatives presented to her with regard to friendships and vocational decisions (ibid.). It is during this phase of development that an adolescent enters the full formal operation stage (Coleman 1990, 28). As such, she is able to understand and articulate the operations involved in propositional logic, hypothetical reasoning, combinations logic, control of variables, and construction of a ratio and probabilistic reasoning on a higher level than is the case with early adolescents (ibid.).

Society continues to play its role in sanctioning and fostering a range of alternatives for identity expression during middle adolescence. Social institutions within these societies, such as school and youth groups, among others, provide basic frameworks through which identity takes shape and can be expressed (Kroger 2007, 66). The contribution of influences

emanating from the mass media and other forms of popular culture in the construction of identity in mid-adolescence can also not be overlooked. This is because adolescents engage more actively with popular culture privately or while with their peers (Larson 1995). In contemporary society, societal guidelines for adolescents are not enforced, and therefore an adolescent often finds herself in a situation where she must try to make her life meaningful among other people. The interaction of the biological, psychological and societal factors should thus be appreciated as significant aspects contributing to the process of identity construction during middle adolescence. All these conditions enable the unfolding and development of the adolescent's identity (Marcia 1987; Erikson 1968; Marcia 1966a).

Kroger (2007) argues that the biological, psychological, cognitive and social transitions associated with early and mid-adolescence also impact on the process of identity construction during late adolescence.

2.8. LATE ADOLESCENCE

Late adolescence emerges between ages 18 to 22. An adolescent in this phase is more preoccupied with shifting and synthesising significant identifications of her childhood and early and mid-adolescence into new identity structures, and with her sense of Self (Kroger 2007, 88). However, at the same time, she is trying to find meaningful ways to express herself in, and be recognised by, the larger social context (*ibid.*). She experiences the need for identity formation at both the social and the personal level.

Kroger (2007) and Coleman and Hendry (1990) assert that during late adolescence the overriding need for peer association, a characteristic of mid-adolescence, ceases. It is replaced by the individual's need for a place in the society she resides in (Kroger 2007, 88). The adolescent in this stage is more concerned with values, morality, and ideals and is compelled by a desire to know what direction to take with her life (*ibid.*).

Kroger (2007, 89) also holds that, biologically, the physical sense of the adolescent's identity is stabilised in this stage, since she has now attained her full stature and contours. The individual is more aware of the strengths and limitations of her physical features and abilities and has accepted these. Functionality of sexual organs and attainment of sexual maturity is another indication of late adolescence (Gouws and Kruger 1994, 13).

Kroger (2007) asserts that a late adolescent goes through significant psychological, cognitive and social transitions. These become major identity tasks associated with late adolescence. Psychological tasks include the second separation-individuation process. Cognitive tasks include social cognition and moral reasoning capabilities, while social transitions include adaptation of the individual to the wider society. Zarrett and Eccles (2006, 13) propose various psychological and social identity tasks of late adolescence. These include dealing with shifts in the relationship with parents, from a relationship of dependency and subordination, to one that reflects the adolescent's increasing maturity and responsibilities in the family and the community. There is also an increased exploration of new roles, both social and sexual, by the adolescent. It is also during late adolescence that an individual begins to experience intimacy. The late adolescent is also required to start planning her future and taking the necessary steps to new directions for youth development. As such, she may experience the need to start acquiring the range of skills and values needed to make a successful transition into adulthood, such as work, partnership, parenting, and citizenship.

According to Zarrett and Eccles (2006, 14), one of the primary social tasks in the late adolescence phase involves the taking up of certain roles. These include identifying one's personal strengths and weaknesses, refining skills to coordinate and succeed in assigned roles, finding meaning and purpose in the roles acquired, assessing as well as making the necessary life changes, and coping with these changes (ibid.). Successful management of all these challenges depends on the psychosocial, physical and cognitive assets of the individual, the social supports available, and the developmental settings in which young people can explore and interact with these challenges (ibid.).

2.8.1. Psychological transitions

Other dominant identity-related psychological tasks of late adolescents are the second separation-individuation process (Blos 1979, 1967) and the capacity of an individual to establish new forms of intimacy (Kroger 2007, 90). Blos's (1979, 1967) conceptualisation of the second separation-individuation process draws on the idea of "differentiation" that dominated earlier psychoanalytic works by Margaret Mahler (1963) (ibid.). "Differentiation", as conceptualised by Mahler (1963), describes how a child's independent sense of self develops through the first three years of an infant's life. In other words, it is the process by

which an infant comes to internalise the maternal image, which enables more physical independence from the external object (Kroger and Haslett 1988, 61). Hence, the second separation-individuation process, which happens during adolescence, becomes a transition in psychological functioning. It is characterised by the individual's capacity to assume increasing responsibilities on those matters that previously had been left to others (Kroger 2007, 90). According to Blos (1967), the adolescent undergoes a psychic restructuring during this process. This involves relinquishing the internalised parent, so that higher levels of differentiation can be achieved and new extra-familial love relationships can be formed (Kroger and Haslett 1988, 60). The second "separation-individuation" process involves the development of a more autonomous sense of self through a reworking of internalised ties and representations (Kroger 2007, 96).

Cobb (2004, 186) also refers to the process of individuation. He views it as a constituent of two qualities that are central to the process of identity construction. These qualities are individuality and connectedness. Individuality enables the adolescent to express her own ideas (self-assertion) and to say how she differs from others (separatedness). Connectedness allows the adolescent to be receptive and open to other people's opinions (permeability) and to respect other people's ideas (mutuality). It is during individuation that the adolescent moves beyond the identity organisations that she had as a child, by synthesising elements of her earlier identity into a new whole, one that bears the personal stamp of her own interests, values, and choices (Cobb 2004, 189). It is worth noting that an individuated individual in late adolescence is likely to develop a closer relationship with her parents, as compared to what she had during her mid-adolescence, where she was repelled to her peers. This is because of the increased sense of autonomous sense of self that involves the development of new forms of relationships with others, including the adolescent's parents (Kroger 2007, 91).

Kroger (2007), however, points out that during late adolescence intrapsychic features that characterise the second separation-individuation process vary depending on the identity status of the individual. Individuals with foreclosure identity status, for example, reflect a representation of their personal Self as being not differentiated from their primary caregivers, but rather fused in a symbiotic relationship (Kroger 2007; Cramer 2001). The individuals with moratorium status, on the other hand, display an eagerness to explore other representations of self in regard to the primary caregiver (Kroger 2007, 98). Adolescents with

an identity-achieved status exhibit a consolidated sense of identity, as well as greater security in attachment patterns (ibid.). Identity-diffused adolescents often have difficulty internalising a stable primary caregiver to serve as a foundation for later adolescent separation-individuation processes (ibid.).

It is my contention that the myriad of influences available to an adolescent, including popular culture and hip hop music, have implications on the second separation-individuation process, as these influences may enhance aspects of the process. For example, hip hop can provide messages through the lyrics that enhance the adolescent's need to express her ideas. These messages therefore can be said to contribute to the process of identity construction by enhancing the aspect of individuation.

2.8.2. Cognitive transitions

Cognitive development during late adolescence also has implications for a wide range of behaviour and attitudes (Coleman and Hendry 1990, 28). Cognitive changes render possible the move towards independence of both thought and action (ibid.). For instance, these developments enable the young person to develop a time perspective, which includes her future perspectives. These developments also facilitate progress towards maturity in relationships and, finally, they underlie the individual's ability to participate in society as a worker, a voter, and a responsible group member (ibid., 28).

According to Piaget (1958), two forms of cognitive operations occur during the cognitive growth of any human being. These are the concrete and the formal operational thought processes (Coleman and Hendry 1990, 28). The formal operational thinking that emerges during the earlier stages of adolescence consolidates during late adolescence (Kroger 2007, 90). The formal operations are characterised by a shift of thought from the real to the possible. It facilitates a hypothetical-deductive approach to problem solving and to the understanding of propositional logic (Coleman and Hendry 1990, 29). Formal operations enable the individual to think about mental constructs as objects which can be manipulated, and to come to terms with notions of probability and belief. The adolescents bring with them increasing abilities to reason more abstractly about their lives (ibid., 103). Therefore, they are likely to reason and consider issues from a more autonomous perspective, which, in turn, affects the kind of considerations they are able to give in their quest for meaningful values and contributions to society (Kroger 2007, 103-104).

Cognitive skill development during late adolescence does not only enable the adolescents to become increasingly capable of managing matters related to their own learning and problem solving; it also plays a major role in facilitating their identity formation and the maturation of their moral reasoning (Zarrett and Eccles 2006, 14). Successful development of cognitive capabilities has been linked with adolescents' greater investments in understanding their own and others' internal psychological states, and the resulting behavioural shift in focus on their growing close and intimate friendships (ibid.). These capabilities enable the adolescents to become more capable of reflecting on their own abilities, interests, desires, and needs (ibid.).

In relation to this study, the developed reasoning abilities associated with late adolescence play a role in the adolescent's belief of how the different concepts presented by hip hop music become meaningful to her life, as well as how such concepts can become operationalised in her life. These highly developed thinking abilities enable the development of other key identity-related aspects, such as social cognition and moral reasoning.

Social cognition

Social cognition refers to the mental processes that underlie complex social behaviour and is a consequence of formal operational thinking during late adolescence (Burnett and Blakemore 2009, 51). Coleman and Hendry (1990, 34) argue that the achievement of formal operational thought allows the adolescent to think, not only about her own thoughts, but also about other people's thoughts. With the development of social cognition, the adolescent manages to step into mental shoes of the Other and adopt their perspective (Blakemore and Choudhury 2006, 302). In other words, social cognition involves role taking, perspective taking, empathy, moral thought, interpersonal problem solving, and self-knowledge (Coleman and Hendry 1990, 35). At the same time, the individual attains an increased sense of autonomy and is able to ignore what others think she should do (Blakemore and Choudhury 2006, 302).

Social cognition is also the basis of what Elkind (1967) terms "egocentrism" (Blakemore and Choudhury 2006, 302), in other words, the inability to adopt another person's perspective (Coleman and Hendry 1990, 34). As such, the adolescent assumes that if she is obsessed with a thought or a problem, other people must also be obsessed with it (ibid.). For instance, in the context of this study, an individual explaining her experience of hip hop music would expect other participants or other women to experience it the same way and react to it the

same way she does. Elkind (1967) ties the idea of egocentrism to the concepts of “imaginary audience” and “personal fable”. The concept of “imaginary audience” explains adolescent behaviour associated with self-consciousness and a desire for privacy, as the individual reacts to the anticipated reactions of others, who are either critical or admiring of them (Coleman and Hendry 1990, 34). A “personal fable” manifests itself when an individual believes that she is important to many people (the “imaginary audience”), and therefore sees herself as special and unique (ibid.). Her “personal fable” is created out of a belief about herself. Awareness of existing norms and value is paramount to the organisation of complex social behaviour and consequently to the establishment of an identity

It is my contention that the research process of this study facilitates deeper understanding of the implication of the messages embodied in hip hop on the development of the participant’s self learning, self regulation as well as on her ability to accommodate views of others. Awareness of values underlies her ability to consider other people’s perspectives and consequently her social behaviour.

Moral reasoning

Moral reasoning, also referred to as moral thought, constitutes an important component of social cognition. Through the process of moral reasoning, the adolescent makes meaning of her experiences and identifications. As such, it has significant implications for the construction of identity during late adolescence, since it illuminates the way her sense of values is integrated into her identity construction process (Kroger 2007, 104; Coleman and Hendry 1990, 37). Lawrence Kohlberg (1969) presents a six-stage moral development sequence, which reflects changes in the grounds on which moral decisions are based (Kroger 2007; Coleman and Hendry 1990):

The *preconventional* level constitutes the first and second stages and is associated with childhood. Moral reasoning at this level, according to Kohlberg (1969), is based on self-interest (Kroger 2007, 73). Stage 1 is characterised by the child’s consideration of her own interests alone. In Stage 2, she may manipulate others towards her own interests.

The *conventional* level of moral reasoning constitutes the third and fourth stages. In this level, the individual considers conventions of some larger social order as the basis on which moral decisions can be made. In Stage 3, the individual’s reasoning is aimed at orientating

herself towards interpersonal relationships (Coleman and Hendry 1990, 38). As such, what she considers to be “right” involves that which upholds the expectations of her family or immediate social groups (Kroger 2007, 73). In Stage 4, the individual is concerned about maintaining social order (Coleman and Hendry 1990, 38). Consequently, the focus of what is considered as “right” shifts to that which upholds the expectations of the larger social structure, for instance the constitution of a society. Middle and late adolescents would fit within this level of moral reasoning.

The *post-conventional* level of moral reasoning is based on the principles of democratic decision making, where the laws of a society, for example, are considered in relation to moral principles. This level constitutes Stages 5 and 6. During Stage 5, the individual bases her moral decisions regarding a moral problem on a locally agreed-upon moral contract and/or conscious decision (Coleman and Hendry 1990, 38). The principles of the moral contract referred to by the individual remain flexible and open to change, depending on the moral problem being addressed. During Stage 6, her moral reasoning is orientated towards universal ethical principles (Coleman and Hendry 1990, 39). As such, she is able to reason and make decisions according to self-chosen principles of life, justice, and fairness to all (ibid.).

Gilligan (1972), however, contests Kohlberg’s (1969) concept of moral reasoning development. She dismisses it as being “fundamentally flawed”, because it is based on a “male” concept of morality (Coleman and Hendry 1990). She sees those traits that have traditionally been defined as “good” among women, that is, care, sensitivity, and responsibility to others, as the foundation of a female’s sense of morality. As such, she proposes three levels of female moral reasoning. At the individual-survival level, the woman’s moral reasoning is based on the needs of the Self alone. The needs of others are not seriously considered. This level is analogous to Kohlberg’s Stage 1 of the preconventional level, as alluded to above. At the self-sacrifice level, the needs of the Self are sacrificed to meet the needs of others. Individuals operating at the non-violence level manage to balance their personal needs with the needs of others. During decision-making processes, both personal needs and the needs of others are taken into consideration.

Hip hop music is entrenched in values. These values are available to those adolescents who identify with hip hop. An understanding of the nature of late adolescents’ moral reasoning, together with the narratives provided by the participants themselves, enables me to understand

how they integrate into their personal identities the values and morals presented to them by hip hop music. This understanding also illuminates the way they weigh these values against the values acquired from other influential contexts during the process of integrating the values of hip hop into their sense of self.

2.8.3. Social transitions

Social transitions during late adolescence involve cognitive processes such as the social cognition and moral reasoning capabilities that become the basis on which an adolescent can adjust to the larger society. During social transitions, the adolescent takes up appropriate roles assigned to her and carries them out. Social transitions provide opportunities for the adolescent to develop and exercise her personal and social identities. They also serve as avenues through which the adolescent can further explore her increased sense of autonomy (Zarrett and Eccles 2006, 20).

Kroger (2007, 93) believes that the late adolescent fits into her social contexts through a process of “adaptation”. “Adaptation” in this context is seen as the means by which the late adolescent finds satisfaction in her own biological and psychological needs. Kroger further maintains that in most contemporary Western social contexts, adaptation requires some identity questioning by late adolescents, in order to enter a satisfying young adult life. In order to explain this adaptation process, Cote (1996, 426) proposes the notion of tangible and intangible “identity capital”. Tangible capital entails concrete assets that are socially visible. Intangible capital, on the other hand, entails psychological and cognitive assets that an individual may use to negotiate various social contexts. Some cultures limit the extent to which late adolescents can express their identity through existing socially prescribed roles. Consequently, these adolescents either adapt to or challenge existing structures (Kroger 2007, 93).

The process of identity construction during late adolescence thus involves the interaction of the various identity influencing spheres, including family, society, and culture, with the biological, psychological, cognitive and social transitions of the adolescents (Kroger 2007). In this study, six particular contexts are worth mentioning, as they are particularly influential to the construction of identity during late adolescence. These include family, friendship and peer groups as well as educational settings. Popular culture and hip hop is another influential context to identity construction. This context will be discussed in detail later in this chapter.

Family

Family relationships are of particular significance during the late adolescent's process of identity construction (Kroger 2007; Coleman and Hendry 1990). The influences of family relations during this period range from concerns about gender differences (Larson 2001; Montemayor 1982), to concerns about attachment (Kroger 2003), to concerns about generational differences (Kroger 2007; Coleman and Hendry 1990). The latter is often associated with conflicts between the parents and the adolescent (Coleman and Hendry 1990, 89). Generational differences can, however, also contribute positively to the adolescent's world. Parents and members of older generations can be role models and prototypes when identity-related decisions on issues of sex roles and work roles need to be made (ibid., 90).

Kroger (2007) believes that attachments to parents or guardians play an important role in the psychological adaptation during late adolescence. As such, such attachments imparts on the process of identity construction. "Attachment" here is defined as the desire to seek proximity, while "attachment behaviour" is regarded as the means by which such proximity is achieved (Rice 1990). Adolescents with an identity achievement status have secure attachments with their parents. Kroger (2007, 107), for example, notes that a female adolescent who is very close to her mother is likely to mirror her mother's values and behaviour, rather than exploring other possible identity roles and values for herself. Montemayor's (1982, 1517) research, on the other hand, reveals that adolescents who have tense relations with their mothers tend to identify more with their fathers.

Friendship and peer groups

The presence of friendships and peer groups is a characteristic feature of the adolescence phase. Research indicates that friendships and peer groups enable the adolescent to disengage from her parents. These associations also help to reassess parental values. During late adolescence, renegotiation of existing attachments to peers and friends takes place. New forms of closeness develop (Cooper 1994). Late adolescents are seen to move away from those crowds that characterise early adolescence, as these crowds are seen to threaten the desire of the individual to express attitudes and interests. Consequently, late adolescents tend to move into paired relationships (Kroger 2007, 108).

Educational setting

In their research, Newman and Newman (2009, 400) identified the theme of personal identity and its salience as being central to the late adolescent's decision to remain in school or university, or to drop out. They found that a late adolescent's decision to continue with post-school education is informed by an imagined view of herself as a person who is more accomplished, prepared to function at a higher level, and in a better position to direct her own life (ibid.). Kroger (2007, 110) thus maintains that institutional contexts, including the world of work, can provide settings where a late adolescent's identity needs can be met and supported. Research, for example, suggests that in tertiary settings students may be attracted to various academic departments on the basis of their initial identity status (ibid.). Newman and Newman (2009, 400) believe that the expansion of world view and exposure to new models of organising, analysing, and representing experience enabled by the post-school educational environment foster the late adolescent's vocational identity. This leads to a sense of a future self.

The participants in this study are all student teachers enrolled for a multidisciplinary teacher education qualification. Their programme includes psychology, sociology and education modules. My decision to situate my study among these students was thus informed by the fact that, as late adolescents, they have already progressed well in terms of their identity status, although I do acknowledge that other social contexts also influence their identity status. For example, the participants also belong to families and have relationships with friends and peers. It is, however, my contention that, with regard to these influences, hip hop constitutes a significant influence that interacts in complex ways with the other influences. It also affects the identity-related transitions that these late adolescents have to go through.

2.8.4. Gender and sexual role identities in late adolescence

Cobb (2004, 203) believes that in order to find answers to the question *Who am I?* the adolescent is required to examine her societal roles. This task entails defining herself as a female and integrating her emerging ethnic, gender and sexual identities into her sense of personal identity (Kroger 2007, 69). The foundations for these identities are laid during childhood (Kroger 2007; Coleman and Hendry 1990). During late adolescence, the individual needs to adapt to the societal roles attributed to these identities. This adaptation requires the establishment of the individual's sexual, gender and ethnic identities.

The term “gender” in the context of this study refers to an imposed or adopted social and psychological condition of being either male or female. Gender identity is the recognition of the perceived social gender attributed to a person (Diamond 2002, 323). It is an individual’s self-concept of being masculine or feminine (ibid.). According to Diamond (2002), gender roles are actions that can be considered as scripted by the particular society concerned. In other words, gender roles refer to the society’s idea of how boys or girls, or men or women, are expected to behave, and how they are supposed to be treated (Diamond 2002, 324).

Sexual identity, on the other hand, is defined as the inner conviction of being either male or female (Diamond 2002, 323). It mirrors one’s outward physical appearance and the typical sex-linked roles that one develops, or those which the society attempts to impose (ibid.). Sex role is commonly referred to as a set of standards or prescriptions which describe appropriate masculine and feminine behaviour in particular cultures (Coleman and Hendry 1990, 49). Therefore, the notion of gender identity parallels one’s awareness and acceptance of one’s biological sex that becomes established early in life. Gender role identity is an integral part of who we are, how we think about ourselves, and how others respond to us (ibid.). The psychological and cultural components of gender are generally conceptualised as sex roles.

Coming to terms with one’s sexual identity is one of the main developmental tasks of adolescence (Kroger 2007). This task comes along with the pubertal changes that characterise early adolescence and run through to late adolescence and adulthood (ibid.). The process of an adolescent’s development as a sexual being begins when she starts to recognise feelings of sexual arousal and starts seeking outlets for sexual expression (Kroger 2007, 69).

Gender roles become more differentiated during late adolescence, as pressure for the adolescent to conform to socially set gender-appropriate behaviour increases (Gouws et al. 2008, 110). During adolescence, peer groups and adults exert more pressure on the adolescent for a display of gender-typical behaviour, as compared to the freedom given when the adolescent was still a child (ibid.). In the contemporary urban setting, researchers have observed that the development of gender role identity is more difficult in girls than in boys (Gouws et al. 2008; Gouws and Kruger 1994; Smith and Cowie 1991). This is attributed to the fact that schools encourage girls and boys alike to be independent, competitive, and achievement-orientated (Gouws et al. 2008). Writing from a South African perspective,

Gouws and Kruger (2008, 110) add that after school, girls are expected to be non-assertive and to relinquish financial independence by assuming a domestic and maternal role in marriage.

With regard to what constitutes “appropriate” gender identity in late adolescence, the opposite sex, the media, and peer groups are of renewed importance. Parents also serve as direct role models, unless they are divorced (Gouws and Kruger 2008, 110). The notion of being female forms the basis for heterosexual interactions that emphasise the importance of marriage. However, recent research shows that career interests are becoming common in female adolescents, consequently diminishing the traditional importance of marriage in establishing gender role identity. Decisions regarding marriage and one’s career are also influenced by popular culture, the media, and one’s peers.

Research also reveals differences in the perception of gender identity in female adolescents with different identity statuses. Females with an identity-foreclosed status, along with females with an identity-achieved status, were found to have high levels of self-esteem (Cobb 2004, 205). They also defined themselves as less anxious and more effective (*ibid.*). However, adolescents with an identity-foreclosed status were found to be adaptive. Their being in the identity-foreclosed status, however, did not lead to self-chosen goals, as their adaptiveness reflected cultural expectations for females (*ibid.*).

Different genres of music affect the nature and expression of gender and sexual identities. Frith and McRobbie (1990, 371), for example, describe rock and roll music as the “ever-present background of dancing, dating and courting”. These attributes are embedded in this genre’s lyrics, rhythms, and sounds, which draw on other conventions of sexual representation. These authors assert that rock and roll music addresses puberty issues by drawing on and articulating the psychological and physical tensions of adolescence, as it accompanies the points in time where boys and girls learn the repertoire of public sexual behaviour. Rock music, through its form and content, is seen as an essentially male form of musical expression. As such, it cannot continue to be considered as rock music once females start using its sounds and structures (Frith and McRobbie 1990, 372). Similar to rock music, hip hop culture has, since its inception, been dominated by male participation. It was only during the 1980s that female hip hop artists came to the fore with concerns and expressions of their gender and sexuality. In South Africa, hip hop music is nowadays performed by male as well as

female artists. These hip hop songs have diverse texts that inform the gender and sex role identities of adolescents in diverse ways.

Frith and McRobbie (1990) identify differences in the way males and females apply music. They assert that women tend to use music for expressive purposes, including the expression of collective identities. Other aspects related to music, such as the fashions and hairstyles of their favourite artists, may be adopted as a means to communicate their femininity. Frith and McRobbie's (1990) observation is of particular significance to this study, as my aim was to understand how hip hop informs the construction of female adolescents' personal identities, which are constituted, *inter alia*, by their gender and sexual identities.

2.8.5. Ethnic identity

Brewer (2001, 225) defines ethnic identity as that part of an individual's self-concept that is derived from the knowledge of membership of a social group (or groups), combined with the value and emotional significance that she attaches to that membership. Nagel (1994, 154) thus regards ethnic identity as being closely associated with the notion of boundaries. Since boundaries determine membership or non-membership, as the case may be, of the relevant ethnic group, boundaries provide group members with a feeling of belonging (Cobb 2004, 207). Consequently, they designate the particular ethnic category that is available for individual identification at a particular place and time. Clear boundaries allow adolescents to distinguish between their own group and other groups. Clear boundaries thus lead to a stronger sense of ethnic identity (*ibid.*).

Adolescents' consciousness of their ethnic identity varies according to their situations. In this regard, Cobb (2004, 207) asserts that an adolescent may experience a stronger ethnic identity when she is with her family and speaks in her parents' native language. Cobb (2004, 209) proposes three stages of ethnic identity construction during adolescence. The first stage comprises *an unexamined ethnic identity*. In this stage, the adolescent appears to have simply internalised the values and attitudes of the dominant culture. The second stage constitutes the *ethnic identity search stage*, where the adolescent explores the meaning of her ethnicity. During this phase, the adolescent may experience a conflict of values between those of the dominant culture and those of her own ethnic group. The third phase of ethnic identity construction is the *achieved ethnic identity* stage, where the individual has a clear sense of her

ethnicity. At this point, she reflects feelings of belonging and emotional identification with the relevant ethnic group (ibid.).

The vast majority of hip hop music, especially international hip hop music, contains cultural material that does not subscribe to any particular ethnic group. However, it is my belief that hip hop music does indeed contain content that resonates with young people's ethnic identities. These could be seen to be rooted in the sampling repertoire that draws from varied cultural forms. These cultural forms, embodied in the musical structure of hip hop, could cause identity conflict for an adolescent seeking to establish her ethnic identity. On the other hand, hip hop music performed within the idioms of the adolescent's culture can enhance her sense of ethnic identity.

2.8.6. Intimacy in late adolescence

The concept of "intimacy" has generally been based on the capacity of an individual to engage in sexual relationships (Kroger 2007, 99). Paul and White (1990, 283), however, hold that intimacy can also be viewed in contexts such as opposite-sex friendships, same-sex friendships, and romantic dating relationships. In essence, intimacy implies sharing of the innermost feelings and thoughts in an atmosphere of caring, trust, and acceptance (Cobb 2004, 219).

Identity and intimacy are intricately interconnected (Kroger 2007; Cobb 2004; Coleman and Hendry 1990; Paul and White 1990). In this regard, Paul and White (1990, 380) postulate that identity is never complete until it is shared. They argue that identity is constructed in part by those fidelities and commitments that intimacy evokes. According to Erikson's (1968) Eight Stage Identity Development Model, which was described earlier in this chapter, the intimacy versus isolation stage is located as the sixth stage. Kroger (2007, 91) believes that an individual's ability to develop intimacy relations is dependent on the security and stability of her own sense of identity (Kroger 2007, 91). When two individuals are in an intimate relationship, each partner preserves a sense of separateness and has the ability to retain his or her unique qualities (ibid.). If a stable sense of personal identity has not been achieved by the time one forms intimate relationships, closeness with another is likely to threaten one's identity. Consequently, the relationship is likely to remain superficial or distant (ibid.). Cobb (2004, 219) thus regards self-awareness and self-acceptance as central to true intimate relationships. Self-awareness enables the adolescent to perceive others more accurately. Self-

acceptance, in addition, creates a self-perpetuating cycle in which, having been validated, others are able to hear what these adolescents are saying and, in turn, validate them (ibid.). Self-acceptance is constituted by self-liking. An individual who likes herself can let others get close enough to see them as they really are. Such people are likely to nurture secure and intimate relations. On the other hand, people who do not like themselves are often ashamed, shy, or unwilling to let others get close. These conditions are likely to block the establishment of intimate relations. A secure sense of identity allows for genuine intimacy in late adolescence. As such, intimacy serves as a counterpoint for, as well as a fusion of, identities (Erikson 1968, 135).

Paul and White (1990, 376) believe that intimacy implies cognitive, affective and behavioural components. Physical changes, social cognition, and social roles are major contributors to the adolescent's increased need, capacity, and opportunity for intimacy. These components apply to both friendships and romantic relationships. A major cognitive component constitutes the ability of an individual to see things through the eyes of the other. The affective component comprises empathy. This is the ability to sense another person's feelings and to share vicariously in the emotional experience of others. The behavioural component entails the ability of an individual to act in a trustworthy manner, to be responsive and sensitive to the feelings of others, to be able to commit to relationships by striving for equity and mutuality, and to communicate effectively. In close romantic relationships, intimacy also involves ongoing sexual relationships (ibid.).

Kroger (2006, 98) highlights the relationship between identity and intimacy during late adolescence, arguing that an individual's engagement in intimate relationships is facilitated, or not, by her sense of identity (Kroger 2007, 10). The degree of intimacy can be assessed by the way she engages in relationships with close friends and romantic partners. In this regard, Kroger (2007, 98) believes that gender differences affect the way men and women resolve their intimacy. For instance, there may be a need for a man to resolve his issues with identity before genuine intimacy is achieved, whereas women might keep their identities open and less committed until the task of finding a life partner is resolved. These gender differences may be seen as reflecting different demands in various societies. For instance, during late adolescence in most African communities, rites of passages signal that a man or a woman is ready to make a lifetime commitment, such as becoming a husband or a wife. These rites of

passages do not necessarily indicate that an adolescent has resolved all identity development crises, as identified by Erikson (1968).

Orlofsky (1978) identifies various styles of intimacy which have been associated with late adolescence (Kroger 2007, 100). Paul and White (1990, 283) refer to these styles as “intimacy statuses”. These include the *intimate*, *pre-intimate*, *pseudo-intimate*, *stereotypical*, *isolated* and isolated styles of intimacy.

The *intimate* style of intimacy is characterised by a deep committed relationship (Kroger 2007). It is characterised by a high degree of depth and mutuality, openness, and care for each other. Individuals exhibiting this style of intimacy resolve conflicts among themselves in constructive ways. Sexuality can be expressed in romantic relationships in the intimate style.

A pre-intimate style of intimacy resembles the intimate style, but the relationship is less committed (Paul and White 1990). According to Kroger (2007, 98), this style of intimacy has a high likelihood for adopting an intimate intimacy style, but does not have a long-term, committed partnership involving a sexual relationship.

People adopting the *pre-intimate* style are able to communicate openly, with each partner assuming an equal role in decision making about shared activities (ibid.).

A *pseudo-intimate* style of intimacy lacks closeness and depth, but is still committed (Kroger 2007, 98). This style requires open communication and emotional commitment. Individuals in such relationships do not share personal concerns. Although these relationships may have established long-term sexual commitments to partners, these are only for purposes of convenience.

A *stereotypical* style of intimacy is characterised by superficial friendship (Kroger 2007). The emphasis in these relationships is mainly on what can be obtained from the other person. As such, these relationships also lack open communication and deep emotional attachment.

An *isolated* intimacy style is characterised by the absence of personal relationships (Kroger 2007, 98). This style is typified by enmeshment, dependency, and unrealistic perceptions of others, and is often found with individuals who are withdrawn and who lack social skills (Kroger 2007, 100). An individual with this style of intimacy does not have close

relationships with peers. Most relations are usually formal and stereotyped. Individuals with this style seldom establish a long-term sexual relationship with a partner.

Cobb (2004, 219) believes that most adolescents associate intimacy with romance, passion, being together, or being close to another. However, Paul and White (1990) found in their research that for female late adolescents, friendships were more important than dating. Similarly, Cobb (2004, 223) explains that intimacy in females is characteristic of relationships with others. For females, intimacy is also a process by which they define themselves. Rather than postponing identity consolidation until they find a mate, female adolescents achieve self-definition through intimacy and through their relationships with others (ibid.). Paul and White (1990) thus emphasise that males and females have distinct identity construction pathways.

Establishing the actual intimate style of each participant is beyond the scope of this study. However, understanding of the role of intimacy during the identity construction process of female late adolescents proves to be beneficial, as it informs me of the way the participants, as female late adolescents, construct their sense of identity in intimate relations. The literature discussed above emphasises that female late adolescents make sense of their identity in reference to the interpersonal relationships they form in their social circles. In this study, therefore, I assume that hip hop music is a means through which some of the adolescent's social circles, for instance with peers, are sustained. In such a case, one can thus argue that hip hop music contributes to the construction of a female late adolescent's identity through its presence in such relationships.

2.9. MUSIC AND THE ADOLESCENT'S IDENTITY

Music has an undeniable significance in identity construction (Ruud 2004; Hargreaves et al. 2002; Tarrant et al. 2002; Roe 1999). According to Senoga-Zake (2000), music facilitates the experience and expression of identity. The ability of music to influence identity is rooted in human nature (Trevvarthen 2002, 21). These roots are evidenced as beginning even before birth. This early sonic influence is also seen to influence how the child orients itself towards sound after birth. Trevvarthen (2002) further asserts that this early sonic exposure becomes a building block upon which human relations are based. Ruud (2006, 59) also refers to the relational aspects of music that affords it the power to create relations between people. In doing so, music serves as a base for networking, and it also serves people's needs for

choosing values, as well as articulating them. As such, music then becomes central in education, as well as in citizenship (ibid.).

At this point, it is important to clarify the role of music in identity construction. According to Ruud (2006, 60), the understanding of the concept of *identity in relation to music* serves as a bridge between the role of music in the society concerned and the individual (Ruud 2006, 60). This is because music serves as a vehicle for the expression, articulation, and transmission of values, norms, and beliefs of people and societies, and in so doing, it facilitates the experience and expression of identity by people.

Music and identity is both performance and story. It is the “mind in the body” and the “body in the mind” (Frith 1996, 109). Frith argues that any scholarship on music should not only explain how a particular piece of musical performance reflects the people, but should explain how it produces them, in other words, how the music creates and constructs their experiences, both aesthetically and musically. Such an endeavour is possible when one considers both the subjective and collective identity of the individual (ibid.). Hip hop with its cut-ups, scratches, breaks, and samples is seen not only as producing new texts, but as producing new ways of performing texts and making meaning (Frith 1996, 120). In so doing, identity is experienced in the performance of these texts during meaning-making processes, and not produced merely as a product of a musical production. Frith (1996) thus sees the experience of hip hop by young people as an experience of identity (Frith 1996, 121). Music enables an immediate sense of collective identity through the direct experiences it offers to the body. These experiences include time, rhythm and sociability experiences. These experiences enable us to place ourselves in imaginable cultural narratives (ibid.). The individualising nature of music comes alive through the embodied emotions and through the very nature of its abstractness. For instance, when listening to a song, the audience is arbitrarily drawn to emotional alliances with the performer, the performance, and other fans. Because of the abstract quality of music, we absorb songs in our lives and rhythm in our bodies. The various constituents of music (lyrics, and emotional and musical content) possess a degree of looseness of reference that makes them immediately accessible (Frith 1996, 122). These qualities of music have also been highlighted by well-known theorist Adorno (Adorno 1990; Adorno and Rabinbach 1975) in his illumination of the aspects of standardisation and pseudo-individualisation of the popular music industry.

Hargreaves, Miell and MacDonald (2002) identify two concepts of identity emanating as a result of our association with music. They are the *Identities in Music (IIM)* and the *Music in Identities (MII)*.

The *Identity in Music* concept deals with those aspects of musical identity that are socially defined within given cultural roles and musical categories. These aspects may be derived through generic distinctions within musical activities, or specific identities in music (Hargreaves et al. 2002, 12). The generic distinctions encompass roles such as a music teacher or a performer, while the specific identities could derive from certain specific interests, such as specialism in a certain instrument or musical genre, such as rap or hip hop (ibid.).

The *Music in Identity* concept deals with how people use music as a means or as a resource for developing other aspects of personal identity, such as gender, youth, nationality, or disability (Hargreaves et al. 2002, 15). Utilisation of music in this capacity is achieved through comparison with other people. This perspective draws largely on ideas from psychological theories about self-esteem to explain it (ibid.). According to Hargreaves and colleagues, there are three trends in the development of the concept of *Music in Identity*. The first trend takes a generalised aspect of self-concept to emphasise the concept of Music in Identity as one which is increasingly differentiated by age (Hargreaves et al. 2002, 15). This trend argues that children improve in a musical activity as they grow up, as compared to when they are in childhood (ibid.). The second trend tends to shift away from the physical characteristics and childhood activities such as sporting, to emphasise the significance of psychological judgement, such as feelings and emotions as a driving force towards an individual's participation in a physical or musical activity (Hargreaves et al. 2002, 15). The third trend holds that psychological characteristics of an individual that compel her to participate in musical activities provide the origin for the mechanisms of self-perceptions, which have their impact on other areas of one's life (Hargreaves et al. 2002, 15). The achievements and attitudes of children towards a musical activity become the basis of comparison with their significant others, for instance their peers (ibid.).

This study acknowledges that scholarship of hip hop music and identity can provide further evidence towards Hargreaves et al.'s (2002) notion of the *Identity in Music*, as well as the *Music in Identity* concept. The study, however, locates itself within the *Music in Identity*

concept to investigate how hip hop facilitates the development of aspects of the identity that constitute the personal identity of the participants in this study. In this I argue that the adolescent's use of aspects of hip hop music towards the process of constructing her identity is not in isolation of other spheres of influences that are available to her. The study particularly positions itself within the third trend identified by Hargreaves et al. (2002), which stresses the role of psychological aspects facilitated by music in providing mechanisms of self-awareness.

It is my belief that the participation of the participants of this study in a musical activity contributes to a sense of self-awareness, thus causing the adolescent to think about other aspects of her life. Participation in this context is taken to include active listening to hip hop music. For example, an adolescent's engagement with hip hop may make her aware of hidden talents that she possesses, such as dancing or rapping. Becoming aware of such talents may prompt her to affiliate herself with institutions that may help nurture her talents towards making these the basis of a future career. Therefore, although hip hop culture provides female late adolescents with a way by which they can think of the world using symbolic creativity, they do not necessarily agree with whatever is presented to them and automatically integrate it into their self-definition. Instead, they carefully select, mould, and combine specific aspects to come up with an identity that is always contextualised within a particular context.

2.9.1. Emotions, music, and identity

Emotion is a state of consciousness or a feeling that is felt as an integrated reaction of the total organism (Gouws et al. 2008, 115). Emotions are accompanied by psychological arousal and results in behavioural responses (ibid.). As such, they "shape the landscape of our mental and social lives" (Nussbaum 2001, 4). They can be regarded as "avenues" through which we register how things are with respect to the external world. Adolescence is characterised by heightened emotionality and emotional volatility caused by a variety of physical, cognitive, moral and other factors (Gouws et al. 2008, 116). The interaction of these factors, coupled with the adolescent's need to adjust to these factors, further heightens her emotional state. Her need for autonomy, and her changing relationship with her parents, causes additional emotional distress (ibid.).

Yet, emotional stability is paramount during adolescence, since the adolescent's ability to control and express her emotions, as well as herself, in socially acceptable ways is fundamental to her process of social adaptation (Gouws et al. 2008, 116). Emotionality affects her ability to foster and manage sound social relations with others, which ultimately contributes to her sense of identity (ibid.). The emotional development of an adolescent thus entails the development of attachments, trust, security, love, and affection (ibid.). Tarrant et al. (2002) and Larson (1995) posit that adolescents often manage their emotional needs through music.

In this section, I will discuss relevant literature that explains the nature of emotions and their direct link to one's sense of self. In order to do so, I use the Neo-Stoic theory of emotions, as conceptualised by famous classicist and philosopher Martha Nussbaum (2001). This theory is based on the views of ancient Stoic philosophers. Nussbaum's theory is thus a logical continuation of an ancient idea, which she has modified and adjusted for contemporary society. My decision to use Nussbaum's theory is motivated by the fact that she uses music to illustrate the nature of the link between music, the self, and the emotions. It is my contention that her ideas provide useful insights in terms of understanding the relationship between hip hop music and identity in late adolescence, from the perspective of emotions. This understanding will enable me to explain how hip hop contributes to the identity construction of the participants in this study.

Nussbaum (2001) argues that the ability of emotions to influence the self is rooted in the notion that emotions are always cognitive. In this she asserts that emotions are part and parcel of the mental processes of receiving and processing information (Nussbaum 2001, 23). Consequently, emotions become the basis of profound perception and understanding of oneself. Emotions are thus essential elements of human intelligence. Without emotional development, part of our reasoning capacity will be missing (ibid., 3). This leads Nussbaum to define emotions as "evaluative cognitive judgments" (ibid.). This is because emotions involve evaluative assessment about "things" that we regard as significant to our personal well-being.

Nussbaum proposes three components of an emotion in order to illustrate why emotions are constituent parts of our cognitive processes. These three components are the object component, the belief component, and the self component of an emotion.

The “object” component of an emotion

According to Nussbaum (2001, 27), emotions are always about something. In other words, they are always about a “thing” or a “person”. As such, each emotion has an intentional object (ibid.). For us to have an emotion about something, we need to have a thought about an object. The thought is in the form of an evaluative judgement about the object’s importance to us. Nussbaum (2001) explains that the “about-ness” is more internal than external and embodies a way of seeing and interpreting (ibid.). The identity of the emotion is therefore determined by the thought about the object and its “about-ness”.

The “belief” component of an emotion

As mentioned earlier, the thought about the object of an emotion relates to the importance that the object has to us. The underlying convictions about why the object of our emotion is important to us constitute the belief component of the emotion. The belief is concerned with seeing the object of our emotion as valuable (Nussbaum 2001, 30). The nature of the belief determines the nature of the emotion. For instance, anger or remorse is a result of an underlying belief that damage has been done to something or someone who is of value to us (Nussbaum 2001, 29). Hence, the beliefs that we have about an object also enable us to identify the emotion (ibid.). The evaluative thought also determines the intensity of an emotion.

The “Self” component of an emotion

Nussbaum (2001, 30) argues that, by virtue of emotions being part of our reasoning, the Self is always implied in the emotion. Our perception of the value invested in the object of the emotion makes reference to ourselves (Nussbaum 2001, 30). As such, emotions monitor reality from a subjective point of view, plotting events onto an individual’s own sense of importance and value (ibid.). The ascription of value that accompanies a thought implies an internal connection of the particular object to the Self. Therefore, emotions are essentially concerned with the Self, particularly the Self’s plans, goals, and that which is important for the self to flourish (ibid.).

Nussbaum’s theory thus helps us to perceive emotions as cognitive judgements about objects in our lives. This understanding helps us to understand the role and the nature of emotions in interpersonal relations. The history and social norms of an individual influence a person’s emotional life in significant ways. Hareli and Rafaeli (2007) regard emotions as the main

avenues of interaction. The emotions of an agent are displayed through facial, vocal, gestural and verbal behaviour, and so can be perceived by others (Hareli and Rafaeli 2007, 4). Hareli and Rafaeli argue that emotions also influence the thoughts and behaviour of others. As a result, a person's emotions can shape or be shaped by the behaviours, thoughts, and emotions of other people, especially Significant Others (Hareli and Rafaeli 2007, 4). The Significant Other in the context of this study refers to the participants' contexts, for instance parents or peers, who influence the adolescent's sense of self and who play a major role during identity construction in this phase. Hip hop music is regarded as a particular context that provides adolescents with a Significant Other. This manifests in the form of celebrities, texts, and messages embodied in the hip hop lyrics and the music that enhances the self-esteem of the adolescents. By virtue of music being a social activity (Hargreaves et al. 2002, 5), hip hop music can also be seen to provide social spaces where interactions between adolescents and Significant Others can take place.

It is my contention that emotions are the drivers of the interaction where music is involved. I argue that music does not only evoke emotions, but also provides spaces where such emotions can be shared, expressed, and reacted on by Others. Thus music can be seen to fulfil its social functions that are manifested in interpersonal relations, mood, and self-identity (Hargreaves et al. 2002; Hargreaves and North 1997). Nussbaum (2001) identifies two kinds of emotions that are associated with music. These are the emotions of the listener, as well as the emotions that emanate from the expressive qualities of the music as music (ibid.). Nussbaum explains that reference to either of the two kinds of emotions cannot be considered in isolation from the other kind. In a similar view, Frith (1996, 117) asserts that music puts into play an emotional effect, which he refers to as a "collision" between the music maker and the listener. He describes this collision as an engaged process, rather than a detached one. In the context of this study, the effect of the emotional collision between the artists listened to by the participants and the emotions of the participant as a listener is acknowledged. However, it is beyond the scope of this study to elaborate on the nature of the emotions involved. The lyric inquiry activity carried out as a data-generating technique is seen as an embodiment of the emotions of the participant, who in this activity is perceived as the music maker. The emotions that emanated from these activities are considered in the analysis, as embodied in the narratives that the participants told.

2.10. THE ADOLESCENT, POPULAR CULTURE AND HIP HOP CULTURE

This section discusses *popular culture* and *hip hop culture* as influential contexts that inform and influence the process of identity construction during late adolescence. A review of various definitions assigned to the concept of popular culture by various scholars is provided. Since this study investigates female participants who identify strongly with hip hop music, a definition of popular culture from a feminist point of view is included. A review of literature that traces the emergence of hip hop music and culture since the 1970s, as well as literature about the spread of its popularity from New York City to South Africa, and its spread within South Africa, is also provided. A section that looks at how adolescents use popular culture is also presented.

2.10.1. Defining popular culture

Defining popular culture is a daunting task (Wright and Sandlin 2009; Storey 2006; Strinati 2004). According to Storey (2006, 1), the difficulty in defining popular culture stems from the implied “otherness” which is always present or absent when we use the term “popular culture”. Therefore, Storey (2006) asserts that popular culture is always defined, implicitly or explicitly, in contrast to other conceptual categories such as folk culture, mass culture, dominant culture, and working class culture, among others.

John Fiske (1989) explains why it is particularly difficult to conceptualise popular culture. He argues that popular culture always bears signs of power relations, that is, traces of the forces of domination, and relations of domination and subordination (Fiske 1989, 4). Such power relations are central to people’s social systems, and therefore to their social experiences. Fiske views popular culture as deeply contradictory in societies where power is unequally distributed along axes of class, gender, race, and the other categories that people use to make sense of their differences. He further asserts that popular culture tends to resist and evade the contradictions it stirs in such societies. In this regard, he sees such resistance as a contradiction in itself (Fiske 1989, 5).

Popular culture as a contradiction signifies an expression of both domination and subordination (Fiske 1989, 6). These contradictions entail semiotic richness and polysemy that enable the reader of a popular culture text to share both of its domination and subordination forces. At the same time, the semiotic richness and polysemy embedded in the expression of

a popular culture text simultaneously devolves to its reader the power to situate them within this play of forces at a point that meets their particular cultural interest (ibid.). The term “polysemy” in this context refers to the multiplicity of meanings that a single text can generate. The contradiction within a culture may be attributed to the emergence of subcultures within the culture (Frith and Goodwin 1990, 40). In such subcultures, a popular culture product that is shared among members of the subculture is likely to generate varied meanings, which are interpreted and assimilated in varied ways by members of the subculture. As such, these products serve as symbols which are shared. However, the meanings that emanate from them are subjective, as mediated by the idiosyncratic experience of the individuals (Cohen 1985, 14). Popular culture products include material products, cultural products, lived cultures or practices, and artefacts found in different societies of the world (Strinati 2004, xvi). Artefacts of popular culture include films, records, clothes, television programmes, and modes of transport, among other things (ibid.). Popular music is also regarded by Adorno (1990) as an aspect of popular culture.

Storey (2006) and Strinati (2004, 1995) acknowledge six theories that attempt to depict the definition of popular culture. These theories endeavour to attach definitions befitting their descriptions of the concept of popular culture to general conceptual frameworks (Strinati 2004, xvi). As such, defining popular culture independent of the particular theory designed to explain it is complex (ibid.). These definitions can be summarised as including the theory that popular culture is a “widely favoured” culture, the theory that popular culture is an inferior culture, the theory that popular culture is a mass culture, the theory that popular culture is an authentic folk culture, the theory that popular culture is a progressive culture, and the theory that popular culture is a postmodern text.

Popular culture as a “widely favoured” culture

Storey (2006, 4) sees the description “widely favoured” as referring to a culture that is “well-liked by many people”. This view of popular culture is derived from the literal meaning drawn from the term “popular culture”. An examination of sales of books, sales of CDs and DVDs, and attendance records at concerts and sporting events, among other things, can indicate that which is “widely favoured” (ibid.). However, Storey (2006, 4) argues that it is difficult to quantify what is widely favoured by people. It is precisely this inability that makes this definition virtually useless as a conceptual definition (ibid.).

Popular culture as an inferior culture

This view regards popular culture as a residual category that contains texts and practices that fail to meet the required standards to qualify as “high culture” (Storey 2006, 5). Various theorists have used the term “high culture” to refer to high theory or art, or elite culture (Storey 2006; Strinati 2004). High culture is different from folk culture and defines a cultural product that is aesthetically complex, creative, and inspired by the genius of an individual (Strinati 2004, 11). This view implies that popular culture is what is “left over” after that which can be regarded as “high culture” has been determined (Storey 2006, 5). Popular culture in this view is seen as an inferior culture (ibid). This view of popular culture is often supported by claims that popular culture is a mass-produced commercial culture, whereas high culture is the result of an individual act of creation (Storey 2006, 5). These claims suggest that high culture deserves a moral and aesthetic response, while popular culture requires only a fleeting sociological inspection to unlock what little it has to offer (ibid.).

Popular culture as a mass culture

This definition sees popular culture as a mass culture (Storey 2006, 5). This view largely draws from the view of popular culture as an inferior culture. As such it asserts that popular culture is a hopelessly commercialised mass-produced culture for mass consumption. Popular culture products, in this perspective, are perceived as standardised, formulaic, and manipulative (Storey 2006; Strinati 2004). Mass culture views its audience as a mass of passive consumers, susceptible to the manipulative persuasions of the mass media, yielding to the appeals to buy mass-produced commodities, prone to the false pleasures of mass consumption, and open to the commercial exploitation which motivates mass culture (Strinati 2004, 11). This makes popular culture a collective dream that provides escapism that is not a real escape from or to anywhere, but an escape to a “dreamland” (Storey 2006, 7).

The mass culture perspective sees its audience as atomised. Consequently, the products of popular culture can be made to appeal to all through manipulation and persuasion (Strinati 2004, 11). However, the notion of atomisation does not include works of art such as classical music and folk or indigenous cultural products. This is because the standardised and formulaic production of mass culture products cannot apply to the production of an alleged aesthetically complex, creative, experimental, and intellectual product such as those produced by “high art”, where art products are created by the inspired genius of individuals working

outside the constraints of a commercial market (Strinati 2004, 11). By extension, the production criteria applied to mass culture products cannot be applied to folk culture, as such products are produced by integrated communities who know what they are doing and who can guarantee the authenticity of their products (ibid.).

Popular culture as authentic folk culture

This perspective sees popular culture as that which originates from the people (Storey 2006, 7). This view posits that popular culture is an authentic culture of the people, in other words, a culture of the people for the people (Storey 2006, 7). Similarly, Strinati regards “authentic culture” as “folk culture” (Strinati 2004, 12). This view contests any perspective that seeks to view popular culture as something that is imposed on people from above (Storey 2006, 7). It therefore stands in opposition to the view of popular culture as a mass culture (Wright and Sandlin 2009; Storey 2006; Strinati 2004). This view focuses on the active production, rather than the passive consumption, of culture (Storey 2006, 7). It conceives popular culture as texts and practices, in other words, the everyday lived experiences of individuals (Wright and Sandlin 2009, 120).

Popular culture as a progressive culture

This outlook of popular culture is grounded in the Gramscian cultural studies framework, particularly in Gramsci’s concept of hegemony (Storey 2006, 8). Hegemony, according to Gramsci, refers to the way in which dominant groups in society seek to win consent of their subordinate masses through the processes of intellectual and moral leadership (ibid.). It is a cultural means by which a dominant group in society maintains its dominance by securing the spontaneous consent of subordinate groups, including the working class (Strinati 2004, 147). In this view, popular culture is not seen as an imposed culture of the mass culture, nor is it seen as emerging from below (from the people), but it is seen as a terrain of exchange and negotiation between the two (ibid.). This terrain is marked by resistance and incorporation (Storey 2006, 8).

This view sees popular culture as a site which its audience can use as an instrument of social change (Brunsdon and Spigel 2003). According to Gramsci, hegemony arises out of social conflict. It is therefore not a result of a functional imperative of capitalism, but a set of consensual ideas arising out of and serving to shape class and other social conflicts (ibid.). Popular culture in this view is seen as potentially progressive, and, indeed, it is often

progressive. It is essentially optimistic. Popular culture then finds its motivation in the people's vigour and vitality for possible social change (Storey 2006, 64).

Popular culture as a postmodern text

This view of popular culture is informed by recent debates on postmodernism (Storey 2006, 9). This perspective does not recognise the distinction between "high culture" and "low culture" in the definition of popular culture (ibid.). Theorists operating according to this perspective pay attention to the practice of popular culture in everyday life. These perspectives include the experiences of the audience, the pleasures associated with consuming, and identity construction through the production or consumption of popular culture (Wright and Sandlin 2009). Scholars using the postmodern perspective of popular culture see the value of any popular culture product as not fixed by existing powers. This perspective also embraces pluralism of meanings and values in popular culture. For instance, Goodwin (1991) suggests a postmodern reading of the sampling techniques associated with disc-jockeying in hip hop music culture (Storey 2006). He suggests that postmodernist explanations of these techniques move beyond describing them, to seeing them as texts that are embodied with polysemy of meanings, as well as looking at how such texts celebrate, oppose, and promote the texts from which they are sampled (Storey 2006, 142). In this regard, I contend that sampling in hip hop music is a site in which identities are created, transmitted, and experienced by members of a hip hop culture.

In summary, I concur with Storey (2006), Strinati (1995) and Fiske (1989) that there is no one way of viewing or defining popular culture. Therefore, I will not limit my understanding of the popular culture phenomenon to a particular definition. For that reason, I will embrace this diversity as varied dimensions through which I can understand the phenomenon.

2.10.2. Feminist perspectives of popular culture

There are at least three strands of feminism which are relevant to issues concerning the mass media and popular culture. These are *liberal feminism*, *radical feminism*, and *socialist feminism* (Strinati 1995, 178). *Liberal feminism* criticises the unequal and exploitative employment and representation of women in the media and popular culture (Strinati 1995, 178). *Radical feminism* regards patriarchy, or the control and repression of women by men, as the most crucial historical form of social division and oppression. It promotes a strategy of "female separatism". *Socialist feminism* accepts the problem of patriarchy and attempts to

incorporate it into the analysis of capitalism. Socialist feminism argues for a radical transformation of the relations between the genders as an integral part of the emergence of a socialist society (ibid., 178).

Feminism concerns regarding popular culture have not only focused on the representation of women in cultural products and debates, but have also been equally critical of the ways in which the academic study of social and cultural phenomena has perpetuated the problem of the way women are represented. In doing so, feminism has challenged academic studies on popular culture for their failure to take seriously, or consider more fully, the position of women and gender oppression (Strinati 2004; Tuchman 2000; Strinati 1995; Modleski 1986). Feminism has used insights from the methods and concepts derived from other theories of popular culture. These include the theories presented in this section. In doing so, feminism offers meaningful criticism to these perspectives in relation to itself and what it stands for (Strinati 1995, 179).

Popular culture's concern with women is devoted largely to the problem of the representation of women (Tuchman 2000; Strinati 2004, 1995). Earlier works on women and popular culture concentrated on symbolic annihilation of women as stipulated by Tuchman (2000). Symbolic annihilation of women refers to the way cultural production and media representations ignore, exclude, marginalise, and trivialise women and their interests (Tuchman 2000, 150). Tuchman (2000) stresses that such representations tend to ignore women, as well as portray them in their stereotypical roles of victims and/or consumers, thus symbolically annihilating them (Tuchman 2000, 150). For instance, in the mass media sector, women are portrayed in their traditional roles of mothers and homemakers (Tuchman 2000, 150). Tuchman adds that if women in this sector constitute part of the paid workforce, they are portrayed as secretaries, clerics, and other "pink-coloured jobs" (ibid.). Feminist concerns in the mass media have also included challenging the role that the mass media and other vehicles of popular culture play in shaping young girls' needs and expectations. Such a challenge is based on the assumption that institutions of mass communication are capable of influencing behaviour and attitudes. As such, consistent repetition of such themes and attitudes can be expected to encourage the maintenance of women in subordinate positions in society, and can also add to the powerful link in the chain of socialisation that encourages dependence by women (Tuchman 2000, 150). In this,

feminism argues that the true needs of women include the need to be independent and creative, and that these needs are annihilated to what Tuchman refers to as a “false repressive ideal” (ibid.). In this regard, it is my belief that hip hop music has the power to facilitate the identification and articulation of real needs by the participants in this study, and to consequently influence behaviour to achieve these needs.

The notion of gender is fundamentally significant for the study of popular culture. This notion looks beyond the annihilation of women in popular culture and cultural studies, to question the very language and assumptions in terms of which popular culture has been assessed through the debates on feminism (Strinati 1995, 189). In this regard, Modleski (1986), from a radical feminist perspective, asserts that women have been held responsible for mass culture, and its harmful effects (while men are seen to be responsible for “high” culture, or art). With this claim, she confronts the manner in which debates on feminism have assessed such representations of women in popular culture. She claims that these debates are complexly bound up with notions of the feminine, and that they fail to offer proper criticism at every level (Strinati 1995, 190). Modleski (1986) also claims that most feminist perspectives have presented claims that insist on equating femininity (the consumption and reading of culture) with masculinity (the production and writing of culture). In her view, such criticism represents theoretical divisions, and she calls for deconstruction of such opposition. In a similar view, Shiach (2003) observes that attempts to develop a feminist critique in cultural studies have driven women increasingly towards the question of pleasure and consumption. He is, however, concerned that such an emphasis can make it impossible for feminist critics to develop a sustained critique of the dominant paradigms of cultural studies which offer universality, productivity, politics, and struggle (Shiach 2003, 45).

The participants in this study are solely female late adolescents who identify strongly with hip hop music, which is considered as an integral component of popular culture. The literature related to feminist perspectives on popular culture informs this study on several concerns. These concerns include the way women are represented in the production of popular culture, as well as in academic circles. This review empowers me, as the researcher, to identify aspects in the data that feed into the concerns of feminism, and to articulate these. In doing so, I believe that this study will contribute to strengthening feminist scholarship on

popular culture by providing evidence of the concerns of women who identify strongly with such culture.

2.11.HIP HOP CULTURE

This section highlights the key elements of hip hop culture, namely disc-jockeying (deejaying), rapping (emceeing), break-dancing, and graffiti. The section also traces the emergence of hip hop in the streets of New York City in the 1970s. I also explore the African and South African hip hop scene.

2.11.1. Elements of hip hop

Hip hop is a culture (Chang 2006; Alridge and Stewart 2005; Chang 2005; Forman and Neal 2004; Forman 2002; Toop 2000; Rose 1994). The literature reveals that hip hop culture comprises at least four fundamental elements. These elements include disc-jockeying (deejaying), rapping (emceeing), break-dancing, and graffiti art (Nganyi 2009; Alridge and Stewart 2005; Chang 2005; Rose 1994). In this section, references to the disc jockeys and rappers will be used interchangeably with references to deejaying and emceeing, respectively.

The different elements of hip hop do not operate in isolation of each other (Alridge and Stewart 2005, 190). In addition to the four fundamental elements, hip hop culture also encompasses other aspects, such as musical genre, style of dress, dialect and language, world view, and aesthetics (Perkins 1996, 228).

Hip hop culture is dynamic in nature, and the very incorporation of different aspects to define it can be seen as a demonstration of its refusal to be defined singularly by the dominant parent cultures (Alridge and Stewart 2005, 190). This may also explain its high turnover of new musical styles and language. Mitchell observes that all four of these elements play themselves out in a form of bricolage (Mitchell 2003). Bricolage is endemic to the semiotics of each of the four elements of hip hop, as well as to hip hop clothing (Mitchell 2003, 46). The intertextuality of the four key elements of hip hop is acknowledged in this study and can be presented as shown in **Figure 2.1**.

Disc-jockeying (Deejaying/DJ)

Disc-jockeying (deejaying) dominated during the early hip hop days and took root in the 1970s alongside rapping (Perkins 1996, 6). It was the DJs that established the foundation for the lyricist, also known as the “rapper”, or the “MC”. A DJ’s style is determined by the beats

that she is able to exploit from the countless riffs, solos, traps, and thousands of other snippets of sound in the audio treasure chests at her disposal (Perkins 1996, 6). These beats are put together through a process of sampling and sequencing.

Sampling is an arrangement of bits and pieces of various sonic sources, such as break beats, musical phrases, TV jingles, sound bites, snippets from film soundtracks, and language-learning recordings, to create multiple sound collages (Androutsopolous and Scholz 2003, 470). In the early hip hop days, sampling and mixing techniques were made possible by the use of turntables and flash technical skills (Perkins 1996, 8). These have since paved the way for more sophisticated technological advancements through digital recording, which allows for easier sampling and mixing of sounds (ibid.). The reproduction and remixing of existing musical material in sampling and sequencing are seen to have eroded the division between original music and copies, between human- and machine-produced music, and between authentic and creative, plunging the genre of hip hop music into a crisis (Mitchell 2003, 46). Although sampling and mixing have been said to give rap music its self-renewing character, by affording DJs the opportunity to research further and further into the repositories of sound, it has been challenged by corporate and legal gurus and has been taken to task in relation to violation of legal codes concerning fair use and copyright infringement (Perkins 1996, 8). Nevertheless, sampling and sequencing processes have been absorbed as authentic and creative processes of production. The two techniques rely on scratchy vinyl and static sounds as an indicator of historical authenticity in sampling (Mitchell 2003). Perkins (1996, 9) further argues that sampling was and is hip hop's ongoing link with history and tradition. This includes links to the history and traditions of the African and African American musical genres. For that reason, no one can say that hip hop generates its own history by recycling music and reintroducing previous musical genres to new audiences and markets (ibid.).

Rapping (Emceeing/MC)

This aspect of hip hop developed closely with deejaying in the 1970s (Garofalo 1993). Its early pioneers included Afrika Bambaataa and Grandmaster Flash (ibid.). The rapper (or emcee) develops a basic lyrical style by mixing elements of street jargon and slang, personal experience, and an occasional dose of humour to create simple verses that could function as both match and counterpoint to the DJ (Perkins 1996, 10). In the early days of hip hop, the rapper had to be authoritative, assertive, and hard-hitting through the lyrics (ibid.). In so doing,

“dissin” (insulting, or putting down) became the cornerstone of early rap styles, where the MC would attempt to disregard an opponent with words, while boasting of her own lyrical and rhyming abilities (Perkins 1996). Mitchell observes that much emceeing in the Australian context consists of a considerable amount of quotation and verbal bricolage from various sources, as well as the use of acknowledged global English catchwords, such as “word up”, “in the house”, and “listen up” (Mitchell 2003, 46).

Break-dancing

The hip hop identity broadened in 1983, as the break-dancing craze swept through the shopping malls and inner-city playgrounds of America (Perkins 1996, 12). This event has been described as the moment when the “beat met the break” and they “both met the rhyme” (ibid., 13). Break-dancing is also known as “breaking”, and it refers to a set of specific dance moves performed on playgrounds and club dance floors during the late 1970s and early 1980s. The dance movements associated with break-dancing range from twists and spins, headstands, and elaborately orchestrated footwork, to the standard individual dance moves of “top rocking” and “up-rocking” (Perkins 1996, 13-14). Hebdige (1988) describes break-dancing as “overtly pledged to the sublimation of fight into dance, of conflict into contest, of desperation into style and a sense of self-respect” (ibid., 216). His description emphasises the dynamic, kinetic and bodily subjective nature of this hybrid physical form.

Graffiti

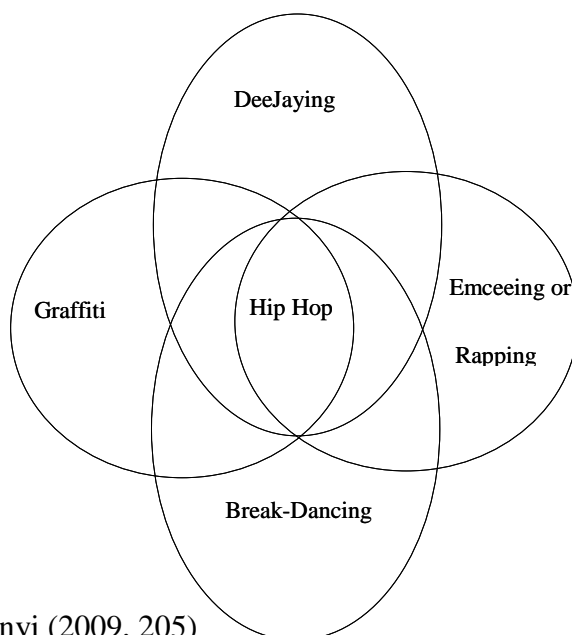
Graffiti in the United States is considered to have developed as a human tradition of name writing that dates back to at least 130 years (Stowers 2009, 62). Although it is difficult to establish the exact dates of emergence throughout these years, the practice is said to have developed simultaneously among various groups. Its emergence is associated with people’s desire to express themselves as well as the desire to leave a mark in public places along American landscape (ibid.). Graffiti can be said to distinguish into three main types namely, political, gang –related and hip hop (Varshavsky 2009, 71). The hip hop graffiti developed alongside deejaying, break-dancing and emceeing in the 1970s (ibid.). Graffiti artists scribble messages, tags, or signatures on public spaces such as walls and public toilets. As a form of communication, graffiti is praised for its ability to surmount the public space and aid in the expression of an idea (Nganyi 2009, 207). The success of the graffiti artist therefore lies in his or her ability to conquer public space and express his or her ideas on it. Nowadays,

graffiti art space has broadened, from predominantly walls, subways, and public toilets, to become a prominent marketing feature in advertisements and commercials targeting young people.

Graffiti, in traditional hip hop understanding, was both a political statement as well as a form of art created by underground artists (Nganyi 2009, 205). As a political statement, graffiti was considered as “unsightly and rude”, and its artists were considered as “deviant” (ibid.). In the inner city of New York City, graffiti was used to convey the disaffection, desires, concerns, and pleasures of the urban youth (ibid.).

Mitchell (2003, 46) sees the four key elements of hip hop, as described above, as being alternative forms of epistemology, and as being important identifiers of place of origin, neighbourhood, family, community, and ethnic group identity (ibid.). For instance, she claims that hip hop’s codes of knowledge are strongly linked to notions of place, belonging, and the tropes of family and neighbourhood. She adds that the term “droppin’ science”, which reputedly originates from the performers *Five Percent Nation*, and their emphasis on codes, as well as references to the “science of supreme mathematics”, is indicative of the emphasis placed on the MC’s knowledge.

Fig 2.1: Key elements of hip hop



Source: Nganyi (2009, 205)

Hip hop and rap music have been criticised as being a bad influence on the youth (Gitonga 2009; Taylor and Taylor 2007, 2004). This is because hip hop culture focuses on topics such as beer drinking, misogyny, violence, drugs, sex, and hate (Gitonga 2009, 3). These topics are seen to feed into the youth's need for self-indulgent instant gratification, rather than encourage the kind of ideals that society at large would consider more worthy (ibid.). In this regard, Parekh (2009) notes that although the lyrical component of hip hop music in its early years encompassed topics ranging from personal experiences, boasting, love, and humour, it has developed to largely include topics such as misogynist attitudes, violence, and politics, among others (Herd 2009, Perry 2008, Keyes 2004).

Recent research on popular music, and rap, in particular, has revealed that not all hip hop is considered "bad" (Herd 2009; Gitonga 2009; Keyes 2004). Keyes (2004) argues that much of the hip hop community is socially and politically conscious, and that as time has progressed, rap has become increasingly inclusive to positively contribute to the humankind (Keyes 2004, 272). In the same perspective, Gitonga's (2009) research on the communicative capacity of popular music reveals that popular music, including hip hop, is a better placed intervention to sensitise young people about social issues affecting them. Herd (2009, 395) also holds that portrayals of violence in rap songs can be viewed in a more positive light, especially with regard to rap's increased association with glamour, wealth, masculinity, and personal prowess.

The participation of females in the rap music industry in the early 1980s was minimal compared to the participation of males (Parekh 2009, 16). The arrival of females on the rap scene not only elevated rap to new heights; it also saw an injection of a feminist current in the rap mainstream (ibid.). These women rappers did not only seek to parade their competence in rhyming, but they also used rap as a vehicle through which problems and issues that faced inner-city women could be revealed, particularly issues surrounding sexuality (Perkins 1996, 16). Although some women rappers, such as Yolanda Whitaker, were perceived as contradictory in their rap rhymes, others, such as Queen Latifa, embodied rap as a means of self-innovation and self-critique (ibid., 32). Sister Souljah used rap as a medium to promote the cause of the African world, while healing its wounds and scars (ibid., 34).

2.11.2. The emergence and spread of hip hop

Existing literature reveals that hip hop emerged in the early 1970s in the inner-city area of New York City, called the Bronx (Aldridge and Stewart 2005; Chang 2005; Keyes 2004; Rose 1994). Rap developed closely alongside disc-jockeying, while break-dancing is considered to be a later development (Banes 2004). According to Keyes (2004, 193), rap music first evolved among street DJs who would mix pre-recorded hits from turntables, while reciting into a microphone party phrases to invite the audience to participate (Keyes 2004, 193). It is, however, difficult to pinpoint from the academic literature the exact time that hip hop emerged (Perkins 1996, 5). This is attributed to the fact that, in the early years, the phenomenon of hip hop was either ignored, or dismissed as inconsequential, because of its association with underground gang activities and criminality (Nganyi 2009, 20). Consequently, the exact order in which the different elements of hip hop emerged is also unclear (ibid.).

The appropriation of the hip hop culture globally can be explained in terms of what James Lull (1995) refers to as “the emergence of new cultural territory” (Androutsopolous and Scholz 2003, 467). Androutsopolous and Scholz (2003, 467) explain that the emergence of a “cultural territory”, such as hip hop, involves three distinct phases. These include *detritorialisation*, *cultural melding and mediation*, and *reterritorialisation*. *Deterritorialisation* is considered the starting point for cultural appropriation. It involves the extraction of a cultural pattern from its original social context (Androutsopolous and Scholz 2003, 467). The *cultural melding and mediation* phase is considered the middle phase of the cultural appropriation process. This phase contains three crucial cultural interactions, namely *transculturation*, *hybridisation*, and *indigenisation*. During *transculturation*, the cultural forms move through time and space. While doing so, these cultural forms interact with other cultural forms, influencing the former to produce new cultural forms. During *hybridisation*, the cultural form comes into contact and mixes with new and familiar cultural forms that lead to the formation of “cultural hybrids” (Androutsopolous and Scholz 2003, 468). During *indigenisation*, the cultural form that has undergone hybridisation becomes integrated into the artistic repertoire of the host society, and in so doing, it is no longer experienced as alien to the people of the host society (Androutsopolous and Scholz 2003, 468). The *reterritorialisation* phase is considered the last point in the process of appropriation of a cultural form. It involves integration of the new cultural pattern into a new society (ibid.).

In the appropriation of the hip hop culture, the process of deterritorialisation saw the spread of hip hop from the streets of the Bronx, New York City, to other parts of America, Europe, and the world. With the help of the media and technological advancements, hip hop has spread to become a global phenomenon among young people (Nganyi 2009; Forman and Neal 2004; Toop 2000, 1991). This integration of the hip hop culture into many youth subcultures around the world can be attributed to processes typical of the cultural melding and mediation phase. Hybridisation of the American hip hop styles with the local styles available to the youth has indigenised the genre to a genre which the youth consider unique to them. Through these processes, hip hop is now being used by many youth in the world to reflect and communicate social, economic, political and cultural realities (Alridge and Stewart 2005, 100). Hip hop embraces a series of epistemologies which enable a wide range of young people from many different ethnic backgrounds to express personal, social and cultural oral histories and philosophies through music, sound, movement, and visual art (Mitchell 2003). Arguably, hip hop has become a form of experimental history for the members of the hip hop culture. As such, it enables these members to express their investment and affiliation with the history of hip hop, from old-school hip hop to contemporary versions of it, as well as providing these members with a means of embodying, illustrating, and vocalising personal histories and connecting them with broader local, national and global social and cultural histories (ibid.).

2.11.3. Hip hop in Africa

Keyes (2004, 302) claims that the rap music that was first heard in the streets of the Bronx, New York City, was rooted in native African oral traditions that involved detailed storytelling through rhythmic chanting. In this she argues that the 19th-century African American slaves continued this oral tradition, often adding an element of poetry to the chant. Finally, to these folk traditions were added the political consciousness and activism of the African-American community in the 1960s (Keyes 2004, 302).

In Africa, Senegal is said to have been among the first countries to realise locally made hip hop music (Nganyi 2009; Benga 2002) in the late 1980s. Unlike many places in the world, where hip hop has emerged in the inner-city areas, hip hop in Senegal started in what is today known as the capital city, Dakar, and among the privileged in the country's private schools (Nganyi 2009, 61). Precolonial Senegal was dominated by griots, whose mystical oratory and vocal style provided the basis for contemporary Senegalese music, known as mbalax. The

travelling griots' tradition is also said to have inspired the evolvement of rap music in the inner city of New York City (Nganyi 2009; Hess 2007; Watkins 2005). Hip hop spread to other African countries, where it has come to be known by different names, such as kwaito in South Africa (Muller 2008; Steingo 2005; Mhlambi 2004; Peterson 2003; Coplan 2000), hip life in Ghana (Impey 2000; Graham 1989), Nigerian hip hop (Akpan 2006; Impey 2000; Graham 1989), bongo fleva/flava in Tanzania (Perullo 2005; Stroeken 2005), genge, kapukha, kapungala, and boomba in Kenya (Gitonga 2009; Nganyi, 2009), hip hop in Somalia (Forman 2002), and hip hop in Malawi (Chiramba 2006; Fenn and Perullo 2000), among others. Substantial literature exists on hip hop in Africa (Nganyi 2009; Becker and Dastile 2008; Perullo 2005; Peterson 2003; Coplan 2000; Impey 2000). Walser (1995, 51) sees the media and technological advancement as the reason for the considerable growth of rap music, from the local performance practice of the Bronx subculture to a multibillion industry which mediates a music that is made and heard all around the world. Consequently, the youth have embraced hip hop both as a medium for the construction of their identity and as a vehicle for voicing their concerns (ibid.).

Hip hop in Africa embodies a creative interaction between foreign and local musical styles (Gitonga 2009; Nganyi 2009; Ntarangwi 2001). This implies that African hip hop is not an imitation of American hip hop. Through strategies such as adaptation, assimilation, eclecticism, appropriation, and experimentation, hip hop artists in Africa have transformed American hip hop into what may be seen as unique to their own sociocultural contexts (Coplan 2000; Impey 2000). In a similar observation, Agawu sees popular music in Africa as being a product outgrowth of colonisation (Agawu 2003, 15). He attributes this to the availability of material resources, such as musical instruments, that became available after colonised African countries obtained their independence (ibid.).

Hip hop is inextricably entwined with the energies of black youth. According to Forman (2002, 90), hip hop in Africa is a prominent element in the definition and mapping of contemporary African black adolescents' identity. Hip hop in Africa encompasses more than simply exhibiting particular consumption patterns, taste in fashion clothing, or other surface gestures. He asserts that it includes the demonstration of deeply invested affinities and attitudinal allegiances that shape the modes of expression of Africa's youth, as well as inform the core of both their Self and their group identity (ibid.). A similar thought is advanced by

Perry (2008, 639), who argues that the widespread proliferation of rap artists and hip hop culture throughout Africa's urban centres represents an important manifestation of hip hop's global black reach (Perry 2008, 639). The rise of vibrant local hip hop movements in Senegal, Ghana, Benin, Kenya, South Africa, and Côte d'Ivoire, to name just a few countries in Africa, suggests that the African youth of today are increasingly engaging in the black signified cultural space of hip hop as a medium of critical self-expression (Perry 2008, 652). Since the core focus of this study is hip hop in South Africa, this will therefore be discussed in detail in the following section.

The hip hop scene in South Africa

The hip hop culture in South Africa can be seen as the fastest growing popular culture. This culture incorporates music, dance styles, and fashion. It has become an integral part of today's South African youth culture. National television channels, radio stations, the Internet, and social networks have played a major role in the dissemination and transmission of hip hop culture. For instance, television channels such as the state-owned South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) and the independent e.tv play their role in propagating hip hop culture to adolescents in South Africa by programming reality shows and hip hop dance competitions, as well as musical entertainment programmes that target the youth. Hip hop-related programmes that are broadcast on SABC1 include *Jika Majika*, music and dance programme that showcases new dance styles in South Africa. The programme provides South Africa's youth with a platform to showcase their dance moves and also highlights the top 10 local hip hop songs and DJs of the week. Another hip hop show on SABC1 is *Club Culture – The movement*. This is a weekly youth music programme that is hosted by DJ Fresh and Euphonik. The programme showcases dance culture as expressed through music, as well as hip hop artists and the hip hop culture, in general. On e.tv, the recently concluded reality dance programme *Step Up or Step Out* auditioned and hosted competitions between various hip hop street dance teams for an ultimate prize. These hip hop programmes also showcase fashions, hairstyles, and slang expressions that are seen to impact on the South African hip hop scene, by encouraging young people to adopt these.

Steingo (2005) broadly refers to the whole South African youth hip hop culture, together with the vernacular terms and fashion trends, as kwaito. The term "kwaito" appears to have come from the Afrikaans word *kwaai*, which is street slang for "cool" and is commonly used in the

township multilingual slang (is'camtho) in which many of the recordings in kwaito style are sung (Coplan 2005, 18). Indeed, according to Swartz (2003), hip hop culture among South African youth can only be defined by illuminating the way the youth embrace images of celebrities and popular global youth practices within their leisure activities. He claims that images such as All Stars (a brand of cheap canvas shoes), credible clothes, and the formulation of street language find parallels and convergences with kwaito music through processes such as fusion, eclecticism, and hybridity, to nurture a global form of hip hop music that distinguishes Soweto's youth from that of the rest of the world (Swartz 2003, 1). This has made kwaito undoubtedly the most singular innovation in popular culture in South Africa since the 1990s (Muller 2008; Coplan 2005, 2000).

The musical qualities of kwaito are captured by Allen (2004), who explains that, in its early years, kwaito was a South Africanised blend of hip hop with European and American dance music, especially house music, techno, and pop. In fact, according to Swartz (2003, 4), kwaito music is a kind of slowed-down house music with deep bass lines, catchy melodies, percussive loop samples, vocal parts which are chanted, and a liberal sampling of world music styles, such as reggae, soul, and ragga. Consequently, the music of the top kwaito-performing artists of the 1990s, such as Arthur Mafokate, Mandoza, Bongo Maffin, and Abashante, was dominated by an unyielding pounding bass beat that was marginally mediated by other cyclically repeated rhythmic modules (Allen 2004). The instrumental backing tended to be entirely computer-generated. Snatches of catchy melodies were layered and looped around the vocal parts, which tended to be the only "live", human aspects of the performance. Although the rhythmically spoken lyrics were inspired by rap, kwaito vocal delivery tended to be much slower, as the lyrics consisted of a few of the latest catchphrases, repeated and played against each other (Allen 2004, 2).

Recently in South Africa, house music has infiltrated the hip hop culture. This is because, although house music initially had an essentially distinct sound from kwaito, the two genres have eventually extensively influenced each other's style. Just like kwaito music, house music is sculpted from mixing, scratching, dubbing, and sampling (Dalamba 2003, 11). Musically, the genre of house music imitates the percussion of disco with an exploitation of the bass drum, and is organised around a bare minimum bass line, sparse keyboard parts, and occasional sampled or repetitive vocal tunes (ibid.). These characteristics form the basic

framework of kwaito music. House music is performed by a DJ who selects the repertoire and plays music that is pre-recorded. The porous and promiscuous character of house music makes it possible for it to use various musical sounds and aesthetics of hip hop, marrying these to create hybrid tracks through sampling and mixing techniques (Dalamba 2003, 184). In the recent past, house music DJs have started collaborating actively with kwaito artists such as Ganyani and Mdu, among others. As a result, kwaito and house music have crossed the boundaries of genre, language, and even culture, thus accommodating a wider fan base. At the same time, new styles are emerging, as sampling and mixing in the making of the music incorporates diverse musical idioms. House music in South Africa is associated with dance styles such as Vuma (agree), Sika le khekhe (cut the cake), Qolo (a person's back), and Stonkana (a donkey), among others. These tendencies of house music can be seen as the reason the participants in this study could not clearly distinguish hip hop music from kwaito and house music, due to the duplication of aspects of style.

Although transcribing the various house music and kwaito songs, as well as an exclusive musical analysis, would have been one way of clarifying the boundaries that define these genres, I chose not to do so. Thus, I acknowledge what Ballantine (2003) refers to as the “banality of classification”. According to Ballantine (2003, 4), genres are the largest looming classification system in music. He sees such classifications as limiting and serving as “horizons of expectation” that confine and foreclose just as easily as they can open vistas and opportunities. These boundaries of genres are policed by gatekeepers of various sorts (ibid.). Consequently, I understand the participants’ experience of hip hop as being not limited to boundaries assigned by naming a genre, but as extending beyond the boundaries of class, race, and genre. It is my belief that a musical analysis would have been one way of policing the correctness of hip hop boundaries through an academic work such as this. Therefore, as it became apparent that the experience of identity by the participants in this study was not confined to the boundaries of genres, I perceived the articulations of the participants’ identity through house music genres as being varied in the context of this study. My perception is further informed by my belief that the kwaito culture in post-apartheid South Africa has evolved to incorporate musical idioms from house music and other musical idioms drawn from both regional and global circles to represent a unique post-apartheid South African hip hop identity.

Focusing on all aspects of hip hop culture is beyond the scope of this study. Therefore the study limits itself to looking at the *influence* of the culture expressed through hip hop music, and how such influence contributes to the construction of personal identities among female late adolescents in South Africa. Nevertheless, the intertextuality of the various forms of hip hop culture in South Africa is acknowledged.

2.11.4. Popular culture, hip hop, and the adolescent

Popular culture constitutes an integral part of the adolescent's life and involves aspects that are central to the lives of many adolescents (Dolby 2001, 14; Coleman and Hendry 1990, 125). Dolby (2001, 14) thus argues that popular culture constitutes a "benchmark of radical education", as most adolescents experiment with and explore different roles and identities within the framework of popular culture. Peer relations during adolescence set the basis upon which young people can experiment with various roles afforded to them by popular culture. Popular culture material generally used by adolescents consists of dance styles, music or video records, teenage magazines, fashion, and aspects of the mass media and movies. Coleman and Hendry (1990, 125) note that dance forms are more favoured by young people, as they maximise rhythm and sexual attraction, and minimise skill and set patterns. Research also suggests that popular dance forms appeal to young people as one of the socially acceptable outlets for aggression, while movement and dress emphasise excitement, colour, and sensuality. Coleman and Hendry (1990, 126) accordingly argue that, within popular culture, adolescents can achieve a transitory loss of Self by moving into diffuse groups or crowds of peers, in which there is a high degree of anonymity, general adherence to dress patterns and hairstyles, and a wide range of permissible behaviour.

According to Ruud (2006, 60), current pressure on young people, exerted by the media and the fashion and music industry, put them under significant pressure to perform their choices of commitment to a certain identity, which they may call their personal identity. As such, their world is characterised by steadily produced symbols and codes, which are rapidly transmitted through popular culture. As a result, young people have to do symbolic work, which exerts pressure on their capacity for interpretation, choice, and creative appropriation of symbols and codes into their individual styles (ibid.). It is my contention that music, as a product of popular culture, provides raw material in the production of symbols and codes. Music also acts as a vehicle through which such symbols and codes are disseminated. In addition to

many other motivations and uses of music during adolescence, which include the fulfilment of emotional needs (Giles and Maltby 2004; North et al. 2000), distraction from boredom (Dave 2009; Steele 1999), and relief of tension and stress (Dave 2009; Wells and Hakanen 1991), the role of hip hop music in the construction of meaningful values which provide a context for identity construction cannot be underestimated. For instance, research shows that early adolescents have very active engagement with music and are often very passionate consumers of it (Campbell et al. 2007; Brown 2006; Mickel and Mickel 2002; Fine et al. 1990). It is during this period of development that individuals begin to emerge from the cocoon of familial identity (Campbell et al. 2007). As they transform into beings that have a deeper sense of self, a desire for greater and increased awareness of public image develops (ibid.). The individual begins to reflect a transition from parental attachments to peer attachments, which implies greater emotional autonomy (Giles and Maltby 2004, 821). At this point, the adolescent is likely to spend more time listening to music, and to spend more time with her peers (Campbell et al. 2007; Larson 2001).

Popular music, as well as hip hop music, has been used by young people not just for entertainment, politics, and religion, but also to convey different identities and to convey ideas of what life is like, was like, and should be like (Coleman and Hendry 1990, 126). Research furthermore reveals that popular music is also used by adolescents as a source of those values and roles that are undervalued by schools (ibid.). Adolescents' music preferences are influenced by the need to choose types of musical styles that articulate aspects of their lives at a real or a fantasy level (Coleman and Hendry 1990, 127). Coleman and Hendry (1990, 128) also believe that ritualisation of trends in adolescent popular culture sometimes leads to imitative styles in behaviour and fashion.

Popular culture also plays a central role in the propagation and experience of social identity across youth subcultures. According to Coleman and Hendry (1990, 127), subcultures validate their distinctiveness from other subcultures by using songs, lyrics, dance moves, and magazines, which are all part of the vast popular culture network. The culture provided by the commercial market plays a crucial role in mirroring existing attitudes and sentiments, while providing an expressive field through which these attitudes can be projected. The success of the popular culture industry cannot be attributed only to profits, but should also be attributed to the ability of this industry to appeal to the emotions of its audience. The lyrics of hip hop

songs are intended to reflect typical adolescent sentiments containing emotion, realism and fantasies that characterise their imagined worlds (ibid.).

However, Dolby (2001, 15) observes that, although substantial scholarly work has focused on the analysis of popular culture, minimal scholarship examines, firstly, how young people make meaning of the texts available to them through popular culture, and, secondly, the extent to which young people enact those meanings in their lives. Such examination is paramount, as popular culture consumes large amounts of energy in and out of school. Consequently, Dolby (2001, 15) argues that popular culture must be problematised and acknowledged as a research site that matters.

The participants involved in this study indicated that they love and engage with hip hop music in personal and social realms. This study thus acknowledges that hip hop, which constitutes an aspect of popular culture, is significant in the lives of young people. The study therefore aims to contribute to the existing knowledge on popular culture and seeks to understand how hip hop contributes to late female adolescents' construction of personal identity, by focusing on the meanings that they assign to different aspects of hip hop in making decisions about how such music influences their sense of self.

2.12. CONCLUSION OF THIS CHAPTER

This chapter provided a comprehensive review of adolescence and identity. It began by conceptualising the concept of identity and identity construction and moved on to focus on the concept of identity construction during late adolescence. Identity as a phenomenon is portrayed as dynamic and constantly shifting and reshaping itself, depending on the context. This dynamism is acknowledged in this study and is conceptualised in the concept of identity construction, which constitutes the title of the study.

The emphasis of this chapter was on the various transitions in adolescence as underlying fundamental processes that have significant implications for the process of identity construction during late adolescence. Hip hop music is considered as an influential social context in the lives of adolescents in South Africa. The influence of these contexts is further made complex by the interaction between the fundamental transitions of adolescence with the various influential contexts. It is my contention that, by gaining insight into how these cultures are produced, light is shed on the different elements associated with these cultures

that enhance their strongholds in the process of identity construction in adolescence. The next chapter focuses on the research design, its philosophical foundations, and the methodology applied during the research process, as I endeavour to answer the key research question of this study.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH DESIGN, PHILOSOPHICAL FOUNDATIONS, AND METHODOLOGY

3.1. INTRODUCTION

This study utilised a qualitative research design, which situates me, as the researcher, in the world of the participants in the study (Denzin and Lincoln 2000, 1). Situating this study in a qualitative research design requires that the research process takes an insider perspective (Babbie and Mouton 2001, 270). The primary goal of a qualitative study is to describe and understand human experience, rather than just explain it (ibid.). As such, the researcher immerses herself in the social reality of the participants chosen for the study. In this way, the researcher enters the world of the informants, and through ongoing interaction she seeks the participants' perspectives and meanings (Creswell 2007, 226). In the following sections, I present the research design of this study, which consists of the philosophical paradigms of the study, the data-generating techniques, followed by a discussion of the analysis strategy for this study. A concluding section is included at the end of the chapter.

3.2. RESEARCH DESIGN OF THIS STUDY

A research design is a plan according to which a researcher intends to investigate a research problem (Babbie 2005; Babbie and Mouton 2001; Berg 1995). It is a flexible set of guidelines that connect the theoretical paradigm, firstly, to strategies of inquiry, and, secondly, to methods for collecting empirical material (Denzin and Lincoln 2000, 25). The research design situates the researcher in the empirical world and connects her to specific sites, persons, phenomena, or groups of relevant interpretive material (ibid.). In this way, the research design becomes a strategic framework of actions that serves as a bridge between the research questions and the execution, or implementation, of the research (Blanche and Durrheim 1999, 29). Consequently, the research design entails clear specifications by the investigator of *what* she wants to find out, and *how* she will find it out (Babbie 2005). Such a “plan” is needed in order to obtain evidence that can sufficiently answer the research question unambiguously and as accurately as possible (De Vaus 2001). Clarity of the research design is important, as it has a bearing on the formulation of an appropriate research design, approach and methods (Moeng 2009, 15). Such planned research is termed “systematic observation”, because the observation

of a phenomenon is guided by a concrete research question and research design. In this way, the researcher seeks to draw coherent and plausible conclusions or inferences from her observation, to ensure that it will fulfil the purposes of the research (Blanche and Durrheim 1999, 29).

3.2.2. The research paradigm of the study

A philosophical paradigm is defined as a set of basic beliefs that guides an action (Blanche and Durrheim 1999, 29). It constitutes the lens through which social reality can be interpreted. In qualitative research, a philosophical assumption consists of a stance towards *ontology* (the nature of reality), *epistemology* (how the researcher knows what she knows), *axiology* (the role of values in the research), *rhetoric* (the language of the research), and *methodology* (the methods used in the research process) (Creswell 2007, 16).

The *ontological* stance begins by embracing the idea of subjective and multiple realities. Such ideas have implications for the researcher's decisions on how to access different perspectives of the participants. The *epistemological* assumption requires that the researcher gets as close as possible to the participants being studied. The closer the researcher gets to her participants, the more she can claim to know what she knows (ibid., 18). The *axiological* assumption requires that the researcher positions herself in a study, by first admitting the value-laden nature of the study, and then actively reporting her values and biases. She also acknowledges the value-laden nature of the information gathered in the field (Creswell 2007, 18). The *rhetorical* stance requires that the writing of the researcher is personal and literary in form (ibid.). This includes the use of metaphors, as well as reference to herself in the first person ("I") and telling the story with a beginning, middle, and an end. Finally, the *methodological* assumption is characterised as inductive, emerging, and shaped by the researcher's experience in collecting and analysing the data (Creswell 2007, 19).

In order to reasonably address all the theoretical issues of a qualitative research study such as this one, one can use more than one paradigm (Lincoln 2005, 189). According to Lincoln (2005), utilisation of more than two paradigms in a study depends on how well the assumptions of the paradigms fit the phenomenon in the study. This study locates itself within the *Social Constructionist* paradigm, the *interpretive* paradigm, the *Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis* paradigm as well as the *Critical* paradigm to investigate the process by which hip hop contributes to the construction of the personal identity of female late adolescents in

South Africa. The study furthermore embraces the use of participatory research (PR) methods to stimulate self-reflection in the context of hip hop music.

3.2.2.1. The Social Constructionist paradigm

Researchers operating within the Social Constructionist paradigm seek to understand the processes by which the realities of the world they live in are constructed (Creswell 2007, 20). The goal of the research study in this paradigm is to rely on the participants' view of the situation as much as possible. The paradigm acknowledges the notion of "subjective epistemology", where the "knower", in other words the expert or the researcher, and the participants co-create knowledge (Denzin and Lincoln 2000, 24). A social constructivist researcher often focuses on the process of interaction among individuals in the specific contexts in which people live or work, in order to understand the historical and cultural settings of the participants (Creswell 2007, 21).

Social Constructionism as a paradigm has its roots in the philosophy of human experience in the writings of Mannheim and Schutz (DeLamater and Hyde 1998, 14). In the social sciences, it draws on the work of Mead (1934). In so doing, Social Constructionism embraces the tenets of Symbolic Interactionism, in order to emphasise the role of framing actions and cultural processes in social realities (Buechler 1995, 441). According to DeLamater and Hyde (1998), Social Constructionism has five important emphases that are significant to this study:

The *first* emphasis assumes the social experience of the world as an objective reality which is ordered in a particular way (DeLamater and Hyde 1998, 14). As such, we do not perceive social reality as a chaotic jumble of sights, sounds, and experiences, but we experience it as comprised of discrete events and specific persons engaging in distinct actions in a particular order (ibid.). In other words, we experience the world as an objective reality consisting of events and persons that exist independently of our perception of them (ibid.).

The *second* emphasis stresses language as the basis on which we make sense of our world. As such, language provides a means by which we can interpret new experiences, by making available the categories, or typifications, that we use to classify events and persons, and to order them.

The *third* emphasis suggests that reality is shared among people in our world through interaction and the use of language (DeLamater and Hyde 1998, 14). It stresses that through language, we share our experiences and we avail these experiences to others, and vice versa (ibid.). This makes our sense of ourselves in our world a product of social interaction (DeLamater and Hyde 1998; Gergen 1998). In this regard, Gergen (1998) postulates that the world does not determine the form of our utterances or our phonemes, but we employ language together to determine what the world is for us. This makes language more than just maps of our world, but a significant constituent of our forms of life (Gergen 1998, 102). The degree by which a given form of understanding prevails or is sustained over time is not fundamentally dependent on the empirical validity of the perspective in question, but also on the vicissitudes of social process, for instance communication and negotiation (Gergen 1985, 268). While interpreting this assumption in the context of this study, it is implied that by allowing the participants to share their experiences that have emanated from their hip hop encounters, they continue to shape their realities in the context of the music, as well as shape each other's sense of their musical experiences. As such, validity of the study is enhanced through communication and negotiation. Through such communication, different identities emerge in relation to the music that the participants prefer.

The *fourth* emphasis stresses that shared typification of a reality can lead to habituation, and may become institutionalised (DeLamater and Hyde 1998, 14). "Typification" here refers to repeated actions which may become cast into patterns (Berger and Luckman 2002, 42). Habituation is apparent when typification assumes a repeated pattern (ibid.). Habituation entails facilitating the predictability of behaviour to others, thus facilitating joint activities (Berger and Luckman 2007, 2002, 1966). Habitualisation makes the behaviour of others predictable, thus facilitating joint activity (DeLamater and Hyde 1998, 14). Hence, understanding of the human world cannot be comprehensive if other activities happening at the same time are not taken into consideration as influencing the salient reality. Descriptions and explanations of the social world themselves constitute forms of social action and they are intertwined with a range of other human activities (Gergen 1985, 268). Institutionalisation occurs when there is reciprocal typification of habitualised actions by types of actors doing shared actions (Berger and Luckman 2007, 44). In other words, institutionalisation is when there are more than two people involved in the typification of an action (ibid., 45). An understanding of these terms is crucial to this study. Through the interaction of the

participants, who are assumed to be participating in hip hop experiences together or separately, typification of important categories related to identity may repeatedly emerge. Through such typification of themes, I am able to easily deduce the salient identities emerging.

The *fifth* emphasis stresses that the emerging meanings from the social realities may be institutionalised at the level of society, or within a subgroup or culture (DeLamater and Hyde 1998, 14). This similarly creates what Tajfel (1981) refers to as an “in-group” (Tajfel 1981; Tajfel and Turner 1979).

Social Constructionism is considered appropriate for this study for several reasons. Firstly, this study has as its point of departure the premise that hip hop music influences the construction of identity. The mandate, therefore, is to investigate the process by which hip hop music contributes to the process of identity construction in female late adolescents. Through the lens provided by the Social Constructionist paradigm, the study adopts the assumption that the identity of the participants in the study is socially constructed and is shared through language. The participants’ engagement with hip hop music is regarded as a social phenomenon. Social Constructionism as a paradigm affords me an opportunity to understand the sense-making processes of the participants in the context of hip hop music, through acknowledging the role of language and interaction during these processes.

Another reason that this paradigm is suitable for this study is the refusal of this paradigm to assume uniformity of social reality and its appreciation of complexities within a single reality (DeLamater and Hyde 1998, 14). Therefore, locating this study within this paradigm enables me to acknowledge the potential complexities that may emerge when adolescents engage with a phenomenon such as hip hop. These complexities are also assumed to be subjected to other discourses of power before the meanings are made sense of and articulated as part of the Self. Hence, this study employs narrative inquiry as a data-generating strategy, in order to gain full insight into the world of the adolescents, as narrated by them. Another reason for its employment of narrative inquiry is to understand the processes underlying the meaning-making process in the context of hip hop. The data-generation strategies used in this study aim to facilitate the participants’ deep reflection of their sense of self in the context of hip hop. My awareness of the limitations of conventional data-generating tools, such as the questionnaire and the interview, prompted me to choose data-generation techniques that allow

participants to work with the utmost freedom, to generate data that may be said to describe their sense of self as accurately as possible.

3.2.2.2.The interpretive paradigm

A researcher working in this paradigm wants to find out what people are doing and experiencing, while taking into account the conditions in which the people being studied live (Henning et al. 2004, 20). In doing this, the researcher confronts the social world through questions about this world. She does this in order to discover relations between categories, by formulating propositions about these relations, by organising these propositions into analytical schemes, and by substantiating the questions, data, relations, propositions, and analysis through renewed examination of the social world (Goodman 1992, 120).

The participants in this study were asked to narrate their sense of identity in the context of hip hop. Consequently, these narrations shed light on the processes through which their sense-making takes place. The narrations also provide insight into the various identities that the participants attribute to themselves. However, as stipulated by the key research question, the task was to investigate *how* hip hop contributes to this sense of identity. Therefore, I had to interrogate the narratives in order to, firstly, understand the underlying processes through which hip hop contributes to the identity construction of the female late adolescents in the study, and, secondly, provide a reasonable explanation for these contributing processes. In this regard, it was important that I locate this study in the interpretive paradigm. This study thus resolves to use narrative analysis strategies in order to unpack the complexity of identity construction, as articulated by the participants in this study in the light of the myriad of influences available to them. The texts were analysed to discover *how* the participants make meaning, instead of just investigating *whether* they make meaning, and *what* meaning they make.

3.2.2.3.The interpretive Phenomenological Analysis paradigm

This study also situates itself within the interpretive phenomenological paradigm (IPA) as fronted by Brocki and Wearden (2006); Smith (2004) and Smith and Osborn (2003). The interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) aims to explore in detail how participants make sense of their personal and social world (Smith and Osborn, Interpretative phenomenological analysis 2003, 51). , The main focus of an IPA study is the meanings that

particular experiences, events, and states hold for participants (ibid.). According to Smith and Osborn (2003), the approach is phenomenological in that it involves detailed examination of the participant's lifeworld; it attempts to explore personal experience and is concerned with an individual's personal perception or account of an object or event, as opposed to an attempt to produce an objective statement of the object or event itself. In this regard the phenomenological emphasis of IPA paradigm is of value to this study in its concerns with the individual's perspectives, objects or events as constituting the personal experience of an individual. This emphasises also recognises the central role of the analyst in making sense of that personal experience. Therefore, as is the case with the Interpretative paradigm discussed in the previous subsection⁸, the researcher can interpret her participants view by trying to discover relations between categories, formulating propositions about these relations, by organising these propositions into analytical schemes, and by substantiating the questions, data, relations, propositions, and analysis through constant examination of the social world (Smith 2004, 40) The IPA paradigm has three features that are of strength to this research. These include idiographic, inductive and interrogative nature of IPA (Smith 2004, 41). The idiographic characteristics entails detailed examination of one case until a closure or gestalt has been achieved (Ibid.). IPA is also inductive in the sense that it embraces flexible data generation techniques to enhance participation particularly on various sensitive and unexplored themes such as sexuality and identity. The third attribute of IPA emphasises interrogative rigour into the existing knowledge to illuminate more into existing research (Ibid., 44).

In the context of this study, the IPA paradigm gives the researcher the flexibility with the data generation strategies to enhance participation of the participants of the study. This calls for a move away from the convectional data generating methods such as surveys and questionnaire to embrace the participatory approaches creatively to enhance data production. The idiographic principle of the IPA paradigm stresses the importance of the researcher in this study to ensure prolonged engagement with the research participants to obtain as much data as possible.

⁸ Subsection 3.2.2.2.

3.2.2.4. *The Critical paradigm*

The Critical Paradigm traces its origins to the work of Karl Marx in the nineteenth century (Babbie and Mouton 2001, 33). This paradigm is also known as the “critical social theory” or the “critical theory” (ibid.). These terms will be used interchangeably in this study to refer to the Critical Paradigm. The most distinctive feature of this paradigm is its insistence that science move beyond explaining and understanding society, to becoming an emancipatory and transformative force in society (ibid., 34). The emancipatory nature of the Critical Paradigm was established by two prominent theorists during the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s. Jurgen Habermas first spelt out the emancipatory idea of the Critical Paradigm in the 1960s, which was further developed by Brian Fay in the 1970s and 1980s. While Habermas used the idea of the psychoanalytical model to explain the idea of the Critical Paradigm at its best (Babbie 2005, 2001), Brian Fay moved away from psychoanalysis, to advance his ideas of what should be critical science as that which seeks to uncover the conditions and systems of social relations which determine the actions of individuals and the unanticipated consequences of these actions (Babbie and Mouton 2001, 36). Therefore, unlike Habermas, who used psychoanalytical methodological reflections as a way of conscientising his participants towards self-transformation, Fay emphasised the need for a social scientist to become ingrained in the social lives of the participants of a study (ibid.). In fact, he named his concept of critical theory the “Critical Science Theory”. In this he believed that a research process based on the Critical paradigm, as conceptualised by Fay, begins to perform an educative and ultimately transformative role.

The Critical Science Theory paradigm maintains its ties with the Critical Theory paradigm in its emphasis on science as becoming an emancipatory and transformative force in society. This makes this philosophical paradigm highly participatory in its methods, in order to ensure a transformative end. In fact, the key tenets of the Critical paradigm, as conceptualised by Fay (1987), are *participatory involvement*, *action*, and *change* on the part of research participants (ibid.).

This study situates itself within the Critical paradigm and embraces Fay’s (1987) conceptualisation of the tradition. As such, I immerse myself as a researcher in the lived experience of the participants of this study in the context of hip hop music, to explore how such music contributes to the process of identity construction. To do so, I involve the

participants in reflecting on their engagement with hip hop, as well as in telling stories about how they perceive their identity during their experience with hip hop. By virtue of involving the participants in this way, the process is educative, conscientising, and potentially transformative.

Participatory research (PR) approaches are preferred in providing a research process that is based in the Critical tradition with the desired emancipatory end. Creswell (2007) thus believes that participatory research approaches emphasise a shift of research power to the participants as the owners of knowledge. Given the nature of the knowledge required to effectively answer the research question guiding this research, embracing the Critical paradigm enables me to place the research process in the hands of the participants. It furthermore enables me to cultivate a kind of participation that can facilitate their empowerment and change.

3.3. THE RESEARCH STRATEGY OF THIS STUDY

This study situates itself within the narrative inquiry and participatory research approaches as strategies of data generation.

3.3.1. Narrative inquiry approach

Over the years, research on identity construction during adolescence has adopted varied approaches. These include the narrative inquiry approach, the structural-stage approach, and the sociocultural approach. This study commits itself to the narrative inquiry approach to understand the processes through which hip hop music contributes to identity construction processes in late adolescence. Therefore this study focuses on narrative data generated through participatory research approaches, as primary data. The participants narrated stories about themselves in relation to hip hop music, which they strongly identify with.

The narrative inquiry approach emphasises that people make sense of themselves through the stories they tell about themselves (Søreide 2006; Moje 2004; Clandinin and Huber 2002). In other words, telling stories about ourselves becomes an artistic activity through which we make sense of ourselves and our experiences. For researchers, narrative inquiry then becomes a means through which they can compose, understand, and explain the experiences of the participants they engage with. The narrative inquiry approach thus acknowledges the central

role of language in narratives. Language is seen as containing texts from which identities are constructed, justified, and maintained (Kroger 2007, 22).

According to Clandinin and Huber (2002, 161), telling stories about ourselves helps us to understand ourselves. In doing so, we turn our attention to how we live, in other words, retelling these stories with a particular social and cultural plotting. Consequently, our stories provide us with illuminating knowledge about ourselves. These understandings of knowledge through our stories are linked to our identity. These comprehensions of our self-knowledge and identity are also shaped by our situational contexts. These understandings subsist in actions, in relationships with others, in language, in groups, in continuities, and in discontinuities (Clandinin and Huber 2002, 162).

Lai (2010, 78) identifies two forms of narrative inquiry. These are the *sociostructuralist* and *sociolinguistic* forms of inquiry. The *sociostructuralist* form of inquiry examines facts in a story by prioritising the syntax and semantics, as opposed to the origin, function, or substance, of the story. The sociolinguistic form of analysis, on the other hand, posits that narrative constructs the Self and its identity. Researchers applying this form of narrative inquiry operate on the assumption that every person has an authentic identity that can be understood by studying the stories she tells (ibid.). Søreide (2006, 529) refers to the stories we tell to construct and negotiate our identity as “ontological” narratives. We tell ontological narratives in an effort to make sense of how we experience ourselves and how we would like to be understood. The construction of ontological narratives should thus be understood as “narrative positioning in the identity discourse”. This happens through identification with or rejection of accessible subject positions (ibid.). Sfard and Prusak (2005, 18) also claim that a narrative holds together multiple experiences of an individual, allowing for a sense of coherence. As such, narratives reflect actual and designated identities. Actual identity refers to the sense of identity that one may claim to have now, while designated identity refers to an expected identity in the future (ibid.).

Clandinin and Huber (2002, 163) believe that the narrative inquiry approach has the potential to provide “wholeness of our lives and the lives of the participants with whom we engage”. In order to achieve this, the above authors propose a three-dimensional narrative inquiry space through which a researcher can also understand the “wholeness of experience and identity” of the participants. The three-dimensional narrative inquiry space includes the interaction

dimension (personal-social), the dimension on continuity (past, present, and future), as well as the *situational dimension* (place). The interaction dimension is constituted by personal and social aspects that are usually expressed along with the continuity and situational dimensions. Clandinin and Huber (2002, 162) explain that the personal-social dimension points inwards, in other words towards internal conditions such as feelings, hopes, aesthetic reactions, and moral dispositions, and outwards, in other words towards existential conditions. In the context of hip hop music, the personal-social dimension would inwardly deal with conditions such as feelings and aspects that make us feel better about ourselves, while outwardly dealing with dimensions of ourselves in relation to peers and other influential contexts available in our social sphere. Clandinin and Huber (2002, 162) further explain that these inward and outward movements contain aspects of continuity of our lives, as it points us to the temporality of the past, the present, and the future. The dimension of place emphasises the specific, concrete physical and typological boundaries of the inquiry landscape. The three dimensions discussed here are helpful, as they enable an understanding of the narrative landscape provided by the participants of this study. These three dimensions provide a framework within which the data generated for the study can be comprehended, to ultimately explain how hip hop contributes to the identity construction process of the adolescents in the study.

Although the narrative inquiry approach can be used independent of other research strategies, it has also been found to be used together with other research approaches, such as the *structural-stage* approach and the *sociocultural* approach. These two approaches are associated with studies on identity construction during adolescence. This study investigated the phenomenon through the psychosocial perspective, which acknowledges the significance of the internal psychic organisation, as well as social and cultural contexts in the process of identity construction in late adolescence. Therefore, as a researcher who is interested in the narrative inquiry approach, I acknowledge the implications that the psychic and cultural contexts may have on the participants' sense of self, and the fact that their stories mirror these influences.

The *structural-stage* approach focuses on the changing internal structures of ego development from which one interprets and gives meaning to one's life experience (Kroger 2007, 15). It acknowledges a developmental process in which intrapsychic organisations act

as structures through which an individual makes sense of her world and experiences over time (ibid.). The “internal structures” here are seen as the psychosocial filters within the individual which follow a predictable, sequential pattern of development over time. Kroger asserts that each successful structure enables a person to have an increasingly complex way of making sense of her life experience (ibid., 15). This implies that each successful structure becomes the basis on which the next structure builds, but on a more complex level than the former structure.

According to Kroger (2007, 16), the structural-stage approach to identity discourses follows Piaget’s tradition of “accommodation”, while explaining the process of schemata assimilation into existing structures of knowledge. “Accommodation” is conceptualised by Piaget as the modification of an assimilation scheme or structure by elements that it assimilates (ibid.). Piaget’s notion of “accommodation” cannot be understood without conceptualising the term “assimilation”, as “accommodation” does not occur without simultaneous “assimilation” (Block 1982, 282). Block (1982, 281) thus defines “assimilation” as the integration of external elements into the evolved or completed structures. The “assimilation” of these elements ensures continuity of structures and the integration of new elements into these structures. “Accommodation” is necessary to permit transformation of structures as a function of new elements encountered. In other words, there is no “assimilation” without “accommodation”.

Although there are several ways to understand identity construction according to the structural-stage approach, Kroger (2007, 16) admits that all these ways hold commonality in their understanding of the process of identity construction. This construction process is understood as more than just the addition of structures to an already existing structure of making meaning. It is regarded as transformations of the basic meaning-making structures themselves, thus enabling the individual to interpret and understand her life experiences in vastly different ways over the course of time (Kroger 2007, 16). This approach offers useful insights into the understanding of the process of identity construction of the participants of this study, particularly in understanding how the underlying intrapsychic and ego processes influence their sense of identity in late adolescence.

The *sociocultural* approach, on the other hand, emphasises the role that the society plays in providing an individual with varied alternatives for constructing her identity (Kroger 2007,

19). This approach resonates with the tenets of Symbolic Interactionism in its emphasis on the importance of language and interaction in the process of identity construction. (See Chapter 2 of this study.) In the context of this study, it is my belief that the opportunity afforded to the participants to narrate their experiences and respond to each other through language informed me of their salient personal identity. It is my belief that these narratives mirrored a myriad of influences available to the participants. The discussion prompted by the participants' narratives enabled an environment where the participants could make more sense of their identity.

3.3.2. The participatory research (PR) approach

The participatory research approach refers to a range of methods used in participatory inquiry (Van der Riet 2008, 455). Unlike conventional research techniques, such as the survey and the questionnaire, which place the researcher as the producer of knowledge, participatory research approaches emphasise a shifting of research power to the participants as the owners of knowledge (Creswell 2007). The nature of knowledge required to effectively answer the research question guiding this study could only be obtained by placing the research process in the hands of the participants. As such, participatory research approaches place the emphasis on the participants producing detailed accounts of a certain topic by using their own words and framework of understanding (Mercer, Kelman, Lloyd and Suchert-Pearson 2008, 173). Participatory research techniques include, but are not limited to, mapping exercises, cartoons, matrix ranking, visual methods, and network diagrams (Mercer et al. 2008, 174). These approaches are interactive and collaborative, providing a meaningful research experience that both promotes learning and generates data through a process of guided discovery. "Guided discovery" here is defined as constructivist learning where the participants draw from their past experience and existing knowledge, to discover new acts, relationships, and truths (Mercer et al. 2008, 174).

Participatory research has three core principles that are particularly significant to the research process of this study. These are *participation*, *local knowledge*, and *conscientisation* (Van der Riet 2008, 455).

Participation

Bagnolia and Clark (2010, 102) identify four modes of participation during participatory research. These include *contractual participation* (where participants are contracted to take

part in research), consultative participation (where participants are consulted on their opinion), *collaborative participation* (where participants work with a researcher on projects designed by the researcher), and *collegiate participation* (where participants work alongside a researcher).

This study adopts a *collaborative* participatory approach. Since the participants are regarded as the owners of knowledge, the researcher assumes the role of a facilitator “working with” the research participants. The participants’ involvement becomes a firm basis for empowerment. This happens through their incorporation into the ownership, management, and implementation components of the research process, and also through capacity building in the form of skills development. Their active involvement only empowers them through the inclusion of their voices as experts of their worlds, but also through data-generation processes (Bagnolia and Clark 2010, 103).

Local knowledge

The second principle of PR, namely *local knowledge*, focuses on the transformative potential of this approach. This principle acknowledges that any investigation of a phenomenon is based on what the participants know. Van der Riet (2008, 455) thus believes that, as such, PR enables the contextualisation of change processes and increases the likelihood of success. Consideration of local knowledge takes as its point of departure the understanding that participants use context-specific categories, language or symbolic systems (ibid.). In the context of this study, the participants’ “local knowledge” is seen as their engagement with hip hop music.

Conscientisation

Conscientisation constitutes the third principle of participatory research. It is also referred to as “consciousness raising”, “sensitisation”, or “awareness raising”. Babbie and Mouton (2001, 322) see this principle as imperative if transformation is to be effected through research. Van der Riet (2008, 456) thus posits that conscientisation implies moving beyond the “common-sense explanation”, to a more critical and systematic enquiry. This is needed in order to facilitate critical social awareness and the ability to plan and act accordingly. This principle thus sees research as a reflective process that involves the learning and development of critical consciousness (Gaventa and Cornwall 2006, 127). In the context of this study, conscientisation involves the stimulation of the participants’ self-reflected critical awareness

of their Selves in the context of hip hop music. Such reflections are geared towards facilitating the participants to think critically about what they have many times taken for granted, and to reflect on the way such music influences their lives, thus facilitating enlightenment with regard to their musical preferences. It is my belief that the actual experience of such enlightenment enables the participants to become aware of the musical reality they engage with, and the impact it has on their individual and social lives. In my view, such awareness marks a move towards emancipation in the participants' lives.

3.3.2.1.Data-generation strategies in participatory research

Participatory research enables the use of a range of data-generation strategies. Van der Riet (2008, 456) points out that data generated through PR approaches is not limited to the spoken or the written word, but includes active representation of ideas and the use of drawings and symbols. This study embraces the use of *visual representation* as well as *representation of lyrics*, in order to obtain an understanding of the participants' sense of identity in the context of hip hop music.

Visual representation: Drawings

PR borrows extensively from the Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) approach, which utilises various visualisation strategies to generate data (Van der Riet 2008, 456). Visual images can serve several purposes in research. These representations can be used as data in their own right, as springboards for theorising, to elicit or evoke data, and to give feedback on the research process. They can also serve as a mode of interpretation and/or representation of the findings of the study (Weber 2008, 47). These methodologies place the fulcrum closer to the participants, treating them as collaborators of knowledge production (Prosser and Loxley 2008, 19). Visual representations include the use of photography, artefacts of material culture, drawings, cartoons, graffiti, film documentary in visual form, and maps, to mention but a few (Knowles and Cole 2008; Knowles and Promislow 2008; Mitchell and Allnutt 2008; Weber 2008). This study uses *drawings* to elicit narrative data for analysis. This visual technique will now be discussed.

The use of drawings in qualitative research has significant advantages. They are economical and easy to use, even with larger groups (Stuart 2007). They ensure minimal intrusion by the researcher during the research process (Barnes and Kelly 2007, 221). Drawings are highly generative of data as they enhance the participation of the research participants. This is

because they are exciting to use and stimulate the full attention of the participants, due to their demand for high concentration by the eyes and the mind (Barnes and Kelly 2007, 221; Stuart 2007, 229). Since the participants handle their own thoughts and reflections during the process, they are normally enthusiastic about the activity and confident about their contribution (Walker 2001, 50). Weber (2008, 45) also argues that drawings about ourselves make us pay attention to certain aspects of our lives in new ways. Hence, drawings are likely to be more memorable than academic texts, because they enable the people that have created them and that view them to generate new meaning each time they view them. As such, they are likely to influence the way the creators and viewers of the drawings act or think every time they view the drawings (Weber 2008, 45). Stuart (2007 230) believes that in studies that include follow-up sessions with participants, drawings enable renewed communication and engagement. This provides the researcher with new levels of understanding.

Drawings also enable the people that create them to get the message across to others literally and figuratively (Stuart 2007). They minimise language barriers during the research process, since they transcend the spoken word. They also provide participants, especially children, with a means to represent abstract concepts (Stuart 2007, 230). Drawings thus have the ability to capture “hard-to-put-in-words” aspects, as they provide a representation of more than one aspect of what we want to say at a go. By doing so, a drawing reveals aspects of our speech that would be hard to grasp in words or in numbers alone (Weber 2008, 44). Drawings tend not only to convey additional messages, but also “burn in the brains”, creating memories that may be hard to erase. Weber (2008, 45) thus believes that drawings can “talk”, since they are able to evoke or reconstruct conversations (Weber 2008, 45). Drawings can enhance empathic understanding and allow us to adopt someone else’s point of view. This enables comparisons of our views and experiences (Weber 2008, 46). In essence, drawings afford the researcher the participant’s point of view (Stuart 2007, 229).

Weber (2008) and Stuart (2007) believe that images facilitate reflexivity in research. Drawings, in particular, encourage a certain level of transparency by introducing reflexivity into research design. Weber (2008, 46) thus claims that drawings, as artistic expressions, tap into and reveal aspects of the Self. They put us in touch with how we feel and look and act. The self-revelation that results from the reflection enabled by drawings forces the creators and viewers of the drawings to “take a step back” and look at themselves from a new

perspective introduced by the drawing itself. This increases the possibility that the creator of the drawing will understand her subjectivity better. This experience then leads to a humbler and more nuanced claim of having knowledge, for the researcher as well.

The use of drawings to evoke data generation is, however, a complex and multi-layered process. This is because the use and the reading of the elicited product is dependent on the reason for and the context of viewing the images, as well as the choice of material used for elicitation (Prosser and Loxley 2008, 19). “Context of viewing the images” here refers to the prompts and conditions during which the images were produced. These contexts facilitate development of a meaningful link between the content of the visual image and the participant. In this way, visual methods create a bridge between the different experiences of reality of the researcher and those of the participants (Prosser and Loxley 2008, 18).

The drawings used in this study were created by the participants themselves after they were exposed to a musical context consisting of hip hop songs of their choice. DVDs of the chosen songs were played to the participants. The DVD was considered a visual means of eliciting data for the purposes of analysis. After having watched the DVD, the participants were then prompted to make drawings that would describe their sense of identity in the context of the hip hop music that they had listened to and watched.

Representation of lyrics: Lyric inquiry

Nielsen (2008, 94) explains that the term “lyric” refers to a “fairy-type” poem that expresses a personal mood, feeling or meditation. According to Collins English Dictionary (2009), a lyric is a short poem of songlike quality. *Lyric inquiry* thus marries the concept of lyric with that of research. This type of research acknowledges the role of the expressive and the poetic in inquiry and the aesthetics involved in communicating such (ibid.). Lyric inquiry is based on the conviction that, by utilising the expressive and poetic functions of language, opportunities are created for a resonant, ethical and engaged relationship between the knower and the known (Nielsen 2008, 95). As such, it acknowledges the process, demands, and semiotic and sensory interplay involved in the creation of an aesthetic work. Lyric inquiry thus draws upon non-rationalistic and non-discursive ways of knowing. The personal, as well as the aesthetic, is thus foregrounded in this kind of research (Nielsen 2008, 96).

Nielsen (2008, 101) proposes that there are three benefits of lyric inquiry. Firstly, it has the capacity to develop voice and agency for both the researcher and her participants. Secondly, lyric inquiry foregrounds conceptual and philosophical processes that ignite the imagination, such as metaphor, resonance, and coherence. These processes have a strong heuristic effect on the researcher (ibid.). Thirdly, lyric inquiry reunites those involved with the enlivening effects of imagination and beauty, qualities that, according to Nielsen (2008, 101), add “grace and wisdom” to public discourse.

In the context of this study, the term “lyric enquiry” refers to both the research activity and its outcome, in other words the written work, or lyrics, generated. This activity was, similar to the drawings, also utilised as a means to generate narrative data for analysis. The participants were prompted to compose short lyrics that described their identity in the context of hip hop. Thereafter they presented these lyrics in the style of hip hop music. Each participant was then prompted to explain her lyrics in a discussion that was rendered in a narrative. The actual use of these strategies is discussed in detail in the next section.

3.4. ACTUAL DATA-GENERATION PROCESS

The data-gathering process of this study was carried out in two phases. The first phase involved the use of *drawings*, while the second phase entailed utilising the *lyric inquiry* approach to elicit more data for analysis. During each phase, the participants were prompted to explain their drawings and lyrics, in order to obtain narrative data for analysis.

3.4.1. Study population and sampling

Female late adolescents between ages 18 and 22 who strongly identified with hip hop music were chosen as the participants of this study. These participants were selected through purposive sampling from a population of first-year students in the Faculty of Education, South Campus, Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University (NMMU). Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University is a tertiary institution situated in the coastal city of Port Elizabeth in the Eastern Cape and George in the South Cape. The institution attracts both local and international students for professional and vocational studies. Purposive sampling entails that the inquirer selects individuals and sites for a study because they can suitably inform an understanding of the research problem and the central phenomenon being studied (Creswell 2003, 125). The prospective participants targeted for this study included Bachelor of Education students

pursuing foundation phase studies (FP), intermediate phase (IP) studies and also the Further Education and Training phase courses (FET).

This study focused on the developmental phase of late adolescence, because it is considered the exit phase into adulthood for adolescents. During this phase, the adolescent is seen to have consolidated her childhood identifications and have committed to most of the identity alternatives available to her (Kroger 2007). The participants were drawn from a population of first-year students who were pursuing their degree in Education. The first years were considered ideal for the study because most of them are within the age bracket that was appropriate for the study, which is 18 to 22 years of age. The research process took place during the first semester. Nonetheless, due to the fact that the identified participants were pursuing their Bachelor of Education degree within the various courses offered at by the Faculty of Education, these are namely foundation, intermediate and further education and training courses, ensuring the availability of all the participants at the same time was a challenge due to the variations in time tabling. Even so, the time table allowed one hour break during lunch time. It was therefore easy for me to plan with the participants to have the research session carried out during that time. During this hour, I provided snacks to the participants for every session. Therefore, selecting prospective participants from the Faculty of Education enhanced the proximity and accessibility of the participants, given the fact that I, as the researcher, was based in the Faculty of Education. I was not completely ignorant about matters of powerplay. I was aware that the participant's awareness that they were to work with a doctoral candidate may have been overwhelming to some potential participants. However, I overcame these by positioning myself through stating at the onset that I was a researcher who hopes to learn and be informed by them of their experiences with hip hop music. I observed that positioning myself in this manner gave the participant a sense of control of the research process.

Another reason why I favoured the Education Faculty as the source of my study sample was that, drawing from Kroger's (2007) argument that different departments offering diverse academic disciplines in institutions of higher education seek to attract students with certain identity characteristics, I was convinced that I would obtain participants who have a diverse set of identities within the faculty. (I am not implying that I would not have found these same identity qualities in other faculties.) I say this because the Faculty of Education offers courses

that draw from different disciplines , such as sociology, psychology, philosophy, and education, to name but a few. For this reason, I was therefore persuaded that the prospective participants selected from the Faculty of Education would possess heterogeneous identity characteristics that would richly inform this study

Purposive sampling was used to select prospective participants from a large population of first-year students. This sampling was administered in two phases in the course of identifying the actual participants. The first administration of purposive sampling was administered through a sampling questionnaire that was designed and self-administered to all first year students at the faculty of education. This served to purposefully identify participants who met the inclusion criteria of age limit and music preference. The questionnaire asked for five distinct items. These included contact details, the name of the student's course programme, gender, age, a strong identification with hip hop music, and favourite songs and artists of each participant. The contact details helped me to contact those students who met the inclusion criteria. The item "Favourite artist" sought to help identify the hip hop artists that the adolescents in the study population listen to. This particular inclusion criterion was significant, as, although the students indicated that they like listening to hip hop music, some of them identified artists that were not hip hop artists at all. Such students were excluded from the sample. A total of 50 students initially met the initial selection criteria. However, I felt that the number was too big for a in-depth inquiry such as this. Therefore, I felt it was necessary to administer a second phase of purposive sampling. This phase emphasised on availability as an inclusion criteria. 30 students did not indicate any willingness to participate in the study. These indications were communicated either through email or telephonically. Eleven students had however indicated that they would participate in the study, but did not come to any meeting, in spite of their receiving numerous reminders. Nine students came for the first meeting, but then one student abandoned the process half way, with various reasons being cited. Therefore only eight students took part in the research process.

During the data-generation process, I used the term "activity" to distinguish the different strategies that the participants would be engaged in. In the context of this study, the term "activity" was thus understood as encompassing the "drawing", the "hip hop songwriting", and "narrations" the participants would engage in during the research process. The term "activity" also refers to the very action of doing these strategies, and the condition, in other

words, the research process during which these actions were executed. I consequently labelled these activities as “drawing activity”, “song/lyric-writing activity”, “participatory analysis activity”, and “free writing” activity. The activities were carried out in the above order. They were all characterised by a similar sequential structure, namely *prompting* → *activity* → *more prompting* → *narrative explanation* → *discussions* → *probing*. During this process, I kept a journal in which I recorded my observations and my experiences, as well as notes on the implementation of the research process. In the following section, I provide a narrative summary of my journal entries in relation to the various activities that constituted the data-generation process. The journal comprised mainly of my reflective thoughts of the experiences of the participants as they engaged in the various activities.

3.4.2. The drawing activity

This was the first activity of the data generation process. The activity was executed during two drawing sessions that were carried out one after the other. The first drawing activity served as an icebreaker for the entire research process, as it was during this session that the participants got to converse among themselves about their favourite hip hop music, their favourite artists, as well as their social engagements with hip hop. Although I had not planned that this activity begin like this, given the time constraints, I became aware of its effect on the participants, as they used this time to bond among themselves and to get to know each other. I observed that the majority of the participants were meeting for the first time and that they came from different backgrounds, some of which were clearly marked by virtue of the racial and ethnic categories. The representation of ethnic identity in the research group constituted three participants of black African origin, three white and one coloured. I therefore allowed these discussions to go on for the first session of our meeting, before we began with the first drawing activity. After calling the meeting to order, I asked each participant what her favourite hip hop songs were. I then downloaded the songs from the Internet using the website YouTube (www.youtube.com), and I used a projector to play videos of the songs to the participants. As they were listening, the participants had time to discuss other aspects of the music, such as the latest dance craze associated with some of the songs, the instrumentation, as well as the lyrics of the songs, among other things. This exercise served to cultivate a sense of freedom and cohesion that put the participants at ease to tell their stories.

The first drawing activity

Afterwards, I took the opportunity to introduce the drawing activity. I explained that the activity was a drawing activity which was to be followed by an explanation of each drawing by each participant. I communicated the prompt which stated *Make a drawing of how you perceive yourself in the context of the hip hop music you like listening to.* As the participants started drawing, selections of their favourite hip hop music played in the background. The enthusiasm and excitement that characterised this activity was beyond question. This was evident in the participants' careful choice of the colour of the drawing paper, to the colour of the crayon each wanted to use, and even to the choice of the mounting paper.

After the participants had completed creating their drawings, they mounted their work on the wall in their colourful paper. Each participant was prompted to explain her drawing. The prompt stated, *Explain your drawing in relation to how you perceive yourself in the context of the hip hop music you like listening to.* While each participant was giving her explanation, the other participants contributed through engaging the narrator in discussion over various aspects of her drawing or her explanation. The explanations required substantial probing by the researcher, particularly with some of the participants, who appeared to lack self-confidence. A lack of self-confidence among some participants caused them to only read from the captions of their drawings, without giving much explanation, and therefore more probing was required with these participants. The concurrent discussions by the other participants were significant, as they helped the participant that was explaining at the time to make more sense of her sense of self in the drawing she had drawn. However, the discussions required some degree of facilitation from the researcher, as factors such as excitement and enthusiasm threatened to derail the process from its main agenda. The excitement and the enthusiasm that characterised these discussions could be attributed to the fact that the participants had the opportunity to discuss matters relating to hip hop music which they were really interested in and which they enjoyed.

The second drawing activity

During the first drawing activity, the participants created drawings in the context of their broad experience with hip hop music that they had engaged with. In this activity, I noticed that, even though they had been asked at the beginning of the session to identify their

favourite artists, their explanations of their drawings had made reference to the broader context of hip hop music, rather than to the artists that they had identified as their favourites. I was therefore curious to establish whether their perception of self would be different if they were asked to make drawings in the context of specific songs of their choice. I discussed this question with the participants, and they all agreed that another drawing activity should be conducted in the context of specific songs of their choice. As the participants deliberated on all the different hip hop songs, I observed that selecting specific songs was not easy, as some of the participants were not familiar with all of the favourite songs of their fellow participants. Since the participants all had many hip hop songs that they loved, they unanimously agreed to make drawings based on five particular hip hop songs that they all knew and liked. I then prompted them to create drawings in the context of these five songs. The prompt stated *Make a drawing of how you perceive your Self in the context of the hip hop music you like listening to.*

Although the second drawing activity did not yield any additional data from what had come up in the first drawing activity, it became evident to me that the adolescents' identification with hip hop was varied and not limited to specific artists or songs. As such, hip hop music seemed to serve as a repertoire of resources which informed the identities of these adolescents in varied, complex and interactive ways. The second drawing activity was, however, important, as it provided another opportunity for those participants that were nervous or shy to articulate their explanations and contribute to other discussions, which they might have found difficult to do during the first drawing activity.

3.4.3. The lyric-writing activity

The lyric-writing activity constituted the second activity in the data-generation process of this study. The activity was introduced to the participants as the "hip hop songwriting activity". In this activity, the participants were prompted to compose a short poem or verse or chorus about who they perceive themselves to be in the context of hip hop music. The actual prompt stated *Write down a poem or a chorus or a verse of how you perceive yourself in the context of the hip hop music you like listening to.* The activity intended to offer the participants a different experience through which they could express their personal identity in the context of hip hop music through a medium that was characteristic of the music that they strongly identify with. As such, the participants were expected to rap the poem (or verse or chorus)

and sing original lyrics about their sense of self. The participants were also permitted to present their songs in whatever way they were comfortable with. For instance, they were allowed to incorporate dance or a dress code that would enhance their articulation of their sense of self in the context of hip hop.

During the songwriting activity, more than 15 instrumental hip hop tracks were used. These instrumental tracks constituted instrumental accompaniments of songs without the actual vocals of the artist. These were sourced via the Internet through YouTube and were made available to the participants. The tracks enabled the participants to rap or sing their lyrics alongside a track of one of their favourite artists. The participants listened to a series of tracks, each of them trying out how their lyrics fitted in the song. Finally, the participants agreed on Jennifer Hudson's⁹ instrumental track *Spotlight*. Since all the participants had chosen this track, they decided to perform their lyrics in turns.

Although I had originally envisaged that this activity would be carried out in two groups, it was not possible due to time constraints, as well as the small size of my sample. My observation that some participants were too shy to do presentations on their own in front of the others made me decide that they should all work in one group. During rehearsal time, the participants sifted through the tracks one by one as they cheered and encouraged each other to sing their lyrics. While this activity was being done, I observed that the use of actual instrumental tracks of the participants' choice made the activity more exciting for them. I also observed that some participants spontaneously added more words to their already written lyrics during their rehearsals as they sang along. I therefore allowed them time to engage with the tracks and their lyrics individually or as a group during their own free time. During this period of preparations, the participants had the opportunity to bond with each other through music and to interact in the context of the music that they liked. As such, they shared their experiences. It is my belief that through this activity, they were able to make more sense of their identity in the context of the music, by the very nature of their sharing and listening to other participants' experiences.

A week later, the participants assembled and they expressed that they were prepared to perform their songs. Each participant presented her performance. The majority of the participants

⁹ The track was accessed from the URL <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vm6LoJZA-L8>.

presented their songs through singing, while others preferred to rap their lyrics alongside an instrumental track. One participant felt that it was easier to express her identity through a dance which she performed. These performances were video-recorded. The video recordings were played back to the participants before they gave the explanations of their lyrics. The video recording in this case served as a visual strategy to stimulate the participants to reflect on the lyrics they had created.

A prompt was given to the participants so that they could explain the lyrics that they had just performed. The prompt stated *Explain how you perceive yourself in the song that you wrote*. One by one the participants explained every line of their lyrics in terms of how it reflected their sense of self. As they explained, the other members of the group engaged in discussions and asked questions. I facilitated the discussions to ensure order and clarity of expression by each participant. Probing was also necessary for some of the participants.

3.4.4. The participatory analysis activity

The use of participatory analysis research strategies during the data generation for this study was to ensure that the research process was put in the hands of the participants, who are conceived as the “generators of knowledge”. It was in this spirit that the participatory analysis activity was considered. This activity was intended to provide me with the emerging descriptive codes as named by the participants themselves. These codes acted as the open codes from which the coding process could proceed during the actual analysis. The activity was participatory in nature. The activity was done using the captions attached to each drawing that the participants had created, as well as using the lyrics that were written for the songwriting activity. I gave a prompt to the participants so that they could conduct the participatory analysis activity. The prompt stated *Identify outstanding themes that best describe the identity of each person in the caption provided on each drawing*.

The participants’ analyses of the drawings were quite elaborate. This is because of the presence of the visual aspects of the drawings. The drawings were mounted on the wall and were labelled alphabetically from A to H. Since each participant had made two drawings, the drawings from the first drawing activity were labelled “1”, while those from the second drawing activity were labelled “2”, thus, A1 and A2, H1 and H2, and so forth. This labelling ensured ease of reference for the participants while they were discussing their identity-related themes.

Each participant, armed with a pen and paper, carefully scrutinised each drawing for themes. I observed them as they discussed aspects of their drawings while some of the participants requested clarifications of certain aspects of the drawings and themes from the other participants. After that, the participants sat around a table and compared their themes. Discussions ensued as each participant attempted to explain her themes. I acted as a facilitator during these discussions. The themes that were identified by the participants created units from which the coding process could proceed.

An analysis of the participants' lyrics was conducted after they had explained the lyrics of their songs. During the activity, a printed copy of all the lyrics was given to the participants. An analysis of each song took place after each participant had told her story, using the lyrics as point of departure. The term story is used interchangeably as the term explanations. The prompt given for the activity on the lyrics of each song stated *Identify outstanding themes of identity in the lyrics of the song*. The themes that were identified during this activity served as descriptive codes from which categories could be developed. Other descriptive codes emerged in the data as informed by the literature reviewed for this study.

3.4.5. The free-writing activity

This activity served more as an evaluation strategy for the research process than a data-generation tool. The activity solicited that participants provide feedback on the research process itself, as well as feedback on how they had experienced the drawing and songwriting activities as vehicles for expressing their personal identities. These responses were also considered as data and were coded alongside the main data that had been obtained from the narrative explanations of the drawings and the lyrics composed in the songwriting activity.

The free-writing activity consisted of four open-ended questions that were to be responded to in writing. The activity was titled *How was it for you?* The specific questions were the following:

- What aspects of your identity, in other words that which you would call “Me”, did you discover or become aware of during this research process?
- How was it for you doing drawings and writing songs to express your identity?
- What did you like about the whole research process?
- What did you not like about the whole research process?

In order to enable deep reflection, the participants were allowed to consider these questions outside the research venue and were also allowed to submit their responses by email or by means of a handwritten copy. Most of the participants preferred to submit their responses via email.

3.5. DATA ANALYSIS

Creswell (2007, 150) defines the concept of analysis as a reasoning strategy with the objective of taking the complex whole and dividing it into its parts. Data analysis in research mainly consists of preparing and organising data for presentation. According to Creswell (2007), there is no one way of analysing data. In fact, data analysis begins during the data-gathering process.

Creswell (2007) presents the process of data analysis in the form of a data analysis spiral. He asserts that the spiral is more often custom-built, revised, and choreographed during the analysis of different qualitative data. The data analysis spiral shows that the researcher engages in the analysis process by moving in analytical circles rather than using a linear approach. The researcher enters the spiral with the data of texts or images and emerges with an account that best describes the social phenomenon under study (Creswell 2007, 150). In between, the researcher touches on several facets of the analysis, including data management, reading and memoing, describing, classifying, interpreting, and visualising, before presenting the findings (*ibid.*). In the context of this study, I, the researcher, entered the data analysis spiral with the narrative interview data and emerged at the other end of the spiral with an account of how hip hop music contributes to the personal identity construction of female late adolescents.

3.5.1. Narrative analysis

The key research question guiding this study reads *How does hip hop contribute to the construction of the personal identity of female late adolescents in South Africa?* The explanation given by each participant for each of the activities carried out during the research process of this study is taken as narrative data for analysis. In the contexts of this study, the participants are seen to have told stories about themselves as evoked by the various activities that they engaged in during the research process. The narrative data generated through the research process of this study aimed to attempt to provide answers to this question as accurately as possible. Although there is no single or right way in the analysis of narratives data (Clandinin and Huber 2002; Riessman 1994, 1989), narrative analysis was preferred as the most appropriate way of making sense of the narrative data generated through this study.

Narrative analysis refers to a family of methods used to interpret texts that have in common a storied form (Riessman 2008, 11). There are two ways of approaching narrative analysis. These are the *thematic approach* and the *structural approach* (ibid.). The thematic approach concerns itself with what is “told”, while the structural approach concerns itself with the “telling” (ibid.). This study uses the thematic approach to interrogate what is said by the participants of the study, in order to obtain explanations of how hip hop contributes to their process of identity construction. These themes were obtained from the data itself, as informed by the key research question and the theoretical framework of this study. The analysis presented in this thesis does not include an analysis of the drawings; neither does it include an analysis of the song lyrics. The analysis in this study focuses only on the narrative data.

Data preparation, organisation and logging are the initial stages of the data analysis process (Poggenpoel 1998). As such, the narrative data was organised into what Poggenpoel (1998, 334) refers to as “personal” and “analytical” logs. The “personal” log includes a descriptive account of the participants and their setting in the field. It also includes accounts about the methodology used. The “analytical” log, on the other hand, includes a detailed examination of the prompt, the questions asked, and the ideas that emerge as the process progresses (ibid.).

At the data preparation phase in this study, all the narrative data that had been recorded in audio and video form was transcribed word for word in English, the language in which the data generation procedure had been conducted. English language was chosen as the language of

data generation procedure for several reasons. Firstly, the participants of this study were of different ethnic background namely coloured, white and African ethnic groups. Therefore, asking them to narrate their stories in their home language would have been limiting. Secondly, the fact that the researcher cannot speak or understand any of the South African ethnic languages was the other reason why English language was preferred for the research procedure. The transcripts were compared with the recorded data to ensure that every word had been captured in the transcripts. During the transcription, all the names of the participants were replaced with pseudonyms. The transcribed data was then organised according to the various activities that were done during the research. This included data from the drawing, songwriting and free-writing activities. The data emanating from the drawings contained the captions and the explanations of each drawing. The themes that emanated from the analyses by the participants were also attached to each caption. The data for the lyric inquiry activity, namely the songwriting activity, included the lyrics of the songs, as well as the explanations of the lyrics. The data obtained from the free-writing activity was also included. The data was then coded to obtain categories and themes that best described the process by which hip hop music contributes to the identity construction of the female late adolescents in the study. The narrative data was sifted for categories and themes using the Constant Comparative Method, as conceptualised by Lincoln and Guba (1985) and Glaser (1965).

3.5.1.1. *Constant Comparative Method of data analysis*

The Constant Comparative Method is based on the work of Glaser and Strauss (1967, cited in Poggenpoel 1998). Glaser and Strauss used this method to derive a theory, while Lincoln and Guba used this method to process data (ibid.). There are several purposes for and reasons why an analyst may utilise the Constant Comparative Method of data analysis (Glaser 1965). These include the need for a researcher to prove a hypothesis (which was not done in this study), as well as the need to generate a theoretical idea or concept (Poggenpoel 1998, 338). I chose this method in order to generate concepts that account for the process through which hip hop music contributes to the identity construction of female late adolescents. By using this method, I acquired the opportunity to interrogate emanating codes and themes that seek to explain the process of identity construction itself, while constantly reminding myself of the “golden thread” of this study, namely to establish *how* hip hop

music contributes to the construction of personal identity among female late adolescents in South Africa.

The first step in the Constant Comparative Method of data analysis is that of coding. Coding can be described as the deciphering or the interpretation of data. It involves naming, explaining, and discussing concepts in more detail (Bohm 2000, 270). This means taking segments of text and labelling them accordingly to meaningful categories or codes (Babbie and Mouton 2001, 499). When naming the codes, Creswell (2007) advises researchers to name these exactly as they are used by the participants, that is, *in vivo* codes. Alternatively, the researcher can compose names that best describe the information. In this regard, Creswell (2007) encourages qualitative researchers to look for code segments that can be used to describe information and develop themes. These codes can represent information that the researcher expects to find before embarking on the study. They can also represent information that the researcher did not expect to encounter. Additionally, the codes can represent information that is conceptually interesting or unusual to the researcher (Creswell 2007, 153). This study used both *in vivo* codes contained in the narratives as well as codes drawn from literary sources that best described the information required. The participatory analysis activity was essential in establishing broad codes for analysis. An independent analyst was also employed to create a variety of codes and categories. She was provided with the transcribed narrative data and she was charged with the mandate to create codes and categories from the data itself. These codes served to enrich the already identified descriptive codes obtained from the participatory analysis activity, as well as those that I had identified.

Strauss and Corbin (1990) identify three coding types, which were instrumental in the analysis of the data obtained during this study. They are open coding, axial coding, and selective coding (Strauss and Corbin 1990, 24). These coding types were significant in identifying various categories and themes that could describe the contribution of hip hop to the identity construction process. These coding types will be discussed below according to the four phases of the Constant Comparative Method. These phases are significant in informing the way the codes are handled in this study. These phases include the unit comparison phase, the integration of categories and property phase, the delimitation of theory phase, and the writing theory phase.

The unit comparison phase

Lincoln and Guba (1985) use the term “unit” to refer to incidents. A unit may be in the form of a sentence, a paragraph found in observational notes, transcripts of interviews, documents, or records (Poggenpoel 1998, 339). The first phase is that of comparing units applicable to each category. The analyst begins by coding each incident to as many categories of analysis as possible (ibid.). The treatment of units in this phase is similar to the treatment of codes during the open coding and the axial coding.

Open coding refers to the creation of certain categories pertaining to certain elements of the text. In open coding, data is broken down analytically. Each category has its own dimensions, properties, and consequences (Babbie and Mouton 2001, 499). There are three ways to do open coding, namely line-to-line coding, sentence-to-paragraph coding, and coding by the whole text (Babbie and Mouton 2001; Strauss and Corbin 1997, 1990).

Axial coding involves putting together data in a new way after open coding has been completed. Axial coding makes connections between categories and their subcategories (Babbie and Mouton 2001). The aim of axial coding is to refine and differentiate the concepts that are already available and lend them the status of categories (Bohm 2000). The development of relationships between axial categories and the concepts related to these in terms of formal and contextual aspects facilitates the formation of a theory (Bohm 2000, 280). Babbie and Mouton see axial coding as consisting of three categories, namely codes that denote conditions that lead to development in the object of study, codes that denote strategy, which include all actions and interactions relevant to the object of study, and codes that denote the consequences and outcomes of all actions (Babbie and Mouton 2001).

The first principle in the unit comparison phase stipulates that the analyst must compare each incident with previous incidents coded in the same category (Poggenpoel 1998, 339). The essential task of categorising in this phase is to bring together, into provisional categories, those units that are related to the same content, as well as to devise rules that describe category properties that can be used to justify the inclusion of each unit that remains assigned to the category. Categorising in this phase also provides a basis for later testing of transferability and to render the category set internally consistent (ibid.). The analyst must ensure constant comparison of the units according to their content. By doing so, the units begin to generate theoretical properties of the category. The researcher can develop two kinds

of categories in this way. These include those categories that she has constructed herself, and categories that emerge as used by the participants (ibid.). The second principle for dealing with data during this phase requires the analyst to stop coding when a saturation of units has been reached and to record a memo on ideas emerging thus far (Poggenpoel 1998, 340). This is to ensure that fresh theoretical notions of the analyst are captured. It also enables release of the conflict of thought (ibid.).

In this study, the line-to-line and sentence coding strategies were mainly used for the analysis of the narrative data. In the context of this study, open coding began after all the narratives of each participant from all the activities were grouped together. In order to identify the open codes, the analyst was required to scrutinise each line and sentence of each narrative of each participant in order to identify categories that had similar properties. The properties of one narrative were constantly compared with the properties of the narratives of the other participants. The descriptive themes obtained during the participatory analysis were also considered when the emerging categories were labelled and classified.

The integration of categories and properties phase

During this phase, the researcher progresses from comparing units with other units classified in the same category, to comparing units with the properties describing the category (Poggenpoel 1998, 339). This process ensures that the analyst is able to make judgements as to whether a new unit exhibits the properties of an existing category. In so doing, the analyst is able to start generating a stable and meaningful category set. This facilitates progress towards property definitions. It also enables the analyst to begin with the process of property integration (ibid.).

In the context of this study, the identified categories that had similar properties across all the narratives of the participants were grouped together. These categories were again compared with the descriptive codes and units, to refine them and to see whether additional categories would emerge. It was also done in order to include more units in already existing categories where I felt it would give each category a meaningful category set. This phase can be seen as analogous to the events that took place during the selective coding process. Selective coding entails the formulation of a system for selecting a core category, systematically relating it to other categories, as well as validating existing relationships and filling in categories that need further refining and development (Babbie and Mouton 2001). After coding, a process of

classification takes place. This process entails taking the coded text apart and reducing it to categories, themes, or dimensions of information from which interpretation can flow (Creswell 2007, 153).

The delimitation of theory phase

Delimitation of theory occurs at two levels (Poggenpoel 1998). Firstly, the theory solidifies in the sense that major modifications become fewer and fewer, as one compares subsequent incidents of a category to properties of the category (ibid.). The second level at which delimitation of theory occurs is when the analyst starts becoming committed to the emerging theory. At this level, she begins to delimit the original list of categories for coding according to the boundaries of her theory (ibid.). The analyst can also begin to delimit categories of coding when she attains theoretical saturation. At this point, a category becomes so well defined that there is no new information to support the category (Poggenpoel 1998, 340).

In the context of this study, the delimitation of theory phase begins when an analyst begins to consolidate categories with similar properties into themes. The process of this phase can also take place during the discussion of the data. In the discussion of the data, the analyst begins to make sense of the categories and themes as informed by the research question of the study, the emerging context of each theme, and also of existing literature. The aim is to come up with an explanation or a theory that can closely describe the phenomenon under study (Poggenpoel 1998, 340).

The writing-out-of-a-theory phase

The fourth phase of the Constant Comparative Method is the writing-out-of-a-theory phase (Poggenpoel 1998, 345). During this phase, a theory is generated from the memo written about each category. The coded data becomes a resource from which the analyst can verify or validate an aspect, providing illustrations and pinpointing gaps in the theory (ibid.). In this study, the writing-out-of-a-theory phase took place during the data discussion process.

The four phases that characterise the Constant Comparative Method presented here are also seen to largely inform not only category and theme identification, but also the processes of presentation and interpretation, and the discussion of the data. The next chapter explicates in detail how the categories and themes identified during the initial stages of data analysis consolidate into concepts and theories that seek to explain the aspects of “how” embodied in

the research question that guided this study. This aspect requires an elucidation of the underlying processes through which hip hop contributes to the construction of the personal identity of female late adolescents.

3.6. ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Ethics in research, according to Strydom (1998, 24), is a set of moral principles which is suggested by an individual or a group and is subsequently widely accepted. Hence, ethics offer rules and behavioural expectations about the most correct conduct towards participants of a study. Christians (2005, 144-145) provides four principles of ethical practice in social research. These principles are *informed consent*, *deception*, *privacy and confidentiality*, and *accuracy*. These principles were significant to the research process of this study. My commitment to uphold the ethics of research began by obtaining ethical clearance from the official Ethics Committee (REC-H) of Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University. This study upheld the principle of informed consent, which implies that all possible or adequate information regarding the goal of the investigation, as well as possible advantages and disadvantages of participating, are made available to the research participants as accurately and as completely as possible (Strydom 1998, 25-26). Consequently, the participants are able to make a voluntary and thoroughly reasoned decision about their possible participation (ibid.). In this study, the participants' informed consent was obtained after they had been briefed on the aim, procedures, possible risks, and benefits of the research. These were explained in English rather than in the home language of the participants. The participants were also assured of confidentiality, as well as the anonymity of names and sensitive information that might emanate from the research process. They were also informed that the research process would take place over a two months period. They were also assured of constant communication from the researcher during the research process. Informed consent to participate was obtained from the participants, and consent was obtained to use aspects of the songs and drawings and the discussions of the participants' verbalisations during the discussion of the data. The participants were made aware that a final copy of the dissertation would be made available in the university library after the completion of the study. They were subsequently asked to give consent to voluntarily participate in the research process through filling in the appropriate form after all the relevant information had been given.

The principle of privacy and confidentiality insists on safeguards to protect the identity of participants in a research study (Christians 2005, 145). “Privacy” here is defined as that which normally is not intended for others to observe or analyse (Strydom 1998, 27). Confidentiality, on the other hand, can be viewed as being anonymous (ibid.). In the effort to uphold the principle of privacy in this study, the participants were assured that their actual names would not be used, particularly during the data analysis and discussion of the narrative data. As such, I remained sensitive to the right to privacy of the participants, even in the discussion of the data. I thus avoided sensitive aspects of the participants’ stories during the presentation and discussion of the data by the use of punctuation such as the ellipsis (...). The privacy and confidentiality of the participants in the recorded data was also ensured by assuring them of good storage of the recorded data and the transcribed data. The participants were subsequently sensitised to their commitment in terms of ensuring the privacy of fellow participants. They were asked not to discuss the contributions of other participants outside the research venue, since these discussions could place their fellow participants in embarrassing and painful situations. The research assistant was also made aware of her ethical commitment regarding the confidentiality of the research proceedings. The participants’ anonymity in the analysis of the data and in publication of the thesis was also assured to the participants through assurance of the use of pseudonyms during data discussion and presentation.

The principle of “deception” can be understood as a deliberate misrepresentation of facts in order to make another person believe what is not true (Strydom 1998, 27). During a research process, deception would entail the withholding of information or the provision of incorrect information in order to ensure participation by the participants when they would have otherwise refused (ibid.). In this study, all the information was made available to the participants while their voluntary consent to participation was being obtained. In doing so, I was, to the best of my knowledge, truthful in all respects to the participants.

The principle of “accuracy” requires that aspects that imply fraudulent material and fabrication, omissions, and contrivances be avoided in the analysis, reporting, and discussion of the data (Christians 2005). This principle was likewise upheld during the research process of this study.

3.7. CONCLUSION OF THIS CHAPTER

This chapter focused on the research design, the paradigmatic foundations, the data-generation approaches and strategies, the analysis process, as well as a declaration of my ethical considerations. The study situated itself within three paradigms, namely social constructionism, the interpretive paradigm, and the critical science paradigm. The rationale behind using the social constructionist paradigm was the need to understand the process of identity construction by the participants through the stories they told about themselves. Situating the study in the interpretive paradigm was underpinned by the conviction that an interpretive lens afforded me the opportunity to understand and explain how hip hop contributes to the process of identity construction in female late adolescents. The critical science paradigm was chosen because of its emphasis on participation by the participants, with the aim to empower and facilitate the emancipation of those engaged in the research process.

The chapter also elucidated the data-generating strategies employed in the study. These include the narrative inquiry approach, as well as the participatory research approach, which emphasises the concept of participation. Participatory strategies used to stimulate data for analysis included drawing, a lyric inquiry (songwriting) strategy, a participatory activity, as well as a free-writing activity. The use of drawings and lyric inquiry served not only to stimulate data for analysis, but also to organise the thought processes of the participants during the process of sense-making of themselves in the context of hip hop music. A thematic approach to narrative analysis was chosen and is discussed in the following chapter. The use of the thematic approach affords me an understanding of the “wholeness” of identity as storied by the participants.

An account with regard to ethics is also provided in this chapter, and the principles stated guided my ethical responsibility throughout the generation, discussion, and interpretation of the data. The following chapter presents a detailed discussion of the themes, categories, and subcategories that emerged during the analysis of the data. This has been done in an attempt to provide an accurate solution to the key research question of this study.

CHAPTER 4: DATA PRESENTATION, INTERPRETATION AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

4.1. INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, I discuss the different themes and categories that emerged during the data analysis phase of this study. The research question of the study is *How does hip hop music contribute to the construction of the personal identity of female late adolescents in South Africa?* Through the discussions provided in this chapter, I attempt to provide answers to the key research question by elaborating on the identified themes and categories. What follows is an outline of what can be expected in this chapter: Firstly, a summary of the themes and categories is presented in **Table 4.1**. Secondly, each theme is discussed and interpreted in relation to the literature reviewed for this study. The stories of the participants narrated during the research activities are cited verbatim as evidence of my understanding of the relevant themes. The reader is advised that certain exact words of the participants may be cited more than once to illustrate different aspects of the discussion of the data. Some verbatim quotations have also been edited in the discussion by the use of the ellipsis (...), to indicate that some elements of a conversation have been left out for ethical reasons. Furthermore, some words have been added to set the verbatim quotations within the original context within which the actual conversation was made. These have been indicated with an enclosed square bracket. With certain verbatim quotations, pseudonyms are used for ethical reasons. The findings are presented in narrative format, supported by quotations of verbatim conversations of the participants from the transcribed interviews. Each theme is supported and validated against the relevant literature, in order to reveal similarities, contradictions, and discrepancies. At this point I acknowledge that since identity-related themes are not stated explicitly in the narrative texts provided by the participants, a metaphorical reading of these texts is necessary.

- Finally, a short conclusion of the discussion is provided at the end of the chapter.

4.2. PRESENTATION OF THE FINDINGS

My interpretation of the transcripts containing the narratives of the participants relied significantly on my understanding of their sense of self-understanding in the context of hip hop music. My interpretation of the narrative data is further informed by my knowledge of the supporting literature reviewed for this study, which further explains the process of identity construction during late adolescence. It is my belief that the stories told by the participants during the data-generation process represent what Clandinin and Huber (2002) refer to in the three-dimensional narrative inquiry metaphorical space as the “wholeness” of their lives. In this, Clandinin and Huber (2002) assert that the “wholeness of life” is constituted by personal and social aspects and a continuity that is embedded in the notion of past, present, and future, and the notion of situatedness. It is my contention, therefore, that these articulations by the participants regarding their encounters with hip hop music illuminated the key research question of this study.

The intention of this chapter is to find the “golden thread” that seeks to explain how hip hop music contributes to the identity construction of female late adolescents. At a glance, the emerging subcategories, as identified by the participants during the participatory analysis exercise and as they emerged during engagement with the data, fit into three broader themes. The themes and the identified categories seem to address the affective, the cognitive and the social behavioural aspects of the participants. A summary of the themes and categories has been provided in **Table 4.1**. The subcategory column contains examples of phrases as identified by the participants during the participatory analysis activity of chapter 3 of this dissertation, as well as phrases used by the participants in the telling of their stories. A comprehensive discussion of these themes will follow in the next section.

4.3. INTERPRETATION AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

The analysis of the narrative data generated for this study revealed that hip hop significantly influences the process of identity construction among female late adolescents. In an attempt to find solutions to the question of this study from the stories told by the participants, I present the three broad themes and 11 categories that emerged.

Table 4.1 A summary of themes, categories, and subcategories

Themes		Categories	Subcategories
1. Hip hop influences emotional development.		1.1 Hip hop generates positive emotion.	“Makes me happy”, “keeps me happy”, “changes my mood”, “I become stress-free”
		1.2 Hip hop helps to articulate emotional needs and ambiguities.	Feelings of guilt, romance, express feelings, express emotions
		1.3 Hip hop provides an emotional escape.	Utopian, stress-free, release, attends to emotional needs without guilt, feeling of freedom
2. Hip hop stimulates cognitive abilities.	Hip hop informs thoughts on “ideal” behaviour.	2.1 Hip hop provides a blueprint for “appropriate” behaviour towards others and the Self.	“Helps me choose the right and wrong”, “It contains morals” “helps me know the right from wrong”
		2.2 Hip hop motivates the participants to dream about success and act in order to realise their dreams.	Hardworking, goal achiever, millionaire, have to study and graduate
		2.3 Hip hop helps to highlight and deal with the “bad” side of life.	Utopian, invincible, assertive, fantasy, release, music calms her down
	Hip hop informs thoughts on “ideal” identity.	2.4. Hip hop fosters debate on gender roles and identity.	The unity of women, empowered, independent, hates how female rappers are represented
		2.5 Hip hop cultivates a sense of social cognition.	Ubuntu, giving.

		2.6. Hip hop encourages interpersonal unity and relationships.	Socialising, generosity, ubuntu, unity, showing appreciation to others.
3. Hip hop promotes a sense of belonging.		3.1 Hip hop promotes a sense of cultural and ethnic belonging.	Proud of her culture, young people who listen to hip hop, comes from the Eastern Cape, proudly South African, proud of her “hood”.

4.3.1. Theme 1: Hip hop influences emotional development

The literature reviewed for this study reveals that the emotional development of an individual is crucial to the overall process of identity construction during late adolescence. (See chapter 2 of this dissertation). According to Gouws et al. (2008), emotional stability in adolescence provides the basis on which an adolescent can adapt properly to her social context. Emotional stability entails being able to take control of one’s emotions, as well as being able to express them in a controlled manner. The stories told by the participants showed that hip hop music was beneficial to their well-being in a number of ways.

4.3.1.1. Category 1.1: Hip hop generates positive emotions

The experience of positive emotions in the context of hip hop was mainly indicated through expressions such as “hip hop makes me happy” and “hip hop brings happiness”, among others, by the majority of the participants. This was evident in the explanations of Participant 1 (P1) and Participant 7 (P7) in the following utterances:

Hip hop keeps me happy because, you see, here I was sad, and when I listen to hip hop, it changes my mood. I get so happy. (P1 explaining Drawing 1)
Hip hop makes me feel happy even if I have stresses. I listen to the music and I just become me. (P7 explaining Drawing 1)

For some participants, the “happy” emotion that they experience when they listen to hip hop is liberating and relieving. Participant 2 (P2) in this regard expressed that

Hip hop makes me feel happy and that I’m free. [It-PNG] lifts the world off my shoulders and gives me a feeling of relief. [It’s] like I just feel relieved when I listen to it. (P2 explaining Drawing 1)

Some participants articulated that hip hop makes them feel confident about themselves and their abilities. To some participants, this boost in confidence is articulated alongside feelings of being invincible and empowered. The notion of confidence in this context can be understood as what Stajkovic and Luthans (1998, 6) term a sense of self-efficacy. Self-efficacy here refers to the individual's conviction about her ability to mobilise the motivations, cognitive resources, and courses of action needed to successfully execute a specific task within a given context. According to Luthans (2002, 700), confidence is positive energy that can positively influence goal aspirations and goal attainment by an individual. Participant 3 (P3) suggested a boost in her confidence as a result of the positive emotions afforded to her by hip hop, when she said that hip hop music changes her mood, and that as a result she feels "free, like nothing can touch me". As such, hip hop gives her a sense of being invincible, and this is seen to have implications on her confidence levels. In this regard, this participant mentioned that

[The dance] basically shows my mood, that I was happy, free, like nothing can touch me. (P3 explaining Drawing 1).

It became evident that for Participant 3 (P3), the boost in her confidence levels makes her able to express her talents, such as dancing and performing, without fear. This was well demonstrated during the lyric inquiry activity, when this participant chose to dance while presenting her lyric composition. The increased confidence induced by the positive emotions brought about by hip hop music are also well articulated by Participant 4 (P4) in her contribution to Participant 3's explanation of her song lyrics. She said that:

[...] the music does empower us women. Because it does, it makes it feel like I can fight my demons and then dance, show off. (P4's contribution to P3's explanation of her song lyrics).

The increased confidence induced by hip hop music heightened the participants' sense of self-awareness and self-acceptance. I therefore argue that the sense of confidence, invincibility, and self-acceptance induced by hip hop music can contribute significantly to an increased sense of autonomy, which is a major identity task during late adolescence (Kroger 2007).

4.3.1.2. *Category 1.2: Hip hop helps to articulate emotional needs and ambiguities*

In this study, the participants spoke about their use of hip hop music as a means of articulating and communicating their emotional needs. For some participants, hip hop serves as a means of clarifying their emotional ambiguities. The expression of emotional needs through hip hop was articulated by participants in various ways. Participant 8 (P8) said that she becomes relieved from emotional needs that are brought about by her problems when she dances or sings a hip hop song. She believes that other people, who may not necessarily know what she is going through emotionally, like it when she sings or dances a hip hop song. In my view, the experience of Participant 8 (P8) illustrates the link between emotion and self-concept. As such, hip hop is seen to create spaces in which other people can react to her expression of an emotion, and through their positive feedback, she feels better about herself. In this regard, Participant 8 (P8) believed that

I am not good at talking to people about my problems. But when I dance it off, or I sing it out, that's how I express myself better, and the people like that. (P8's contribution to P3's explanation of her song's lyrics)

In a related expression, Participant 3 (P3) revealed that whenever she listens to a hip hop song, she “just [goes] ‘Wow!’ and dances”. Similar feelings were communicated by Participant 7 (P7), who said that

Like me, I am dancing here, listening to hip hop and socialising. I am happy, and it [hip hop] makes me not [to-PNG] worry about life, maybe about stresses. (P7 explaining Drawing 2)

Hip hop is also used by the female late adolescents to express memories of past experiences and to express how such experiences are affecting them in the present. During the narration of her lyrics, Participant 4 (P4) explained that through the lyric-writing activity she was able to confront unpleasant experiences of her past which she otherwise would not articulate and express to others. She explained that

This song was personal. It is the side of me I really do not show, and I got a chance to sing it. (P4 explaining her song's lyrics)

When referring to her lyrics, Participant 4 (P4) revealed that she uses hip hop to express her emotional distress caused as a result of certain childhood experiences. She revealed that

[...] I had to turn to [hip hop] music to tell me such things as “You got to speak out, or you got to get yourself out of this situation”. (P4 explaining her song’s lyrics)

While explaining her drawing, the same participant disclosed that hip hop affords her the opportunity to “attend to my emotional needs without feeling guilty” (P4 explaining Drawing 1). For some participants, their engagement with hip hop makes them aware of their degree of emotional attachment to their mothers. As such, they use hip hop music to express these emotional attachments, by listening to hip hop with their mothers. In this case, I assume that hip hop music opens up spaces where the mother can appreciate her daughter’s gratitude, as expressed through hip hop music. Although Participant 6 (P6) had been through rough times in her past, hip hop music provides opportunities for fresh beginnings, where she can “block off” the past and have a chance to be thankful to her mother for being there for her. In this regard, P6 states that

For me, when I listen to hip hop, I can block it [the past-PNG] off; I don’t want to think about it. And having my mom listening, like, to hip hop, it would just, you know, I’m so thankful for my mom, like without her, I may not be here, and she might not be here. (P6 explaining Drawing 1)

Participant 3 (P3) contributed to this debate by saying

The thing is, I’m very emotional. I’m just struck by what she said, about hip hop songs can really, those songs about appreciation. For example, if you listen to a song sung about my mom – “thank you for doing this and this”, *yho!* When you listen to the song, you realise, “Wow, Mom! I appreciate you, and thank God!” Why can’t I appreciate her. Mama, I love you. Thank you for doing that, you know. (P3 contributing to P6’s explanation of Drawing 1)

According to Nussbaum (2000, 149), the emotional wellbeing of an individual is also linked to her sense of morals. The findings of this study reveal that hip hop presents adolescents with visual and lyrical texts that are morally confusing, leaving them with moral dilemmas that are manifested through feelings of guilt. For instance, Participant 2 (P2) said that she

feels guilty when she observes how women are represented and talked about in most hip hop videos. In this regard, she feels betrayed, because women themselves could be encouraging the way they are represented in these videos. She says that

It's mainly, like, when they say stuff about, like, women that I know. It's like, I don't like someone to say that about me. But at the same time, it's a good song, so I want to listen to the song, but it's just one word or two lines that I don't feel comfortable with, because I would not want someone else to say the same about me, but I listen to it anyway, so then I feel bad. (P2 explaining Drawing 1)

From the discussions presented above, it becomes clear that the participants utilise the constituents of hip hop, namely lyrics, music, and performance, to express their emotions to others. Through these constituents of hip hop, they are able to articulate emotions that embody their past and their present, as well as express emotions that emanate from their personal or social circles. Consequently, they position their sense of Self within the context of hip hop, so that its attributes, such as the rhythmic patterns and the meanings embodied in the lyrics, are beneficial to their sense of Self. In the case where hip hop music creates an emotional quandary, the participant positions herself in a way that, even though she is aware of the dilemma in the music, she is still able to express herself differently within it.

4.3.1.3. Category 1.3: Hip hop provides an emotional escape for participants

The narratives also revealed that for the majority of the participants hip hop provides an emotional exit to a stress-free, relaxed and empowering world. To some of the participants, this world is filled with fantasy. This world is described as “happy”, “utopian”, and “relieving”. In this regard, one participant explained that

[It's] OK for me when I listen to hip hop. For me it's Utopia [...]. Like I get sent to a world that's not here, like totally [away] from reality. Ummm, I can just forget about what I've been thinking about. (P6 explaining Drawing 1)

For another participant, hip hop gives her a sense of freedom and relief from the worry and emotional strain brought about by other people. She explained that

The picture shows how I always feel, like I have the world on top of my shoulders, like I am a person that will always worry about things. I'm not very organised, so people will always wanna make a plan, and I normally strain a lot. [...] and the wings, [...] when I listen to hip hop, I feel freedom. I'm in my own world, you know, flying. (P5 explaining Drawing 1)

Participant 3 (P3) felt that hip hop music affords her the opportunity to enter a world filled with fantasy. She explained that

And this one is just me having a fantasy, getting away from everything, just driving my car on an open road. (P3 explaining Drawing 1)

The emotional escape afforded by hip hop music, as expressed by the participants here, can be viewed as feeding into female late adolescents' increased need for privacy and autonomy. The emotional haven they experience through hip hop can be described as a world where they break free from the many expectations that burden them. It is a world where they can do and think about themselves on their own terms. Therefore, the use of hip hop music as an emotional sanctuary by the adolescent can be viewed as contributing towards the enhancement of her need for an increased sense of privacy and autonomy.

4.3.2. Theme 2: Hip hop stimulates cognitive abilities

In Chapter 2 of this study, I discussed Nussbaum's (2001) Neo-Stoic Theory, which sees emotions as cognitive processes. Within this theoretical understanding of the emotions, hip hop's influence on the emotional well-being of the participants can be interpreted as a way through which hip hop stimulates the cognitive abilities of female late adolescents. The cognitive engagements and abilities enabled by hip hop reveal that the adolescent is able to think about what Sfard and Prusak (2005, 14) refer to as "actual" and "designated" Selves. In other words, they are able to think about their identity as they perceive it in the present and as they visualise their Selves in the future. These types of thoughts can be seen to represent what Clandinin and Huber (2002, 163) conceptualise as "wholeness of life". Hip hop is therefore seen to prompt participants to think about "ideal" behaviour, as well as "ideal" identity. "Ideal" in this context is understood as that which is the most suitable, desirable or appropriate identity.

While informing adolescents' sense of "ideal" behaviour, hip hop also provides them with a blueprint for "appropriate" behaviour. "Appropriate" behaviour, according to the participants of this study, implies "doing the right thing". In addition, it became clear that hip hop also

affords the participants the opportunity to dream about success and to act towards realising those dreams.

4.3.2.1. Category 2.1: Hip hop provides a blueprint for appropriate behaviour

The findings of this study indicate that hip hop music provides the participants with an outline of what may be regarded as “right” or “wrong” behaviour towards others and the Self. In this outline, hip hop initiates thoughts on social behaviour, as well as beliefs on what would be appropriate behaviour towards people that the adolescent values in her life. In this study, the participants articulated their thoughts on “ideal” behaviour towards themselves, as well as towards others with whom they have intimate relations, and also with those with whom they wish to establish relations. The participants voiced their thoughts on “ideal” behaviour as that which is “the right thing to do” and that which does not hurt the feelings of others. They also considered appropriate behaviour as behaviour that does not contradict what has been described as “right” by their parents. The articulation of appropriate behaviour was voiced in relation to the Significant Others that occupies the participants’ personal social spheres, as well as wider society. As such, their thoughts about appropriate behaviour also include how these Others should behave and treat Others, as well as how these Others should behave towards them. This included people in close relationships with them, such as mothers or male friends.

“Ideal” behaviour includes appropriate behaviour by women and towards women

Hip hop provides female late adolescents with an understanding of “ideal” behaviour by women, as constituted in their refusal to be subverted by males and to stand together to confront issues that are pertinent to them. In this regard, P3 explained that

This is women standing together against all odds, whether man discriminate [against] us, you know, we just standing together. (P3 explaining Drawing 1)

In a similar perspective, Participant 2 (P2) expressed her idea of “ideal” behaviour towards women in the hip hop music industry. She made it clear that she feels let down by the way women are physically exposed and represented in hip hop music videos. She described this kind of representation as “not right”. However, she also believes that the unacceptable

treatment of women in the music industry is partly encouraged by women themselves. In this regard, she argued that women

[...] encourage the way they are treated by doing that, by exposing themselves like that [...] they can't expect the guys to respect them if they are going not to respect themselves in that way. That's just how I feel about it. (P2 explaining Drawing 1)

Participant 2 (P2) further asserted that the “right” behaviour towards women must begin with women's desire to be treated with respect, and their insistence that they be treated with respect. Participant 6 (P6) thus conceptualised “ideal” behaviour as including respect and appreciation for women. She felt that

It upsets me because women kinda make the world. Without women, there would be no world, because there wouldn't be children. There wouldn't be anyone. So without women, there is nothing, so most people must be grateful for women. There are women out there who do bad stuff, but there are women who are deserving of gratitude. Therefore, if the song is saying mean things for a woman, it's not right. (P6 explaining Drawing 1)

Ideal behaviour includes “doing the right thing”

The notion of what is regarded as “right” came out strongly in the participants' stories. In this context, the term “right” was used to highlight that which conforms to what is regarded as appropriate by influential Significant Others such as parents, religious leaders, and peers. The majority of the participants acknowledged that hip hop music is entrenched with values. These values were conceived of as “good or bad morals”. Participant 2 (P2) held that

Hip hop is full of morals. There are not always good morals, but the things that they [hip hop artists-PNG] sing about, they are all moral. Not moral things, but the things they sing about are either good morals or bad morals, like the way you've been brought up. You either going to look at it and say “Oh yeah, that's the way you are supposed to act” and [or] that's not the way you are supposed to act. (P2's explanation of her song's lyrics)

Participant 1 (P1) also indicated her awareness of “right” and “wrong” values embodied in hip hop music, when she expounded that

Hip hop makes me choose the right things and not the wrong things, like to stop drinking beer or taking the wrong things. (P1 explaining Drawing 1)

The participants' understanding of "ideal" behaviour reflects Kohlberg's (1969) conventional level of moral development, which was alluded to in Chapter 2. This level consists of Stages 3 and 4 of moral reasoning development. During Stage 3, the individual becomes orientated towards interpersonal relationships, whereas during Stage 4 her moral reasoning is in relation to sustained social order (Coleman 1979, 38). By virtue of the fact that hip hop also embodies "good" values, it can be viewed as contributing to the adolescent's desire to maintain social order by doing what is "right". One can thus argue that, since hip hop brings values to the fore, it orientates individuals towards interpersonal relations.

It further became evident that the understanding of some of the participants of "ideal" behaviour relates to the kind of behaviour that satisfies other people and the Self. It is also behaviour aimed at helping others. This is evident in the explanations pertaining to giving and to helping people in society who are in need. For instance, Participant 3 (P3) explained that

This is me listening to hip hop, and this is me just thinking about giving.
This is me just giving out when I listen to hip hop. It just motivates me to just give to people. (P3 explaining Drawing 1)

This next picture is influenced by artists of the song *Haiti*, about the spirit of giving, making a difference to society. (P3 explaining Drawing 2)

The literature reviewed for this study revealed that an individual's reasoning may generate a move towards independence of both thoughts and actions (Coleman 1979, 28). The move towards independence enabled by hip hop music is evident in the participants' reasoning concerning "ideal" behaviour. For instance, "ideal" behaviour of women and towards women is seen as behaviour that is empowering. In this regard, Participant 4 (P4) explained that

I drew the company because; I would want to be an example for my co-workers. No matter what position I've got, I would like to be there to show them that independence and power and respect is possible [whether-PNG] you are female or not. (P4 explaining Drawing 2)

Similarly, Participant 5 (P5) also expounded that she does not want to be labelled as a rebel when she listens to hip hop, but she wants to be understood as one who feels strong and independent when she listens to it, just like all women should feel (P5). In her explanation, P5 also suggested the expectation that established gender dispositions would limit women's

sense of independence. She consequently believed that hip hop music could make women strong, as well as empower them, and argued that they should be respected as such. She was of the opinion that

[...] strong women [...] listen to hip hop. They are independent, and they are thinking “No, this man cannot treat me like this. I’ve got my own principles and beliefs, and no one can walk over me”, and things like that. (P5 explaining Drawing 1)

Hip hop, therefore, is seen to contribute to the participants’ sense of “right” and “wrong”, by presenting them with resources from which they can draw. Hip hop also presents female late adolescents with spaces through which they can critique established structures, such as gender structures, and common generalisations such as “hip hop listeners are rebellious”. Hip hop also offers behaviour alternatives in instances where Significant Others fall short. However, the contribution of other significant influential spheres, such as family, peers, and religious leaders, in determining appropriate values in the hip hop texts is undeniable in the case of the participants of this study.

4.3.2.2. *Category 2.2: Hip hop motivates participants to dream about success and act in order to realise their dreams*

The participants’ visualisations of “ideal” behaviour afford them the opportunity to envisage their future success. It became evident that, for some participants, their dreams about success are inspired by particular hip hop role models that they admire. Hip hop music also awakens in them the desire for a good life. In this regard, they acknowledged the need to work hard in order to attain their envisaged success.

From the participants’ stories, it became clear to me that hip hop music provides female late adolescents with role models in the hip hop industry. These role models, for example, the American hip hop artist Jay-Z, inspire the participants to lead successful lives. In her song lyrics, Participant 2 (P2) wrote that

Hip hop makes me crazy; it makes me feel like Jay-Z. This is who I am, and hip hop helps portray that. (P2 in her explanation of her song’s lyrics)

In her explanation about her lyrics, she mentions that this artist is envied by many people. In this regard, she expounded that

Of all the people in the world to feel like is Jay-Z. He is like the most powerful. [for] People in hip hop, for men and women, like people in general. Obviously he has the whole hip hop thing going on, but for me he is more like, I wouldn't say moral person, but like the person he is, and the way he carries himself, it's just, I mean my father looks up to him. (P2 explaining her song's lyrics)

Contributing to the discussion about Jay-Z, Participant 4 (P4) added that

It's not just his music, but he portrays himself professionally in every aspect [...] He doesn't just stop at one thing. He has got a clothing, perfume, record label and things like that. (P4's contribution to P2's explanation of her song's lyrics)

Participant 3 (P3) concurred as follows:

About this thing "inspire": I think hip hop does inspire a lot of people cos it's just that they will sing about the good life. You can actually see that they have a good life, like Jay-Z. It is not that they just sing, but you can see that they have made it. It's possible. (P3's contribution to P5's explanation of her song's lyrics)

It became evident that the participants' envisaged success originates from the lyrics and the depictions in the videos of the songs. The lyrics and the videos glorify the value of money, as it affords one status and a good lifestyle. Consequently, the participants expressed their desire for both material wealth and personal excellence. In their explanations, some of the participants argued that such kind of success can be obtained through hard work. However, the majority of the participants seemed to realise that their dreams of future success can only be attained through hard work in their academics. They reported that

[With-PNG] hip hop, I picture myself being in a place like, being a millionaire, and then to be a millionaire, I have to work hard to be in that stage, so I have to study and study. (P1 explaining her song's lyrics)

Hip hop makes me wanna work hard and make money and have a lifestyle they are living (a picture of a big house). (P2 explaining Drawing 2)

Oh, the dollar sign. It's because hip hop is all about money [...] Oh, I like that part, [the] whole side of it too. (P2 explaining Drawing 1)

In addition to hard work, Participant 3 (P3) believed that success in life requires consistency and endurance. In this regard, she explained that

[The] song by Jozi, *Keep it going*, [makes me know that-PNG] no matter how hard the times might be, I can do it. It is not always simple or a smooth ride. I just have to work hard and I can be anything I want to be in life, you know. Like me graduating and the nice cars, you know. I can make it. [Hip hop] just makes me believe in myself. (P3 explaining Drawing 2)

For the participants who believed in academic excellence as an important attribute of personal achievement, the opportunity to improve the level of their tertiary education was the key to such success. As such, Participant 7 (P7) shared her aspirations by saying

Yeah! It [hip hop] drives me [to think-PNG], like, after I am finished with this four-year course, I would like to go further [to] do my Honours and [to] do Master's. (P7 explaining Drawing 1)

Participant 1 (P1) concurred as follows:

Since I've listened to hip hop, I know I have my imaginations in places. In such big places, like being in a position where I am now studying at university for being a teacher. That's all I wanted to be. (P1 explaining her song's lyrics)

In related views, Participant 8 (P8) shared that

Any kind of music you listen to, it makes your mind run wild. Like you dream, and all the fantasies. It also comes with responsibilities, cos it's no use listening to a song about being a billionaire, but you don't do anything about it. Like when they sing these songs, they do make examples, like where they come from, like maybe, like when they went to record labels and they dice the CDs, but in the end, through all the struggling, they did get to wherever they want to be. (P8's contribution to P1's explanation of her song's lyrics)

From these stories, it is evident that "ideal" behaviour, as alluded to by the participants, implies working hard in order to attain their dreams. As such, their actions are geared towards a designated identity that begins with improving quality of life, primarily in order to achieve the identity of a successful woman. Hip hop music, therefore, can be seen to contribute to these aspirations, through providing role models that the participants identify with and aspire towards.

4.3.2.3. Category 2.3: Hip hop helps to highlight and deal with “the bad side of life”

The hip hop music listened to by the participants does not only draw attention to “the right thing”, but it also affords the participants strategies, as well as the confidence, to deal with “the bad side of life”. The notion of “the bad side of life” is conceptualised by the participants as “wrong” values and painful life experiences. It appears, from the participants’ stories, that hip hop helps them to build resilience. In this regard, Participant 4 (P4) believed that life is not always pleasant, and that one needs confidence to deal with these painful experiences. She says that

Ja, life is not always positive, and the world outside is not always positive, and that’s what we should realise, that [...] people will tease you. It doesn’t disappear, so you have to be confident enough. (P4’s contribution to P1’s explanation of her song’s lyrics)

In a similar view, a participant alluded to the notion of resilience and confidence. This became apparent while she told of a classmate who used to bully her in school while she was younger. She said that

[...] she bullied me in school. And immediately when the bell rang, I would run. Now I think when I listen to hip hop music, it brings you that confidence, like no one can just bully you around like that, you know. And I think as I grow older, I have become stronger and independent. I remember seeing her now when I am older, and [I] am thinking to myself, “Damn, gal, if you touch me now again, I’ll show you.” (P3’s explanation of her song’s lyrics)

In addition, the “bad” is often contained in the hip hop music itself. Some participants revealed that they deal with this aspect of hip hop music by avoiding the music. Pertaining to this, Participant 2 (P2) regards the way that women are often represented in hip hop videos as “not right”. This is due to the inappropriate content of some hip hop music, embodied in the lyrics or the visual texts. In dealing with this, she avoids hip hop performed by female artists and prefers hip hop performed by men. This is also evident in the way she deals with hip hop content which she regards as inappropriate. Regarding the representation of females in hip hop videos, she argues that

The line through the skirt is for two different reasons. The one reason is because [...] I don’t really listen to much female hip hop [...] I seem to relate more to the guy hip hop, [...] because it’s the way women are treated, which isn’t right. (P2 explaining Drawing 1)

Despite some content that can be regarded as inappropriate, Participant 2 (P2), however, admitted that she often still listens to such music, although it generates feelings of guilt.

No, not for all hip hop. Like when I listen to songs that, like, I know, “Oh, that’s not a really good line or something, but I know I’m still going to listen to it anyway, but, like, I still feel guilty about it, yes” [...] It’s mainly like when they say stuff about, like women, that I know it’s like I don’t like someone to say that about me, but at the same time, it’s a good song, so I want to listen to the song, but it’s just one word or two lines that I don’t feel comfortable with, because I would not want someone else to say the same about me, but I listen to it anyway, so then I feel bad. (P2 explaining Drawing 2)

It is evident that these adolescents are aware of the moral quality in the content presented by hip hop music. The participants’ judgements of the “bad” contents in the hip hop they listen to is determined by comparing the music to what other influential spheres in their lives classify as “bad”. Strategies for dealing with such contents are varied and range from avoiding it to blocking it off. However, some participants find themselves in a dilemma, because some components of such songs are appealing to them, as is evident in Participant 2’s acknowledgement referred to above.

From the findings of this study, it seems that the participants’ contemplations about “ideal” behaviour, which were stimulated by hip hop, are geared towards the female late adolescent’s successful adjustment to her immediate social contexts. This includes her ability to contribute to society in material ways. It also includes her empowerment, which will enable her to deal with life’s challenges. These reflections are all aimed at the present and future flourishing of the Self. These reflections feed into the adolescent’s idea of the designated identity she would want to project, which may include that of an active female player in society. These identities are alluded to in notions that relate to self-awareness, self-acceptance, and emotional stability, as facilitated by hip hop.

During this study, it thus became clear that hip hop enables the female late adolescent not only to think about the “ideal” identity of herself as a person, but also her identity as a member of a broader society. While analysing the participants’ narrative texts, it became apparent that hip hop facilitates feelings of freedom and independence. The relationship between the thought of an appropriate behaviour and that of ideal identity was evident. To me, these two ideas seemed to be embedded in each other. For instance, for the participants

of this study, the thought of an ideal gender identity is entrenched in the idea of what is regarded as “appropriate” behaviour by women and towards women.

4.3.2.4. *Category 2.4: Hip hop promotes debate on gender roles and identity*

From the literature reviewed in Chapter 2 of this study, it is apparent that one of the identity tasks of late adolescence is adaptation to the wider social sphere, and the subsequent performance of social tasks (Kroger 2007). These tasks encompass coming to terms with societal expectations and executing expected roles. For instance, female late adolescents are expected by society to take up appropriate gender roles and perform these. The data obtained indicate that the adolescent participants are not only trying to find their place as women in society, but they are at the same time challenging societal expectations of themselves as females in their engagement with hip hop. Hip hop therefore seems to promote the debate on gender identity.

Kroger (2007, 89) asserts that during late adolescence, gender identity becomes established. Therefore, the task of the adolescent is to search for secure ways of expressing it. This aspect was evident in the participants’ stories. It became apparent that hip hop music facilitates the expression of adolescents’ gender identity, not the formation thereof. Hip hop music provides the space where female late adolescents can cross-examine, contest, and express this gender identity. These expressions relate to specific qualities such as inner strength, resilience, gentleness, leadership, and respect.

Hip hop is for “strong” women with inner strength

A “strong” woman, as expressed in the participants’ stories, is regarded as one with inner strength, in other words a woman who is mentally, emotionally and spiritually strong. Hip hop promotes these strengths by facilitating female late adolescents’ sense of empowerment and independence as females. In this regard, Participant 5 (P5) was of the opinion that

[...] the strong women actually listen to hip hop. They are independent [...] I am not trying to rebel when I listen to hip hop, [but] I feel strong and independent, like all women should when they listen to hip hop. (P5 explaining Drawing 1)

Similarly, Participant 4 (P4) explained that hip hop music stimulates her desire for independence and her need for respect from others, even in the workplace.

I drew the company [in my drawing] because I would want to be an example for my co-workers, no matter what position I've got. I would like to be there to show them that independence, power, and respect is possible, [whether-PNG] you are female or not. (P4 explaining Drawing 2)

P8 referred directly to the song *Can't hold us down* by Christina Aguilera to articulate the kind of strong woman she perceives herself to be in the context of hip hop music. She asserted that

The words don't stick to me, and I have my heart. It's a brick wall, making me a strong woman. (P8 explaining her song's lyrics)

Hip hop music develops resilient women

Resilience is the ability of an individual to cope in a successful manner with significant change, hardship, or risk. It is the ability to bounce back from adversity, uncertainty, conflict, failure, and even positive change, progress, and increased responsibility (Luthans 2002, 702). Resilience can emanate from attributes such as an increased sense of autonomy, self-awareness, and self-confidence. As such, it contributes significantly to the establishment of one's personal identity.

Hip hop music clearly enabled the participants to recover from past painful experiences. It helped them to consider their past and present situations in a positive light. The participants alluded to the notion of strong and resilient women in the context of hip hop in terms of how their mothers helped them to learn what is good, how a woman should be treated, and how to protect oneself in difficult situations. When explaining her song's lyrics, Participant 4 (P4) revealed that

[...] I refer to my mom not being there to say "A man is not supposed to treat you bad" [...]. So I had no one to look up to [...]. So I had to turn to music to tell me such things as "You got to speak out" or "You got to get yourself out of this situation". (P4 explaining her song's lyrics)

Resilience through hip hop is also implied in statements that acknowledge its healing potential, as well as in statements that show the participants' ability to confront their emotional quagmires. For Participant 4 (P4),

hip hop encourages me to attend to my emotional needs without feeling guilty. You can sing along to the song, and people will just say, “Wow, she likes this song!” but you are meaning what you are singing. (P4 explaining Drawing 1)

For Participant 8 (P8), hip hop music is experienced as healing, as it is non-judgemental. She explained that

[Hip hop is - PNG] healing when I am down sometimes [...] Sometimes when you can't speak to people not like you, you can't speak to them, but you just can't, cos of their response. [...] they are either going to judge you, or just the response they are gonna give – you know it already. So [...] music that won't judge me and won't criticise me. (P8 explaining her song's lyrics)

The same participant, when contributing to the song explanation of participant 4 (P4), alluded to the notion of women's resilience and inner strength.

I also think that she did not realise the strength that she had. It's like knowing your potential, and you doubt yourself sometime [...] We see that she relates to the music, because it encourages her to keep going and to stand up. (P8's contribution to P4's explanation of her song's lyrics)

For another participant, the emotional release and sense of Utopia effected during a hip hop listening experience suggest a sense of resilience. For this participant, erasing unpleasant past experiences while listening is not only a way of dealing with these experiences, but also a way of recovering in order to move on. Participant 6 (P6) explained that

I just relax, block off everything [...] so for me, when I listen to hip hop, I can block it off. I don't want to think about it. And having my mom listening to, like, some songs of hip hop, it would just, you know. I'm so thankful for my mom. Like, without her, I may not be here, and she might not be here. (P6 explaining Drawing 1)

Women are “soft” and deserve gentle treatment

In as much as the participants' encounters with hip hop music promote their sense of strong, resilient, and independent women, the music also engenders in them the view of females as “soft” and entitled to kind treatment. The participants perceive some of the females in the hip hop industry as “soft”, particularly in terms of their “soft” voices. It is for this reason that they prefer to listen to hip hop music performed by female artists. Some participants, however, regarded the softer voices of the female artists as not “strong enough” for the hip

hop industry. Although these songs do not have much meaning for them, they nevertheless still listen to them.

The following conversation between the participants reveals gender notions about the place of women in hip hop. That place is laced with notions of the inability of females to dominate and command much authority in the industry, as compared to males. As such, hip hop is still depicted as dominated by male authority, and the participation of women in it is in the form of a “weak voice”. In this context, such notions are advanced through musical preferences.

I think it's because we've been brought up with a preconception that men are hip hop singers, and not women, so you would rather unconsciously listen to Eminem instead of Nicky Minaj¹⁰ unconsciously. It's like boys can play rugby, [but-PNG] girls can [only-PNG] play netball. (P4)
[...] it's like a stereotype of “Girls can't rap to save their lives, but boys have it built into them”. (P5)
[...] It's like if you listen to hip hop that is sung by girls, it sounds like it's not strong. It's more soft. (P3)
[...] Not much meaning as well. (P5)
Ja, for example, if you listen to Eve, she's got a strong voice and you can actually listen to her, but some females have really soft voices. (P3)
[...] weak voices. Hip hop is hard. (P6)

During this conversation, it became clear that hip hop engenders gender debate, as it opens social discursive spaces in which adolescents can advance already existing notions, or challenge these notions. Even though the participants regarded most hip hop songs performed by female artists as “soft” and having little meaning, they still engage with such music in a positive manner. As such, some participants still felt that such hip hop music makes them bold and enables them to take up any challenge. While referring to a hip hop song performed by Christina Aguilera, Participant 8 (P8) explained that

I say I am soft-hearted. I mean, sometimes I am too kind or too soft. Maybe I don't wanna shout at someone, but when I listen to a hip hop song, it gives me that, when I feel like shouting at a person, through the lyrics of that song. (P8 explaining Drawing 1)

As alluded to earlier, it became clear that the participants' involvement with hip hop music also provokes reflections on the way women should be treated in society. Some participants

¹⁰ Nicky Minaj, also known as Onika Tanya Maraj, is an American hip hop recording artist. In her career, she has collaborated with other artists such as Kanye West, Lil Wayne, Drake, and David Guetta. See <http://www.mypinkyfriday.com>

believed that women are often judged too harshly. This, in their view, should not be the case. Participant 8 (P8) provided the following background to the lyrics that she wrote:

I also highlighted girl power, 'cos there is a lyric where “when a man does something, he is called a ‘player’, or something like that, and when a girl does the same, she is called a word¹¹. (P8 explaining her song’s lyrics)

Females will lead the next hip hop generation

Women as the next hip hop generation emerged as a strong theme in a number of the lyric texts composed by the participants during the songwriting activity. It also featured during the drawing activities. This aspect refers to the notion of female empowerment in and through hip hop music. In relation to this, Participant 2 (P2) wrote that

Hip hop isn’t just for guys. Females, they can do it too. Ladies are the next generation. So sit down and take a listen. (P2’s song lyrics)

With this, Participant 2 (P2) implies that although both males and females participate in the hip hop music industry, females excel, because they have concerns that are pertinent and unique to them. These issues cannot be equally well articulated by men. She argued that

There are female hip hop artists that are coming up now, so they are showing that it is not only guys that are doing, but also ladies also do it as well, and they also have things to say and issues that they also have that they wanna make people aware of. (P2 explaining her song’s lyrics)

Contributing to Participant 2 (P2)’s discussion, Participant 4 (P4) acknowledged that

Ladies were also hushed, say, if you listen to Eve¹² and Missy Elliott¹³. Her [Missy Elliott’s] music is actually awesome, but it gets hushed by the men.

Hip hop’s stimulation of gender debate can be viewed as contributing to the female late adolescent’s sense of her gender identity in contemporary society. This again happens as a result of the creation of spaces in which young people can engage with traditional notions.

¹¹ The participant is referring to a lyric in the song *Can’t hold us down* by Christina Aguilera. In these lyrics, the term “word” is used in the lyrics to refer to a “whore”. See the highlighted section of appendix 2:2A.

¹² Eve, also known by the name Eve Jihan Jeffers, is an American Grammy award-winning rapper, songwriter, record producer, and actress. See <http://www.evefans.com>, accessed on 28th November 2011.

¹³ Missy Elliott, also known as Melissa Arnette, is an American recording artist, rap artist, producer, singer, songwriter, dancer, and clothing line designer. See <http://www.missy-elliott.com/>. Accessed on 28th November 2011.

These spaces provide the late adolescent with an opportunity to challenge established notions, to sustain these notions, or to agree on those notions that need to be reviewed. It is my opinion that through the empowerment that hip hop affords to young people, an adolescent who is sensitised to the established gender identities may see the need to change some of these identities, and therefore may affiliate herself with social groups that seek to sensitise the society on the need to view females in their society differently, thus propagating transformation in that sense. In this way, hip hop music is seen to contribute to the cultivation of gender identities, especially those relating to the established role and representation of females in hip hop, among female late adolescents.

Females are not “sex objects”

In the stories of the participants of this study, hip hop seemed to draw the participants to think about how they portray their sexuality through music, and how that portrayal is perceived by male members in their social sphere. From the stories that the participants gave, they identified favourite hip hop songs and artists whose lyrics and videos are laden with sexual connotations. These songs include *Ride* by Ciara¹⁴, featuring Ludacris, and *Pretty Girl Rock* by Keri Hilson¹⁵. The participants expressed the desire to enjoy dancing to such songs in social places without being misunderstood by their peers. These articulations allude to the participants’ sense of sex role identity. Sex role identity refers to the way one expresses one’s biological gender in society according to social norms and stereotypes (Kroger 2007, 49).

The participants of this study admitted that hip hop music contains nuances of females as sex objects, which are cultivated in the lyrics, the videos, and even the dance moves of the hip hop artists. These nuances are also promoted in the social places where adolescents go to socialise. This awareness is verbalised in the following conversation between three participants:

I would like to add, I think, on the innocence [...] when you walk into a club and you are just with your friends and they are men, then when you sing along to a man or woman song [...] they also get this idea that you are an easy target. The whole sexual thing comes in. I don’t know why they do that, but they do that. (P4)

¹⁴ Ciara, who is also known as Ciara Princess Harris, is an American songwriter, dancer, actress, and fashion model. See Appendix 2:2B. Accessed from <http://www.onlyciara.com>

¹⁵ Keri Lynn Hilson is an American rhythm and blues songwriter. She has also written and performed hip hop. See Appendix 2:2F Accessed on 28th November 2011 from <http://www.kerihilson.com>

Yes, I think they (men) have this image in their heads that all women are like that. And they are watching this video [...] swinging on poles [and they think] all girls are like that, and stuff like that. (P6)

It depends on the type of person you are, whether you are trying to convey that message, or maybe you are just loving your songs, and saying “I am just gonna sing, and enjoy my weekend, and I wanna have fun” – things like that. (P5)

I really, really love music, but [when-PNG] I wanna dance, I don’t care about men. It’s sexy, but it doesn’t mean I want him to come and glide against me ... and I don’t know what’s wrong with men. (P4)

This conversation reveals a desire to project a different sex role identity from the identity implied in some of the hip hop videos that women engage with. The participants expressed the desire not to be misunderstood by men wherever they are enjoying their music. Instead, they wanted to be left alone to enjoy it, and not be controlled or intimidated. This desire is also evident in other instances where hip hop music helps to project the identity of a strong woman, as well as that of a woman who is in control and who is free.

4.3.2.5. Category 2.5: Hip hop promotes a sense of social cognition

The stories told in this study reveal that hip hop informs mental processes that underlie complex social behaviour, thus stimulating social cognition. In doing so, hip hop enhances mental processes through which adolescents conceptualise and learn to understand others. This includes understanding other people’s thoughts, beliefs, and attitudes towards social behaviour. The sense of social cognition enabled by hip hop involves perspective taking, in other words the ability to read emotions in facial expressions, and to assume the other person’s perspective, by stepping into his or her emotional shoes, a sense of autonomy, moral reasoning¹⁶, and self-awareness.

Perspective taking

From the findings of this study, it is apparent that hip hop inspires adolescents to reach out to others through sharing and giving. It also motivates them to oppose vices in their societies. This urge to help and care for others can also be seen as constituting adolescents’ idea of “ideal” behaviour, which was discussed earlier¹⁷ In this regard, participant 3 (P3) explained that

¹⁶ The influence of hip hop on moral values is discussed in chapter 2 of this dissertation.

¹⁷ See section 2.8 of chapter two of this dissertation

And this next picture is influenced by artists of the song Haiti, about the spirit of giving, making a difference to society. (P3 explaining Drawing 2)

Participant 2 (P2) also voiced related views, by alluding to the notion of perspective taking. She explained that

I realised that the reason I listen to hip hop is because I can relate to what they [hip hop artists] are singing about a lot of the time, and even if I can't, I always try to relate to it, because I like helping people, and hip hop makes it easier to do that, because it involves so many different types of people. (P2's free writing)

Sense of autonomy

The literature reviewed in this study reveals that social cognition allows adolescents to think not just about others, but also about themselves. It became clear that adolescents' thoughts about themselves alluded to their sense of autonomy. An increased sense of autonomy is an identity task that is associated with late adolescence. It entails the adolescent's need to make her own decisions and implement them. In the context of this study, the participants expressed a sense of autonomy through references to their refusal to "be told what to do by others". They expressed an eagerness to address matters in their lives on their own terms. Participant 3 (P3) offers an outstanding illustration of hip hop's ability to promote this sense of autonomy of Self, independent of influence by others. She explained that

Here it's me standing, and people here listening to me making my speech, and people listening to me, standing my ground. Be loud and be heard. Say what I want to say and don't care – no matter who thinks what. (P3 explaining Drawing 1)

The sense of autonomy verbalised by participant 3 (P3) above has embedded within it the notion of independence and empowerment. It also suggests that women are adopting leadership roles in society. For participant 3 (P3), her notion of personal autonomy is underpinned by her gender identity.

These findings discussed above clearly reveal that hip hop contributes to the identity construction process by stimulating the female late adolescent who identifies with it to address aspects of her personal Self, as well as aspects of her social Self. Hip hop without doubt promotes the female late adolescent's sense of autonomy. It also encourages her to

assume a sense of social responsibility. These tasks are integral to the construction and establishment of her identity.

Self-knowledge leading to the acceptance of Self

Self-awareness and self-acceptance constitute the development of the social cognition process. Coleman and Hendry (1990, 35) describe the process of social cognition as the acquisition of self-knowledge. The participants of this study revealed that their engagement with hip hop makes them more aware of themselves. They made it known that through hip hop, they learn to accept themselves. It therefore became clear that hip hop affords female late adolescents the opportunity to reflect on themselves and accept themselves for who they are.

The majority of the participants reported increased awareness of themselves during the research process of this study. Although this increased awareness may be attributed to the data-generation techniques of this research, it is my opinion that the participants' prolonged and conscious engagement with hip hop during the research process largely contributed to their sense of self-awareness.

I am confident, kind, not careless. (P1's song lyrics)
This is who I am, and hip hop helps portray that. (P2's song lyrics)
I like having fun, I am outgoing, I am always ready for a new challenge, as well as that I am confident. (P3's explaining her song lyrics)

I am young and free, happy to be me. (P5 explaining her song lyrics)
Hip hop makes me feel like I am the real me. (P1 explaining Drawing 1)
I discovered that I am a person that cares, who can easily form friendships. Because I am shy sometimes, I just lose confidence, but because of the hip hop session¹⁸ my confidence was somehow boosted. (P7's free writing)

I am becoming aware that I am a good listener, am open-minded. I also found out that I am not as shy as I thought I was. (I am a little Miss Chatterbox.) (P8's free writing)

It also became evident that the participants' awareness and acceptance of themselves in and through hip hop music leads to a liberation and empowerment of the Self towards the participants becoming better people for the sake of themselves, and also those around them. The increased self-awareness and self-acceptance facilitated during their interaction with hip hop can be seen as the very essence of emancipation, which is a key principle of the Critical

¹⁸ The participant is referring to the research sessions for this study.

Paradigm¹⁹, in which this study is grounded. As such, self-awareness and self-acceptance become a turning point that leads to the exercising of empowerment and the liberation of the Self. The self-knowledge enabled by hip hop can also be viewed as contributing to an increased sense of autonomy, thus providing female late adolescents with the required confidence to make decisions that concern them.

According to Luthans (2002, 410), self-acceptance is also key to fostering one's acceptance of others. It is the basis on which an individual's trust of herself in relationships with others can thrive. As a result, people who have accepted themselves bring into interactions with others their most authentic Selves (ibid.). This implies that self-acceptance is a stronghold of identity. Because, when the adolescent has accepted herself, it improves her self-confidence, as well as her self-concept. As such, she is likely to look for a social environment where her thoughts, beliefs and actions are highly valued. She is also likely to identify with social settings where her talents can be endorsed by her peers.

4.3.2.6. Category 2.6: Hip hop encourages interpersonal unity and relationships

The participants of this study revealed that hip hop opens avenues where they can relate with people of different backgrounds, ages, races, and personalities. It became clear that hip hop does not only open these avenues; it also sustains them. Hip hop also enables meaningful relationships that emanate from these avenues, by creating spaces in which the adolescent can contribute positively to the lives of the people that she values in her life and to humanity in general. This interpersonal unity is expressed in terms used by the participants that make reference to "giving", such as "ubuntu"²⁰, "standing together against crime", and "socialising". These attributes are also central to the process of social cognition, as discussed in section 2.8 of chapter two of this dissertation. This is articulated by various participants in the following quotations.

Hip hop makes me socialise with different people, as you can see the older ladies in the picture. (P7 explaining Drawing 2)

¹⁹ See section 3.2 of chapter 3 of this dissertation.

²⁰ The term "ubuntu" has its origins in the Southern African indigenous black languages. It is Nguni word found in the languages of isiZulu and isiXhosa. The term refers to the compassion, humanity, and goodness regarded as fundamental to the way people approach life.

Hip hop is real, unites all different types of people [...] (P2's explanation of Drawing 1)
With different kind of people, it [hip hop-PNG] helps me get along. (P2's song lyrics)

The research group of this study included coloured, black and white adolescents. The findings revealed that their engagement with hip hop also affords them the opportunity to establish interracial relationships. The following contribution by Participant 4 (P4) is of particular significance in illustrating this.

It's true, because normally you could just walk up to – like I'm gonna play the race card now – to a white person and say, "Hey, have you heard Eminem song?" and I won't walk up to any one of them and ask, "Hey, I really like Missy Elliott's song. So how do you feel about it?" And you wouldn't do that unless if you are in hip hop [...] Yes. Like I would not understand what goes on in house music, but I like the beat, and you do have coloured people that like Afrikaans music, but they can't hear it, though they like the beat, and not for the words, 'cos they can't relate, and I think hip hop, more and more women can relate, so there we can get together. (P4's contribution to P2's explanation of her song's lyrics)

For Participant 3 (P3), hip hop encourages her to want to forge interpersonal relationships through love. She explained that

This is me in love with my fiancé, when I'm listening to hip hop, like romantic song, you know. This is how I feel, you know. (P3 explaining Drawing 1)

Hip hop also enables the same participant to regard interpersonal unity among women as a way of combating social ills such as crime. She explained that

This last picture, it is about society standing together, whether it's against crime or what, and not just women always having to fight their way because men are always dominating. It's just that man realising that we are equal and can get anything as a society, *ja*. (P3 explaining Drawing 1)

The theme of unity among women is also mentioned by Participant 4 (P4) in her free-writing essay. For her, this unity, which is facilitated by hip hop, can generate stronger interpersonal relationships. She argues

I have noticed that us women need to stand together. During the sessions I have also noticed that I enjoy sharing with women that have something like hip hop in common with me. (P4's free writing)

In this section I argue that interpersonal relationships become successful and meaningful to an individual who has accepted herself. The sense of self-acceptance promoted in adolescents by hip hop music fosters a sense of their personal identity, which they bring to social relationships in those social categories that they identify with in their day-to-day lives. Thus, hip hop music can be seen as a fundamental component of the adolescent's efforts to execute the social identity-related tasks associated with late adolescence.

4.3.3. Theme 3: Hip hop promotes a sense of belonging

The hip hop music listened to by the participants in this study resonates strongly with their sense of belonging. They experience themselves as part of a larger group of people that listens to hip hop. The music also resonates with their sense of cultural belonging, as well as with their sense of being South African, in spite of the fact that some of the hip hop music that they listen to is performed by international artists.

4.3.3.1. *Category 3.1: Hip hop promotes a sense of cultural and ethnic belonging*

It became apparent that hip hop strengthens female late adolescents' sense of group membership. Their engagement with the music raises the awareness that they belong to a larger subculture of young people who listen to similar music. This was evidenced by their spontaneous bonding during the research process, despite initial unfamiliarity. While this could have been attributed to the interpersonal qualities facilitated by hip hop, as alluded to above, it was also clear that the participants' mutual love for hip hop provided this sense of belonging.

In addition, hip hop promotes female late adolescents' sense of belonging to an ethnic group. Through its different inherent elements, hip hop presents texts that the participants could recognise as representing her ethnic Self. These texts were embodied in the lyrics, the language used by the hip hop artist, the costume worn in the video, and the storyline that an artist tells in her lyrics. This recognition stimulated a subsequent awareness of the distinctions between various ethnic groups.

In this regard, Participant 1 (P1) uses the word "we" while referring to herself as well as other hip hop listeners. This indicates an awareness of membership of a larger group.

Hip hop creates friendship. It motivates youngsters. Through it *we* see the door, the door to the future. (P1 in song activity)

Similarly, Participant 5 (P5) revealed that during this research process, she discovered that she has more in common with other women who listen to hip hop than she previously thought was the case. She wrote that

During the sessions, I have also noticed that I enjoy sharing with women that have something like hip hop in common with me. (P5 in her free-writing activity)

In terms of their increased sense of ethnic belonging, some participants articulated awareness of these ethnic boundaries, as marked by boundaries of cultural customs and norms. This is evident in Participant 3's reference to the hip hop songs sung by South African DJs, such as DJ Tira²¹, DJ Clock²², and DJ Cleo²³.

These are songs that are in our own language, and the messages behind them make us think "OK, this is our music", 'cos the things that are said are part of our culture. They say things that are part of our culture. It's like they say things to instil values in us, just to remind us where we come from, our roots. (P3 contributing to P7's explanation of Drawing 2)

Participant 1 (P1) concurred as follows:

I am an African, a place called home. It's [...] where I come from. (P1's song lyrics)

For some participants, the sense of ethnic belonging does not only stem from listening to music produced by South African artists, but also from songs performed by American artists such as DJ Khaled²⁴ and T-Pain²⁵, among others. Participant 1 (P1) explained that

²¹ DJ Tira, also known as Mthokozisi Khathi, is known for award-winning debuts such as *Real Makoya*. He won the Best Kwaito Award at the 2008 Metro FM Music Awards. He has also been nominated for many other music awards.

²² DJ Clock is also known by the name Kholile Elvin Gumede. He is a DJ based in South Africa. He is best known for hits such as *Umahamba Yendwa*.

²³ DJ Cleo is a kwaito and house DJ based in South Africa. He is best known for hits such as *Aaaiiyy*, *Wena ngihamba nawe*, and *Bampa side to side*, among others.

²⁴ DJ Khaled, also known as Khaled bin Abdul Khaled, is an American record producer, radio personality and record label executive. He has collaborated with several artists to produce famous singles, including *Welcome to my Hood*, which he collaborated with the artists T-Pain, Plies, Ricki Ross, and Lil Wayne. His other well-known debuts include *Listen...the album* (2006). See <http://www.myspace.com/djkhaled>.

²⁵ T-Pain, also known as Faheem Rasheed Najim, is an American singer, songwriter, rapper, record producer and actor. His best-known singles include *Blame it*, which he collaborated with Jamie Foxx. Another single for which he received a Grammy award is titled *Good Life*, which he collaborated with Kanye West. See <https://www.t-pain.net> for more details.

It makes me think deeply where I come from, and not to forget my home, like a song by where I come from, for example, a song by T-Pain, *Welcome to my Hood*. The song inspires me a lot to think about my own home town, while I'm here in PE²⁶. It reminds me that "Oh, there is a place where I was born at, and I shouldn't forget about it". I should also bear in mind that there is a place called home, and I should be proud of it. (P1 contributing to P7's explanation of Drawing 2)

It is my contention that the participant's articulation of her sense of belonging through her involvement in the hip hop-related activities executed during this study is no coincidence. I believe that her ability to define her cultural and ethnic identity within a global cultural phenomenon such as hip hop provides her with a sense of security which affirms her sense of self. Consequently, I argue that hip hop stimulates critical engagement with the adolescent's sense of cultural and ethnic identity, which ultimately assists her to construct her personal identity.

4.4. HOW DID THE PARTICIPANTS CONSTRUCT AND ARTICULATE THEIR IDENTITIES?

Moje et al. (2009) regard "positioning" as an identity metaphor and a primary means by which subjects are produced and subjectivities are formed. Consequently, looking at narrative data in this metaphor entails acknowledging that subjectivities and identities are produced in and through not only activity and movement in and across spaces, but also in the ways people are cast into, or called to, particular positions in interaction, time, and spaces, and how they take up or resist these positions (Moje et al. 2009, 430). In this way, conceptualising identity as a metaphor requires one to move beyond the initial act of explaining, to specify how positions get taken up or are resisted, and *how* these positions translate into identities over time (ibid.). This claim is consistent with what Clandinin and Huber (2002, 161) call the "metaphoric narrative inquiry space", through which a researcher can begin to understand participants' stories as expressions of "the wholeness of their lives". (See section 3.3 of this dissertation). As I observed each participant as they made sense of their personal identity in the context of hip hop music, their constant personal repositioning in the meanings of the various hip hop texts became clear. This sense making was done in relation to their personal immediate and future lives, the people around them, and the different contexts that they found themselves in as individuals. Reading through the narrative data, I further noticed that the participants positioned themselves in various ways. This articulation of their personal identity

²⁶ The participant is referring to the city of Port Elizabeth in the Eastern Cape, South Africa.

was in line with what Søreide (2006, 534) refers to as “positive positioning” and “negative positioning”. In this study, “positive positioning” is characterised by identification with and recognition of particular aspects of hip hop. “Negative positioning”, on the other hand, is characterised by distancing, and opposing and rejecting certain aspects presented by hip hop. The various ways in which the participants of this study positioned themselves in the context of hip hop music will now be discussed.

4.4.1. Positive positioning of personal identity

The majority of the participants of this study indicated positive positioning of themselves in the context of hip hop music. This was evident through their identification with hip hop artists, or with certain messages presented by hip hop music. For instance, the participants identified strongly with songs that evoked positive emotions, such as happiness. They also identified with hip hop songs that helped them manage their stressful situations better or offered encouragement. As such, the participants adopted the expressive styles associated with the songs they listen to, such as dress and dance, to confirm or serve as the basis of their identity. The participants also identified with hip hop texts and used these to validate good values acquired elsewhere. By applying their moral reasoning capacities, some hip hop values, such as the dangers of using drugs and alcohol, the peril of promiscuity, the value of giving and caring for people in need, and the importance of working hard in school, became meaningful. It is my contention that, once these moral values are validated, they are assimilated into an individual’s sense of personal identity. It became clear that those participants who positioned themselves positively, by identifying with hip hop texts and meanings, expressed notions of self-awareness, self-acceptance, and belonging.

4.4.2. Negative positioning of personal identity

The participants also positioned themselves negatively in the context of the different meanings in hip hop music. The negative positioning in relation to various aspects of hip hop happened in relation to those values and morals learned from other sources of influence, such as those pertaining to how a woman should present herself in public, as well as those ideals that promoted the living of a life free from alcohol and substance abuse. Participants positioned themselves negatively by distancing, opposing, or rejecting certain aspects of hip hop. Such negative positioning was evident in statements such as “I am not like that” (P5), “I hate people who cheat” (P7), and “I would not want someone to treat me like that” (P2), as

well as in avoidance reactions coupled with feelings of guilt. In this regard, Participant 2 (P2) reported avoiding content in hip hop that represented women inappropriately.

In order to interpret and make sense of the participants' stories, it was paramount that I understand the various "positionings" during the process of personal identity construction. It is furthermore my belief that during my interpretation and discussion of these stories, I was also involved in a process of positioning, as I "positioned" my interpretations in relation to the key research question of this study. This positioning underpins my interpretation of the findings in this chapter. It also informs the conclusion that I drew from this study.

4.5. CONCLUSION OF THIS CHAPTER

The findings indicate that hip hop plays a significant role in the lives of the female late adolescents who participated in this study, who relate to hip hop music as if it were a Significant Other (Mead 1934).

Hip hop music is firstly seen to interact with the adolescents' emotions in a very direct and intense way. These interactions form the building blocks upon which mental processes that contribute to the construction of personal identity emerge. These interactions also stimulate mental processes that form the basis for the development of social attributes that contribute to the flourishing of the Self. In my opinion, emotions are energies through which hip hop largely contributes to the process of personal identity construction.

The cognitive abilities facilitated by hip hop, in its appeal to the emotions, prompt female late adolescents to think about and reflect on themselves and their behaviour towards others. As such, hip hop stimulates adolescents to think about various aspects of themselves. These aspects include their Self, their future, their friends and parents, and their success, to mention but a few. These aspects can be seen as building blocks in the construction of their personal identity.

The outcome of this study shows that the cognitive abilities facilitated by hip hop enable execution of the psychological and the social tasks of identity construction. The psychological tasks serve to satisfy the adolescent's increased need for autonomy and decision making. The study also revealed that hip hop contributes significantly to the development of complex mental abilities which underlie social behaviour. These include the development of mental abilities that support high-level moral reasoning and social cognition.

These mental abilities foster self-awareness and self-acceptance, which are a necessary precedent for the adolescent's ability to foster and establish meaningful intimate friendships and interpersonal relationships with peers and members of the opposite sex. These abilities also form the basis on which an adolescent can contribute to wider society, through awakening attributes such as the need to care for and help people in society.

The appeal to the emotions stimulated by hip hop music is also seen to facilitate contemplation about issues pertaining to an actual and a designated self-image. Hip hop prompts adolescents to think about matters related to self-improvement and excellence, by presenting models and high standards of life. Hip hop music does not merely condone female late adolescents' current state of life, but motivates them to work hard to attain the identity of a successful mature woman.

The study also reveals that hip hop music informs imagined gender and sexual identities, by raising awareness of gender and sex roles in society. This happens through the textual, musical and video content that stimulate the adolescent's engagement with questions related to her societal role as a female. Contemplation of these questions provoked by hip hop music further generates deliberation about society's approach to and treatment of women. Hip hop thus creates spaces where these issues can be challenged. The participants of this study embraced notions of femininity that called for empowerment, independence, and success by women. For instance, "ideal" behaviour of women is seen to include women uniting against discrimination by their male counterparts. It also implies the kind of behaviour that propels a woman towards self-empowerment through education, material success in life, and through realising her dreams and aspirations. In my opinion, the thoughts on "ideal" behaviour, as expressed by the female late adolescents involved in this study, can be viewed as an attempt to project an imagined personal identity. This imagined personal identity feeds into the construction of the adolescent's social identity. It is my opinion that through hip hop music, the female late adolescent is able to construct a gender identity that is liberated from established notions of gender, which have been marred by the domination and subordination of women.

The findings also show that hip hop music boosts the female late adolescent's self-esteem and self-image. Self-esteem and self-image are closely related both to general social adjustment and to the stability of the self-concept and personal identity (Coleman and Hendry

1990, 48). It is my contention that the mapping of experiences, such as positive emotions and feelings of invincibility, and freedom, to the sense of self in the context of engagement with hip hop music is key to an individual's need for self-esteem, as well as self-image. Therefore, the higher the self-esteem, the better adjusted an individual becomes, and, consequently, the more established her self-concept and identity becomes (Coleman 1979).

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION OF THIS STUDY

5.1. INTRODUCTION

This study set out to determine the contribution of hip hop music to the construction of the personal identity of the female late adolescent in South Africa. The purpose was not to establish *whether* hip hop music contributes to this process, but rather to establish what the *nature* of its contribution is to the personal identity construction of South African female late adolescents. In other words, I set out to ascertain and explain *how* hip hop contributes to the construction of personal identity among female late adolescents in South Africa. In order to find an answer to this primary research question, I employed rigorous data-generation strategies. With these, I endeavoured to provoke the participants' self-reflections and enhance their self-narratives in relation to their sense of self, in other words their personal identity in the context of hip hop music. The narratives that were subsequently generated reflected these views, and it was my task as researcher to interpret, analyse, and make meaning of these. I did this by applying my own understanding and interpretation, as informed by the data and the literature reviewed for this study.

5.2. ANSWERING THE RESEARCH QUESTION: HIP HOP'S CONTRIBUTION TO IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION DURING LATE ADOLESCENCE

The subquestions outlined in Chapter 1 served as guidelines during my interrogation. Firstly, I wanted to determine why the participants of this study identify with hip hop music, in other words, what is it in hip hop that attracts them? An answer to this question would indicate which elements of this genre resonate strongly with the participants. Secondly, I wanted to ascertain the *influence* of this engagement with hip hop on female late adolescents' developing sense of self. An answer to this question would also indicate *how* these late adolescents use this genre to make sense of themselves as they construct their personal identity.

5.2.1. Subquestion 1: *Why* do female late adolescents identify with hip hop?

In order to answer the core question of this study, I firstly needed to determine *why* the participants of the study identify with hip hop music. My observations during the research process, as well as my interpretation of the narrative data, revealed that the participants found meaning in all three core elements of hip hop, namely the lyrics, music instrumentation, and the performance itself. The resonance of these elements with the adolescents' sense of Self, however, varied among the participants. Some participants did, for example, relate more to the lyrics and performance components, and identified to a lesser degree with the musical component of hip hop. This became apparent in the higher frequency of references that they made to the lyrical and visual elements of hip hop songs. However, the musical preludes and rhythmic patterns of the music clearly appealed to most participants' aesthetic and kinaesthetic awareness, as they, for example, "invited them to dance".

The findings also revealed that the adolescents listen to hip hop for reasons such as emotional and stress management and purely for entertainment. They turn to hip hop to vent their frustrations which emanate from past and present experiences. It also became clear that hip hop serves as a substitute, a role model, and a sounding board, especially in cases where influential Significant Others, for instance parents, are absent.

5.2.2. Subquestion 2: What are the *influences* of female late adolescents' identification with hip hop on these adolescents' sense of self?

The outcomes of this study reveal that hip hop's influence and consequent contribution to the identity construction of female late adolescents can be conceptualised in two broad ways.

Firstly, hip hop stimulates emotions through its constituents, in other words the lyrics, musical content and visual components of hip hop performances. These constituents create spaces where the cognitive, behavioural and social tasks that inform the sense of Self originate. The findings of this study, for example, indicate a strong influence of the embodied themes, as communicated through the lyrics of hip hop songs, on the articulated identities of the participants. Paramount here was the application of the participants' reasoning capacities in the way they sorted and synthesised the hip hop texts presented to them. Hip hop music can thus be seen as contributing to the synthesis of these texts by stimulating reasoning processes in regard to how such texts relate to the participants' sense of identity.

Secondly, hip hop compels participants to think about their present and their future Selves. Hip hop's appeal to cognitive capacities thus facilitates reasoning that situates participants' sense of identity in the *interactional*, *situational* and *continual* dimensions of their lives.

The *interactional* dimension indicates a relationship between the personal and social elements of the adolescent's life. These elements inform each other in complex ways. In doing so, hip hop prompts the adolescent to think about her personal Self, in other words that part of herself that contains her feelings, emotions, hopes, values, and dreams that emanate during her engagement with hip hop, in relation to her social Self. Hip hop thus also stimulates reflection on the adolescent's social identity, in other words how she sees herself in her social role and in interpersonal relationships. Her social identity and personal identity are mutually connected, and these identities influence each other as they evolve. The *situational* dimension, as alluded to above, concerns itself with the notion of contexts, in other words how the adolescent thinks about herself in specific time and context, or in varied contexts at different times. For instance, hip hop prompts her to think about her current identity, for instance, as a student learner, as well as her future identity, for instance, as a graduate or as a director of a corporate company. These thoughts make reference to the adolescent's continual dimension of her sense of self. The *continual* dimension of the female late adolescent's reasoning draws from her past, her present, and her envisaged future. For instance, the adolescent's moral outlooks are seen to make reference to her past and her present value stances. These stances seem to inform what she might consider as good values in future. As such, her sense of moral identity, for example in relation to the values presented to her by hip hop, seems to draw from values that she acquired from Significant Others in the past. Through the reasoning facilitated by hip hop, she is able to recognise how such values have affected her in the present, and also how such values are likely to affect her in future in dealing with different moral situations at both the personal and the social levels.

Thirdly, the findings disclosed those channels through which the process of identity construction commences *in* and *through* the female late adolescent's engagement with hip hop. The term "*in*" here is used to refer to the female late adolescent's strong identification with the genre of hip hop due to her sense of belonging to a wider hip hop culture. This was evident in the participants' allusions to their sense of cohesion when they gathered as a group. Although they did not socialise with each other before, their joint identification

with hip hop brought about a sense of similarity of experience and, consequently, a sense of belonging. This influenced them to resemble the identity of the in-group by means of attributes such as fashion and hairstyle. Furthermore, their sense of identity *in* hip hop music enabled them to identify with characteristics of their favourite hip hop artists. This provided a sense of belonging to a wider group of people that identified with hip hop music. One can thus argue that the “*in*” channel assists with the construction of the female late adolescent’s social Self, as she comes to see herself as an insider, in other words as a member of a particular group which has specific identifiable attributes.

The “*through*” channel refers to the female late adolescent’s engagement with the respective elements of hip hop as separate entities. It also relates to her holistic experience of all the components of hip hop as a collective entity, in other words how she engages with a hip hop performance as a whole before separating it into its constituent elements. The findings revealed that the participants identified both with hip hop’s individual elements as separate components, as well as with hip hop as a collective genre.

One can thus argue that hip hop’s contribution to the female late adolescent’s construction of her personal identity happens when she unpacks and integrates the range of meanings availed to her by the different constituents of hip hop. In this view, hip hop is seen to contribute to her identity construction process through stimulating the kind of reasoning that enhances her self-understanding and self-acceptance. These reasoning processes are significant for her identity construction process, as they promote self-knowledge. They also provide those essential identity capitals required to resolve her identity crises associated with her childhood as well as in construction and consolidation of identity associated with the adolescence phase of development as she proceeds to adulthood. (See Erikson’s (1968) Eight Stage Identity Development Model, as discussed in Chapter 2 of this dissertation). Identity capital in this context is understood as the already established identity characteristics acquired during a successful resolution of childhood identity crisis’s with which an adolescent enters the adolescence period with. Identity capital also refers to the established identity characteristics that a late female adolescent enters adulthood with.

The findings reveal that hip hop creates familiar contexts that often resonate with the participant’s personal situation. These familiar contexts are encapsulated in hip hop’s lyrics and musical and performance components, and are experienced and identified in relation to

the specific contexts of the female late adolescent. For instance, lyrics that depict a painful experience and subsequent resilience on the part of the person being sung about in the lyrics may resonate with an adolescent who has undergone a similar experience. As such, the lyrics serve to inform her responses to such pain. This was evidenced in responses by the participants, such as “the music heals me”. It was, however, clear that the participants first interrogated and assessed these familiar situations embodied by hip hop as either positively or negatively. They applied their reasoning and did not integrate these situations into their personal identities in an uncritical manner. Consequently, some participants distanced themselves from lyrical texts that they regarded as insulting to parents, or that contained “inappropriate stuff”. In other words, they expressed reservations about hip hop texts that contradicted the values they had acquired from other significant influences, such as their parents.

The above leads me to argue that hip hop provides spaces where the female late adolescent can interrogate herself in order to deepen her self-understanding and her sense of self. It also provides a range of identity alternatives which she can explore, in addition to those available to her, before she commits to any identity alternatives and assimilates these into her sense of self. Hip hop thus serves as a laboratory where adolescents can experiment with various identities, not only those provoked by hip hop itself, but also those acquired from other identity-informing contexts, such as parents and peers. In and through hip hop, the adolescent can thus first evaluate identity alternatives presented to her in terms of how they resonate with her sense of self, before deciding to assimilate these into her personal identity.

However, parental influences were seen to be a stronger influence on the adolescent’s sense of identity, as most adolescents involved in this study constantly made reference to their parents in their articulation of their identity positioning in the context of hip hop. Nevertheless, those participants who communicated to have had no parental role models while growing up indicated that they relied on hip hop music and also hip hop personalities as role models for themselves. The significance of other forms of sounding boards available to the adolescents, namely peers and youth organisations, in becoming sounding boards of values obtained from hip hop music is also acknowledged.

5.3. IMPLICATIONS OF THE ANSWER(S) TO THE RESEARCH QUESTION

It is my contention that this study contributes to scholarship on the relationship between specific music genres and identity. By focusing on the contribution of hip hop to the construction of personal identity among female late adolescents, I managed to illuminate underlying processes at play when a particular music genre influences such construction. These processes include the active role of the emotions, as they stimulate the cognitive processes required for this construction process. The findings have particular implications, not only for our understanding of the relationship between a music genre and identity construction, but also for education and educational research in South Africa.

5.3.1. Implications for the female late adolescent as she constructs her personal identity

From the above it is clear that young people do not engage with hip hop as unreasoning beings. They do not absorb everything that is presented to them in and through hip hop in an uncritical manner. Their engagement with this genre involves the application of thought. The female late adolescent engages with the meanings embodied in hip hop and modifies these through an interpretative process, before integrating selected meanings into her own sense of self. Thereafter, she selects, regroups, suspends, and transforms these meanings in the light of the situations in which she is placed and the direction of her action.

It also became clear that hip hop's contribution to the female late adolescent's identity construction does not happen in isolation of other identity influences that she has access to. These include parents, religious leaders, and peers, among others. These influences affect the way she integrates and synthesises the various meanings presented by hip hop into her sense of self.

Therefore, hip hop music is an important resource in the process of identity construction among female late adolescents. As such, hip hop acts as a worthwhile external resource that assists the female late adolescent to construct an identity that enables her to adjust well in terms of both her personal and interpersonal capacity.

5.3.2. Implications for education in South Africa

This study provides empirical evidence in that the female late adolescents' narratives disconfirm the public notion that hip hop has a bad influence on young people. These

narratives provided testimonies that reveal the communicative capacities of hip hop music, which are embedded in the lyrical, musical and performance components of this genre of music. These communicative abilities are significant for the process of identity construction during adolescence, which co-occurs with the last phase of formal schooling and the first years of post-school education.

In the classroom situation, hip hop's appeal to the individual's emotions, as revealed through this study, can be used to assist young people to manage and stabilise their heightened emotionality, which is associated with adolescence. Gouws et al. (2008) admit that emotional upheavals associated with adolescence often challenge the teacher-learner relationship, and may consequently affect the self-concept of the learner, if it is not well managed. In order to deal with such emotionality, the educator must be knowledgeable about its manifestation. She requires certain skills to handle these emotions with sensitivity.

Hence, it is my belief that hip hop can play a significant role in secondary and post-school classrooms. Apart from addressing certain emotional needs of female late adolescents, hip hop encounters can also create spaces for emotional consolidation, a significant building block during the establishment of identity. As such, hip hop can open avenues in schools and post-school settings where adolescents can form interpersonal relationships. These avenues will enable them to verbalise emotions and to understand and accept themselves and their fellow learners.

Further research that aims to develop models that mainstream hip hop into existing curricula, and which can be used by educators and learners across all levels of teaching and learning, is thus recommended.

5.3.3. Implications for educational research

This study also contributed to the strengthening of educational research in South Africa. Although substantial research studies that use participatory approaches have recently been employed in South Africa (Mitchell 2011; Mitchell and Allnutt 2008; De Lange, Mitchell and Stuart 2007), I believe that this study confirms the generative potential of participatory research. It is thus my contention that participatory research approaches and hip hop are of particular significance in a transforming South African society, where female adolescents are

still challenged by several social problems, for example, the (dis)empowerment of the girl child, sexuality, HIV/Aids, abortion, teenage pregnancy, and prolonged racism.

This study revealed, in particular, the potential of hip hop to provoke active participation of research subjects in order to address personal and social issues. It was clear that, due to its inherent communicative capacities, hip hop music stimulated the participants to engage with aspects of their emerging personal identity that might not have been discovered in other research contexts. Therefore, the use of hip hop music in research can be profitable in action research that aims to raise awareness among women about their condition in male-dominated societies, particularly in matters relating to gender and sexuality in the face of HIV and Aids, abortion, and early marriages. In doing so, the use of hip hop will be affording women the opportunity to think, challenge, and seek potential ways of transforming these conditions, as well as the societies in which they live.

It is thus my contention that if hip hop music is employed in participatory research approaches that seek to emancipate young females; it is likely to achieve its aim. I believe that this study shows that such a combination stimulates the participants to think about their conditions and to develop solutions to deal with their crises.

With regard to research studies that are geared towards improving race relations and eradicating xenophobic tendencies, this study also proves that hip hop music has the potential to cultivate harmony among adolescents of different races and ethnic backgrounds. I base my argument on the participants' stories which revealed that hip hop enabled them to socialise freely with all people, regardless of socio-economic background and racial or ethnic differences.

This study calls for a departure from conventional research methodologies grounded in qualitative and quantitative data-collection techniques which aim merely to describe social phenomena. It is my contention that research in the social sciences and the humanities needs to embrace participatory research approaches that seek not only to humanise the participants' involvement during the research process, but also to empower them towards transforming their own lives and bringing about change. In this study, the application of participatory data-generating techniques enhanced participation. It also facilitated coherence of thought during the narration of the participants' ideas. These participatory strategies allowed the participants

to communicate and articulate those aspects of their identities that they would not have been able to articulate by means of other conventional strategies such as interviews or questionnaires.

5.4. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The fact that this study was conducted for doctoral purposes implied that it limited itself in terms of space, resources, and time. As a result, it cannot be viewed as an end in itself, but rather as a study that has opened up numerous possibilities for future research. The research strategies used in this study also revealed possibilities for future research that can contribute to much-needed literature on the contribution of other music genres, such as reggae, jazz, and rhythm and blues, to the construction of personal identity among female late adolescents. Although the link between music and identity has been confirmed through research, permutations of the unique contribution of music to identity construction as associated with gender differences, membership of a distinct culture, and the contexts that adolescents find themselves in, are worthy of more in-depth academic attention.

It is also my belief that there is still a dire need to empower the girl child on the African continent. Therefore, intensive participatory research that seeks to empower the girl child through hip hop is necessary. Research studies aimed at generating programmes that seek to empower the girl child need to be conceived and implemented. Longitudinal studies should also be conducted to determine the outcome for the adult female of the self-knowledge and self-empowerment which was enabled by earlier engagement with hip hop during adolescence.

I would also recommend comprehensive research that seeks to thoroughly investigate the notion of hip hop and emotion through the lens of Nussbaum's (2001) Neo-Stoic Theory. This theory sees emotions as powerful driving forces that stimulate our reasoning, influence our judgement, and hence underlie the psychological and social well-being of a human being. Although Nussbaum provides a full philosophical account of the link between music and emotion, she does this from a Eurocentric and classical music perspective. More in-depth research into the link between emotions and other music genres and traditions is needed. These studies should also include ethnographic and psychosocial research approaches.

5.5. FINAL CONCLUSION

This study was guided by the research question *How does hip hop music contribute to the construction of the personal identity of female late adolescents in South Africa?* By approaching this question from a qualitative perspective, I was able to examine the nature of identity construction among female late adolescents in the context of hip hop music. The qualitative approach enabled me to employ participatory research methodologies, which included narrative inquiry, drawings, and lyric inquiry. These strategies generated data that highlighted the subjective nature of the female late adolescent's engagement with hip hop music as she uses this resource during the construction of her personal identity.

This study revealed that hip hop music does indeed contribute to the construction of the female late adolescent's personal identity. This contribution is characterised by its appeal to the emotional and cognitive well-being of the individual, which translates into the emergence of socially and behaviourally oriented identities. It became evident that hip hop engages with adolescents' emotions and stimulates them to think about themselves and others, as well as about their present and future identities. It also became evident that such thoughts facilitate adolescents to think about what they and other people in their social circles need to do to attain the future identities that they visualise for themselves.

The study also attempted to answer the research question by examining the metaphorical positioning of the female late adolescent as she makes sense of herself and articulates this in the context of hip hop. It appeared that, while performing these tasks, she considers her situational, continual and interactional dimensions. These dimensions are reciprocally intertwined and affect each other. While making sense of herself in the context of hip hop, she also positions herself in relation to the research media she engaged with (the drawings and the lyrical texts), to articulate her sense of self to others. Consequently, in order for me, as the researcher, to interpret and understand the participants' articulated stories of Self, I also had to position myself metaphorically.

In the light of the above, it is my contention that this study contributes meaningfully to current efforts by educational institutions to transform societies and humanise pedagogy. These endeavours can be enhanced significantly through the application of the methodologies employed in this study. They can also be enhanced by using hip hop music in teaching, learning, and research strategies. Educational researchers, policy makers, and other

interventionists focusing on issues pertaining to dilemmas faced by female youth can take cognisance of the findings, conclusions, significance, and recommendations of this study, as these will ultimately contribute to the empowerment and transformation of young female South Africans.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: SAMPLE QUESTIONNAIRE

Name: _____

Cell: _____

Email: _____

Programme: Foundation _____

Intermediate Senior _____

FET

Age :

17 and below ☐

18 to 22 years ☐

23 and above ☐

Do you love listening to hip hop music? Yes ☐ No ☐

If you answered YES in the question above, please list your FIVE most favourite hip hop artists/DJs in order of preference.

APPENDIX 2: SONG LYRICS

Appendix 2A: Christina Aguilera and Lil' Kim: You can't hold us down

Verse 1

So what am I not supposed to have an opinion? Should I be quiet just because I'm a woman? Call me a bitch cos I speak what's on my mind. Guess it's easier for you to swallow if I sat and smiled
When a female fires back suddenly big talker don't know how to act so he does what any little boy will do. Making up a few false rumours or two. That for sure is not a man to me slanderin' names for popularity. It's sad you only get your fame through controversy but now it's time for me to come and give you more to say

Chorus:

This is for my girls all around the world who've come across a man who don't respect your worth. Thinking all women should be seen, not heard so what do we do girls? Shout out loud! Letting them know we're gonna stand our ground. Lift your hands high and wave them proud. Take a deep breath and say it loud. Never can, never will, can't hold us down
Nobody can hold us down. Nobody can hold us down Nobody can hold us down Never can, never will

Verse 2

So what am I not supposed to say what I'm saying Are you offended by the message I'm bringing. Call me whatever cos your words don't mean a thing. Guess you ain't even a man enough to handle what I sing, if you look back in history it's a common double standard of society. The guy gets all the glory the more he can score while the girl can do the same and yet you call her a **whore**.

I don't understand why it's okay. The guy can get away with it and the girl gets named. All my ladies come together and make a change. Start a new beginning for us everybody sing.

[Chorus] [Lil' Kim:]

Check it - Here's something I just can't understand. If the guy have three girls then he's the man. He can either give us some head, sex her off. **If the girl do the same, then she's a whore but the table's about to turn**. I'll bet my fame on it cats take my ideas and put their name on it It's alright though, you can't hold me down I got to keep on movin' .To all my girls with a man who be tryin to mack. Do it right back to him and let that be that. You need to let him know that his game is whack and Lil' Kim and Christina Aguilera got your back.

But you're just a little boy. Think you're so cute, so coy you must talk so big to make up for smaller things so you're just a little boy. All you'll do is annoy .You must talk so big to make up for smaller things.

Appendix 2B: Ciara featuring Ludacris : Ride

Uh-huh

[Intro]

Catch me in the mall, You know I buy it out.G5 planes, yeah I fly it out
Nig** in the back look like lex.

In them 28's and, Oh you can't get her if ain't got plenty cake ,ATL
Gerogia..bodies. Look like this size, 23 waist, pretty face,thick thighs.

[Ciara]

I can do it big I can do it long, I can do whenever or however you want, I can
do it up and down, I can do circles, to him I'm a gymnast, this one is my
circus, I market it so good they can't wait to try I I I I Me e e a a I work it so
good, Man, these niggas tryna buy I I I I me.

They love they way I ride it (x3) They love the way I ride the beat. How I
ride the beat, I ride it. They love they way I ride it (x3) They love the way I
ride the beat. Like a motherfu**g freak.

And I won't stop, don't stop. Get it! Get it! Imma pitch down the middle
Baby hit it! hit it!

I do it tonight handle my business, like a big girl should. 1 o'clock, 2
o'clock, 2 o'clock, 4.... 5 o'clock, 6 o'clock, Baby give me more. Pick me up,
pick me up. You are my Ducati, I'm all up your frame

Baby say my name. Show you how get ummm, show you how to do it. Left
hip, right hip. Put your back into it ohhhh.

I market it so good they can't wait to try I I I I Me e e a a I work it so good.
Man, these niggas tryna buy I I I I me. He love they way I ride it (x3).He
love the way I ride the beat Ride ride the beat, I ride it.

He love they way I ride it (x2) He love the way I ride the beat. Like a
motherfu**g freak.

[Ludacris]

She ride ir like a rollercoaster. Soon as I get her to the top she screams. I put
her out like a light, She'll be out for the night.When her head hit the pillows
sweet dreams.

Waker her up about 30mins later, Calling me the terminator, let's go again.
Red zone, imma get her first down Call me Luda true. Breeze I throw it in.
Touch down, he scores, Ludacris the MVP.

With a rack like that and a back like that Cici better CC me. Cause them legs
just keep on going so I gotta put her to bed. Let the 808 bump, and the go
bunk cause she ride it like a....

He love they way I ride it (x3) He love the way I ride the beat. Like a
motherfu**g freak Ohh baby baby baby.

Do me like you up when I'm up When I'm done, when I'm done. Ohh baby
baby baby You can stand to look away when I'm swirling this around.

Oh baby bay you like it Once it get up and down. Oh baby he love it when I
twirl this thing around.

He love they way I ride it (x3) He love the way I ride the beat. Like a
motherfu**ng freak.

Appendix 2C: Eminem: Mockingbird

Yeah I know sometimes things may not always make sense to you right now but hey, what daddy always tell you? Straighten up little soldier Stiffen up that upper lip what you crying about? You got me

Hailie I know you miss your mom and I know you miss your dad. Well I'm gone but I'm trying to give you the life that I never had I can see you're sad, even when you smile, even when you laugh I can see it in your eyes, deep inside you want to cry Cause you're scared, I ain't there? Daddy's with you in your prayers. No more crying, wipe them tears Daddy's here, no more nightmares. We gon' pull together through it, we gon' do it Laney uncles crazy, ain't he? Yeah but he loves you girl and you better know it. We're all we got in this world When it spins, when it swirls. When it whirls, when it twirls Two little beautiful girls Lookin' puzzled, in a daze I know it's confusing you. Daddy's always on the move, mamma's always on the news I try to keep you sheltered from it but somehow it seems. The harder that I try to do that, the more it backfires on me. All the things growing up his daddy that he had to see. Daddy don't want you to see but you see just as much as he did We did not plan it to be this way, your mother and me but things have gotten so bad between us I don't see us ever being together ever again. Like we used to be when we were teenagers but then of course everything always happens for a reason I guess it was never meant to be but it's just something we have no control over and that's what destiny is but no more worries, rest your head and go to sleep. Maybe one day we'll wake up and this will all just be a dream.

[Chorus]

Now hush little baby, don't you cry everything's gonna be alright. Stiffen that upper lip up little lady, I told ya Daddy's here to hold ya through the night I know mommy's not here right now and we don't know why. We feel how we feel inside It may seem a little crazy, pretty baby But I promise momma's gon' be alright

[verse two]

It's funny I remember back one year when daddy had no money Mommy wrapped the Christmas presents up And stuck 'em under the tree and said some of 'em were from me

Cause daddy couldn't buy 'em I'll never forget that Christmas I sat up the whole night crying Cause daddy felt like a bum, see daddy had a job but his job was to keep the food on the table for you and mom and at the time every house that we lived in either kept getting broken into and robbed Or shot up on the block and your mom was saving money for you in a jar tryna start a piggy bank for you so you could go to college. Almost had a thousand dollars till someone broke in and stole it and I know it hurt so bad it broke your momma's heart and it seemed like everything was just startin' to fall apart Mom and dad was arguin' a lot so momma moved back on the Chalmers in the flat one bedroom apartment and dad moved back to the other side of 8 Mile on Novara And that's when daddy went to California with his CD and met Dr. Dre And flew you and momma out to see me but daddy had to work, you and momma had to leave me then you started seeing daddy on the T.V. and momma didn't like it and you and Laney were too young to understand it. Papa was a rollin' stone, momma developed a habit and it all happened too fast for either one of us to grab it I'm just sorry you were

there and had to witness it firsthand cause all I ever wanted to do was just make you proud. Now I'm sitting in this empty house, just reminiscing. Lookin' at your baby pictures, it just trips me out to see how much you both have grown, it's almost like you're sisters now. Wow, guess you pretty much are and daddy's still here Laney I'm talkin' to you too, daddy's still here I like the sound of that, yeah It's got a ring to it don't it? Shh, momma's only gone for the moment

[Chorus]

And if you ask me too Daddy's gonna buy you a mockingbird. I'mma give you the world. I'mma buy a diamond ring for you. I'mma sing for you I'll do anything for you to see you smile and if that mockingbird don't sing and that ring don't shine I'mma break that birdies neck I'll go back to the jeweler who sold it to ya and make him eat every carat don't fuck with dad (haha)

Appendix 2D: Jozi: Gotta keep it going

Gotta keep it going (3x) Gotta, gotta, keep it going

Chorus

This is for my people hustling on the corner out of breath, running, chasing that paper, for my people on the grind, on 9 that 5 working hard every day, just to stay alive.

Verse 1

So many different faces, so many different ages so many different phases, so many different places so many different cries, too many different mind.s There's so much to see, we're looking through us in a different eye. So many people struggle, so many people hustle, so many people flossing, but they ain't seeing nothing. So many people walking, like they looking for something. So many different people talking, but they ain't talking for nothing. It don't matter where you're from, but only where you're going 'cos only where you going, can determine where you're from and I know that when we going, if it wasn't for where we from we probably wouldn't be growing, or shining like the sun.

Verse 2

Woke up this early morning, thinking about the grind. How we gon stay ahead, can't afford to fall behind My mama always told me, when I was a little child. You gotta keep it going, son, so get off your big behind. Keep it going, even though you know you've had enough 'Cos you'll never know what's easy, until you've had it tough I guess in life, you have to keep it short, just to make it longer And what doesn't kill you, will only make you stronger. When the going is tough, you gotta keep pushing. Let no one bring you down, only you know what you doing. The motherland has spoken, it's up to you to teach so we can make a difference, and we can live in peace. I like the finest things in life, I want the finest chic by my side, got a shot-gun in my ride, my ride.

Appendix 2E: Keri Hilson and T.I: I got your back boy

I got your back boy. We were high. We were low but I promise I will never let you go. Said I got I got I got I got your back boy I got I got I got I got your back boy (I know you got my back right). Keep my swagger. Keep it looking good for ya. Keep it looking hood for ya, Shawty if you don't know I got I got I got I got your back boy.

[T.I. Verse 1]

Hey it's whatever shawty You aint gotta ask Yes Valentino blouses, summer houses, cash, check! You can get it you deserve it, flawless diamonds, Louie purses, My mission's to purchase Earth for her Present the gifts without the curse Her pleasure is my purpose Pleasure to be at your service Front row at fashion shows as well as Sunday morning service but better days or for worse If I'm paid I'm hurting in my pocket. She still got a nigga back that's for sure. No matter what may occur in life. Every day with her is like a plus I'mma love her til she be like that's enough. Pop a bottle get a couple wine glasses fill em up and lift em up. Let us toast to the future here's to us no, here's to her.

[Keri Hilson - Bridge]

They wonder how we do what we do Panamera Porsches me and you step to your side. Be by your side whatever your gonna do.

[Chorus]

I got your back boy We were high We were low But I promise I will never let you go Said I got I got I got I got your back boy I got I got I got I got your back boy (I know you got my back right) Keep my swagger Keep it looking good for ya Keep it looking hood for ya Shawty if you don't know I got I got I got I got your back boy

[T.I. Verse 2]

This is for the women who man caught a sentence who gonna be there for a minute but they didn't keep their distance they stayed home waiting on the phone

And on visit day show up looking good smelling better, playing kissy face. Just wanna let you know we appreciate everything you do for us on a day to day and I know we don't show you all the time but we lucky that you ours. No bouquet of flowers could ever show how much we know we need you. We do all that's in our power just to please you. See boo, fuck them girls I would leave the world 'fore I leave you May God say even now

[Bridge]

They wonder how we do what we do Panamera Porsches me and you step to your side. Be by your side whatever your gonna do.

[Chorus]

I got your back boy. We were high, we were low But I promise I will never let you go Said I got I got I got I got your back boy I got I got I got I got your back boy (I know you got my back right). Keep my swagger Keep it looking good for ya. Keep it looking hood for ya Shawty if you don't know I got I got I got I got your back boy.

[T.I. Verse 3]

Sure enough even though them chicks be hating on us still I'm gonna keep her by my side. In whatever situation we gon ride. Make all my fantasies come alive That's no lie now I'll be, as long as your gon be beside me 10 million dollar mansions won't suffice if you aint gon be in there with me at night. The pieces to my puzzle's in my life. With all of my good days and all of my bad. You stood by your man and you know you got my back. Worth every car. every bag with me they wanna be that I know what I got at home I aint never gon leave that. Them bitches best believe that.

[Chorus]

I got your back boy. We were high, we were low but I promise I will never let you go. Said I got I got I got I got your back boy I got I got I got I got your back boy (I know you got my back right). Keep my swagger Keep it looking good for ya. Keep it looking hood for ya Shawty if you don't know I got I got I got I got your back boy.

Appendix 2F: Keri Hilson: Pretty girl rock

I can do the pretty girl rock rock rock rock. Do the pretty girl rock rock rock.
Now what's your name?

My name is Keri, I'm so very fly oh my it's a little bit scary.

Boys wanna marry looking at my derri- erre, you can stare but if you touch
it I'ma bury.

Pretty as a picture. Sweeter than a swisher. Mad cause I'm cuter than the girl
that's witcha. I don't gotta talk about it baby you can see it but if you want I'll
be happy to repeat it.

My name is Keri, I'm so very fly oh my it's a little bit scary. Boys wanna
marry looking at my derri- erre, you can stare but if you touch it I'ma bury.

Pretty as a picture. Sweeter than a swisher. Mad cause I'm cuter than the girl
that's witcha. I can talk about it cause I know that I'm pretty and if you know
it too then ladies sing it with me.

All eyes on me when I walk in, No question that this girl's a 10 Don't hate
me cause I'm beautiful. Don't hate me cause I'm beautiful. My walk, my talk
the way I dress It's not my fault so please don't trip. Don't hate me cause I'm
beautiful. Don't hate me cause I'm beautiful.

Aye, now do the pretty girl rock rock rock. Do the pretty girl rock rock rock.
Do the pretty girl rock rock All my ladies do the pretty girl rock rock rock.
Do the pretty girl rock rock rock. Do the pretty girl rock rock rock?
Do the pretty girl rock?

Now where you at?

f you're looking for me you can catch me (pass by) Cameras flashing Bet he
turned his head just as soon as I passed him. Girls think I'm conceited cause I
know I'm attractive. Don't worry about what I think, why don't you ask him?

Get yourself together don't hate (never do it), jealousy is the ugliest trait
(don't ever do it). I can talk about it cause I know that I'm pretty and if you
know it too then ladies sing it with me.

All eyes on me when I walk in. No question that this girl's a 10. Don't hate
me cause I'm beautiful. Don't hate me cause I'm beautiful. My walk, my talk
the way I dress. It's not my fault so please don't trip. Don't hate me cause I'm
beautiful. Don't hate me cause I'm beautiful.

Doing the pretty girl rock rock rock. Do the pretty girl rock rock rock. Do
the pretty girl rock rock rock. Do the pretty girl rock rock. All my ladies do
the pretty girl rock rock. Get low witcha pretty girl rock rock. Steal the show
witcha pretty girl rock rock All my ladies do the pretty girl rock rock. Sing it
with me now.

All eyes on me when I walk in, No question that this girl's a 10. Don't hate
me cause I'm beautiful. Don't hate me cause I'm beautiful. My walk my talk
the way I dress It's not my fault so please don't trip. Don't hate me cause I'm
beautiful Don't hate me cause I'm beautiful [x2].

Appendix 2G: Rihanna, Kanye West: Run This Town

[Intro - Rihanna]

Feel it comin' in the air Hear the screams from everywhere I'm addicted to the thrill It's a dangerous love affair Can't be scared when it goes down Got a problem, tell me now Only thing that's on my mind Is who's gonna run this town tonight... Is who's gonna run this town tonight... We gonna run this town

[Verse 1 - Jay-Z]

We are Yeah I said it We are This is Roc Nation Pledge your allegiance Get y'all black tees on All black everything Black cards, black cars All black everything And our girls are blackbirds Ridin' with the dillingers. I'd get more in depth If you boys really real enough. This is la familia I'll explain later but for now let me get back to this paper I'm a couple bands down and I'm tryin' to get back I gave Doug a grip, I lost a flip for five stacks Yeah I'm talkin' five comma six zeros dot zero Here it go... Back to runnin' circles 'round niggas Now we squared up Hold up.

[Chorus - Rihanna]

Life's a game but it's not fair I break the rules so I don't care so I keep doin' my own thing. Walkin' tall against the rain victory's within the mile almost there, don't give up now. Only thing that's on my mind is who's gonna run this town tonight. Hey-hey-hey- hey-hey-hey Hey-hey-hey-hey-hey Hey-hey-hey-hey-hey-hey (Is who's gonna run this town tonight) Hey-hey-hey-hey.

[Verse 2 - Jay-Z]

We are Yeah. I said it We are. You can call me Cesar In a dark Czar. Please follow the leader So Eric B. We are Microphone friend It's the return of the god Peace god... (Auh! Auh!) And ain't nobody fresher I'm in Mason (Ah!) Martin Margiela On the tape we're screamin' Fuck the other side, they jealous. We got a banquette full the broads They got a table full of fellas... And they ain't spending no cake. They should throw they hand in 'cause they ain't got no spades... My whole team got dough so my banquette is lookin' like Millionaire's Row.

[Chorus - Rihanna]

Life's a game but it's not fair I break the rules so I don't care so I keep doin' my own thing. Walkin' tall against the rain victory's within the mile. Almost there, don't give up now. Only thing that's on my mind is who's gonna run this town tonight. Hey-hey-hey- hey-hey-hey Hey-hey-hey-hey-hey Hey-hey-hey-hey-hey-hey (Is who's gonna run this town tonight) Hey-hey-hey-hey

[Verse 3 - Kanye West]

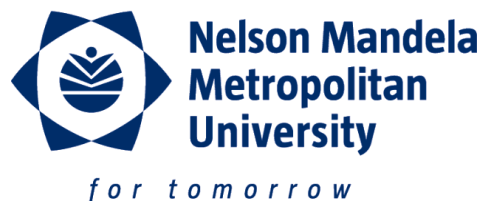
It's crazy how you can go from being Joe Blow to everybody on your dick, no homo I bought my whole family whips, no Volvos next time I'm in church, please no photos police escorts. Everybody passports this the life that everybody ask for. This a fast life we are on a crash course what you think I rap for, to push a fucking Rav 4? But I know that if I stay stunting all these girls only gonna want one thing I could spend my whole life good will hunting. Only good gon' come is as good when I'm cumming. She got a ass that'll swallow up a g-string And up top, unh... Two bee stings And I'm beasting Off the riesling And my nigga just made it out the precinct. We give a damn about the drama that you do bring I'm just tryin' to change the color on your mood ring Reebok. Baby You need to drop some new things. Have

you ever had shoes without shoe strings? What's that 'Ye? Baby, these heels.
Is that a man? What?! Baby, these wheels you trippin' when you ain't sippin'.
Have a refill you feelin' like you runnin', huh? Now you know how we feel.

[Outro - Rihanna]
We gonna run this town tonight!

[Outro - Jay-Z]
Wassup!

APPENDIX 3: ETHICS CLEARANCE



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18 April 2011
Ms P N Gitonga / Prof A Delport
Education Faculty
NMMU

Dear Ms Gitonga / Prof Delport

THE CONTRIBUTION OF HIP HOP TO THE PERSONAL IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION OF SOUTH AFRICAN FEMALE LATE ADOLESCENTS

Your above-entitled application for ethics approval was approved via round-robin by the Faculty Research, Technology and Innovation Committee of Education (ERTIC) on 15 April 2011.

We take pleasure in informing you that the application was approved by the Committee.
The ethics clearance reference number is **H11-Edu-ERE-017**.

We wish you well with the project. Please inform your co-investigators of the outcome, and convey our best wishes.

Yours sincerely

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "J Elliott-Gentry", is written over a horizontal line.

Ms J Elliott-Gentry
Secretary: ERTIC

APPENDIX 4: LANGUAGE DECLARATION

LANGUAGE DECLARATION

I, Anthony Sparg, language practitioner, have undertaken the editing of the PhD thesis by Priscilla Gitonga titled “The contribution of hip hop to the personal identity construction of South African female late adolescents”.



.....
Anthony Sparg

14 March 2012