Adolescents' Experiences of Stereotypes during Identity Development

by

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Dissertation submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree Magister Artium in Psychology

University of the Free State

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DECLARATION

I, Elizabeth Cornelia Lombaard, hereby declare that this study, ***Adolescents' experience of stereotypes during identity development***, submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree Magister Artium in Psychology at the University of the Free State, is my own, original work. I have not submitted any part of this study to any other university to obtain a degree, and all sources used for this study are recognised in the reference list. I further concede copyright of the thesis to the University of the Free State, and all royalties with regard to intellectual property that was developed during the course of and/or in connection with the study at the University of the Free State will accrue to the University. This research may be published only with the dean's approval.

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With this I provide permission that this dissertation be submitted for examination.

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"Because there's nothing more beautiful than the way the ocean refuses to stop kissing the shoreline, no matter how many times it's sent away"

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Sometimes the smallest step in the right direction ends up being the biggest step of your life.
Tiptoe if you must, but take the step!
- Alison Malmon -

SUMMARY

In this study, adolescents' experience of stereotypes during identity development was investigated. During Apartheid South Africa, people were grouped in certain areas according to their racial features. Previous research focused solely on the experiences of white groups. Identity development theories are based on research done primarily on white samples and thus this study focused on black groups. Identity is formed internally through external experiences. Considering the adverse circumstances in which various South African adolescents live, it is essential to consider their identity development process and the factors contributing to it. Since adolescents try out new roles in different groups during their search for an identity, it is clear that it is of importance to investigate how the individuals in the groups experience the stereotypes attached to various groups.

Literature regarding identity and stereotypes was utilised to conceptualise these concepts. Thus, this research study was done from a developmental and social psychology perspective. Identity as it develops in the adolescent's life phases was viewed within developmental psychology. Stereotypes and stereotyping were investigated from a social psychology perspective, as they are learnt and reinforced socially.

A qualitative framework was chosen to give the individuals experiencing these stereotypes a voice. A case study design was used, and focus group sessions were held to discuss group members' experiences of identity formation and stereotyping in their lives openly. Seventy-three participants participated in this study and were identified by means of a non-probability sampling method, namely purposive sampling. Data were analysed and interpreted by means of thematic analyses, and various themes and subthemes arose from these data sets.

The findings of the study correspond with findings of previous research studies in the same area of interest. Yet, doing this study also made various contributions. This includes that an identity is something internal (traits) and external (social) that should be considered in a three-dimensional time perspective, as the past, present and future are important to who the individual is. Stereotypes are viewed as genetic, learnt, and cognitive shortcuts to simplify the world based on the observable and can be experienced both negatively and positively as a motivation for uniqueness. Resisting conformation is an adaptive response to stereotyping, and the self-fulfilling prophecy can be counteracted if opposition to the expectation is present. It was found that individuals do have a need to stop stereotyping even though they resist

conforming, and social acceptance is seen as both a reward striven for and a restriction that limits opportunities, roles and choices. Furthermore, the environment and neighbourhood in which stereotyping takes place and where individuals find themselves is of immense importance. All these factors contribute to stereotyping and the reaction to stereotyping, whether positive or negative, determines the identity that is formed within the individual.

Keywords: identity, identity development, stereotype, adolescents, experiences of stereotypes

SAMEVATTING

In hierdie studie is swart adolessente se ervaring van stereotipes gedurende identiteitsonwikkeling ondersoek. Gedurende Apartheid Suid-Afrika is mense in sekere gebiede volgens hulle ras-kenmerke gegroepeer. Vorige navorsing het slegs op die ervaring van blanke groepe gefokus. Identiteitsontwikkeling-teorieë is primêr gebaseer op navorsing wat in blanke steekproewe gedoen is. Identiteit word intern deur eksterne ervarings gevorm. In ag genome die ongunstige omstandighede waarin swart Suid-Afrikaanse adolessente leef, is dit belangrik om hulle identiteitsontwikkeling-proses en die faktore wat daartoe bydra, in aanmerking te neem. Omdat adolessente nuwe rolle in verskillende groepe gedurende hulle soeke na ŉ identiteit op die proef stel, is dit duidelik dat dit van belang is om te ondersoek hoe individue in die groepe die stereotipes wat aan verskillende groepe geheg word, ervaar.

Literatuur oor identiteit en stereotipes is gebruik om hierdie konsepte te konseptualiseer. Hierdie studie is sodoende vanuit ŉ ontwikkeling- en sosiale sielkunde-perspektief gedoen. Identiteit soos dit in die lewensfases van die adolessent ontwikkel, is binne die ontwikkelingsielkunde beskou. Stereotipes en stereotipering is vanuit ŉ sosiale sielkunde-perspektief ondersoek, omdat hulle sosiaal aangeleer en versterk word.

ŉ Kwalitatiewe raamwerk is gekies om aan die individue wat hierdie stereotipes ervaar, ŉ stem te gee. ŉ Gevallestudie-ontwerp is gebruik, en fokusgroepsessies is gehou om openlik groeplede se ervarings van identiteitsvorming en stereotipering in hulle lewens te bespreek. Drie-en-sewentig deelnemers het aan hierdie studie deelgeneem en is geïdentifiseer deur middel van nie-waarskynlikheid steekproefneming, naamlik doelgerigte steekproefneming. Data is deur middel van tematiese ontledings ontleed en vertolk, en verskeie temas en subtemas het uit hierdie datastelle na vore gekom.

Die bevindings van die studie stem ooreen met bevindings van vorige navorsingstudies in dieselfde belangstellingsveld. Nietemin het die uitvoer van hierdie studie verskeie bydraes gemaak. Dit sluit in dat ŉ identiteit iets interns (eienskappe) en iets eksterns (sosiaal) is wat in ŉ driedimensionele tydperspektief in aanmerking geneem moet word, omdat die verlede, die hede en die toekoms belangrik is vir wie die individu is. Stereotipes word as geneties, aangeleer en as kognitiewe kortpaaie beskou om die wêreld te vereenvoudig, is gebaseer op die waarneembare, en kan positief as ŉ motivering vir uniekheid ervaar word. Weerstand teen konformasie is ŉ aanpassingsreaksie op stereotipering, en die selfvervullende profesie kan

teengewerk word as opposisie tot die verwagting teenwoordig is. Dit is bevind dat individue die behoefte het om stereotipering te stop, al weerstaan hulle konformering, en sosiale aanvaarding word as beide 'n beloning waarna gestreef word en 'n beperking wat geleenthede, rolle en keuses beperk. Verder is die omgewing en buurt waarin stereotipering plaasvind en waar individue hulself bevind, van groot belang. Al hierdie faktore dra by tot stereotipering, terwyl die ervaring daarvan dan as negatief of positief lei tot 'n invloed op die identitiets ontwikkeling proses.

Sleutelwoorde: identiteit, ontwikkeling van identiteit, stereotipe, adolessente, ervarings van stereotipes

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CHAPTER 1: OVERVIEW AND RATIONALE OF THE STUDY

In this study, a neglected area of research, namely adolescents' experience of stereotypes during identity development, was explored. In this chapter, the context and rationale of the study are discussed. The relevance of this study is explicated and the aim of the study is stated. An overview of the chapter layout for the rest of this dissertation is given. In conclusion, a chapter summary is provided.

1.1   Context and rationale of the study

Adolescence is a developmental period characterised by tremendous growth and change in the physiological, individual, social, cognitive, and contextual domains (Smetana, Campione-Barr, & Metzger, 2006). Characteristics in this developmental stage include conflict with authority, mood swings, reckless behaviour, breaking rules, and participating in antisocial behaviour that can be harmful to the self and others (Schultz & Schultz, 2009). Smetana et al. (2006) state that adolescence begins in biology and ends in culture, as physical changes as well as the search for social validation seem to characterise adolescent development (Baumeister & Bushman, 2011). According to Erikson's (1970) theory of personality development, the main crisis adolescents face entails the task of searching for identity cohesion versus stagnating in role confusion (Schultz & Schultz, 2009).

Allport and Ross (1967) hypothesise that identity is formed by finding a balance between the true self (who you think you are), the ideal self (who you think others think you should be) and the possible self (who you could be). Schiavone (2009) states that a self-role is developed in the context of events, experiences and relationships. This context then includes other individuals and the surroundings and community in which the adolescent lives. However, not only the circumstances in the specific community, but also the world-view of surrounding communities and the world influences identity development. Thus, identity is shaped by what happens around us (Pe'rez-Sales, 2010). According to Low, Akande and Hill (2005), identity formation is based on the assumption that individuals should find beliefs, goals, and values that are personally and socially acceptable. If the beliefs, goals, and values found by the adolescent are not acceptable on a personal or social level, cohesion is not found and adolescents withdraw from their life sequences or seek a negative identity in crime or drugs, as they do not know who they are or where they belong (Schultz & Schultz, 2009).

All social groups are stereotyped in some way (Martiny, Roth, Jelence, Steffens, & Croizet, 2012). Weiten (2014) states that stereotypes are formed based on widely held beliefs regarding certain characteristics in people that are formed through interactions with the environment According to Way, Hernandez, Rogers and Hughes (2013), stereotypes about race, gender, social class, ethnicity, sexuality, and nationality shape identity. Baumeister and Bushman (2011) claim that stereotypes often become the truth if they are accepted. From a behaviouristic perspective (Skinner, 1953), the expectation inherent to stereotypes often results in behaviour that confirms the stereotype. Way et al. (2013) state that stereotypes destroy originality because they generalise, ignore diversity, and foster inaccurate perceptions (Weiten, 2014).

People seem to feel powerless when they feel stereotyped (Cook, Arrow, & Malle, 2011) and begin to fear that their actions will confirm the stereotype (Van Laar, Levin, & Sinclair, 2008). Baumeister and Bushman (2011) state that the fear of being stereotyped decreases performance. This fear creates anxiety, trust issues, and a lack of concentration, thus leading to the confirmation of the stereotype (Van Laar et al., 2008). According to Weiten (2014), people with a stereotype vulnerability are unsuccessful or do not reach their full potential because they internalise the negative thoughts others have of them.

Since the development of an identity involves self-regard, values, norms, and judgments (which are all socially construed) (Schiavone, 2009), greater anticipation of stigma, as well as greater centrality and salience of stigmatised aspects during the search for an identity may lead to greater distress and confusion (Quinn & Chaudoir, 2009). This then determines the meaning one assigns to a group, how one interacts in a group, and the roles one takes on in society (Pe'rez-Sales, 2010). Mcbride-Murry, Berkel, Gaylord-Harden, Copeland-Linder and Nation (2011) found that certain neighbourhoods (e.g. lower socio-economic neighbourhoods) create challenging environments for adolescents' development and may inhibit exploration of identity. Individuals in these high-risk neighbourhoods are at risk of stigmatisation and being stereotyped (Schiavone, 2009). The reason for this can be found in the fact that individuals in these neighbourhoods often have low educational levels, drop out of school early, revert to crime and take part in other related gang activities such as using and dealing with drugs (Loughnan, Haslem, Sutton, & Spencer, 2013). Illiteracy and poverty leads to high illness rates (Lebone, 2012), and thus these areas are stereotyped as filthy, dangerous and lower class.

Unfortunately most of the people living in these areas today are black South Africans. This is mainly due to the influence the Apartheid era had on this country. During this era racial groups where segregated (Holtman, Louw, Tredoux, & Carney, 2005). Those whole fell into the majority group (whites) benefited from this separation; while those whole fell into the minority group (blacks) were disadvantaged on all social, physical and cognitive levels (Howie, 2003). This then led to high levels of illiteracy, unemployment, abuse, illnesses and a lack of health care in these areas (Holtman et al., 2005). Even though Apartheid ended in 1994, most black South Africans are still affected by the results of the Apartheid regime. The participants in this study all live in a community in Mangaung that exemplifies this situation.

As already mentioned these situations lead to stereotyping. Stereotypes influence the meaning-making processes of individuals and how identities are formed (Way et al., 2013) and thus living in these conditions may have an influence on who these individuals become. The focus of the current research is on gaining greater understanding of the power of a context in shaping adolescent identity development. According to Way et al. (2013), the influence of stereotypes on identity development has not drawn much attention. Furthermore, according to Mcbride-Murry et al. (2011), research concerning the effects of neighbourhood influences in the construction of identity is scarce and inconclusive. Only a few studies investigated the role of the macro context in identity development during adolescence (Way et al., 2013). This includes the broad religious, cultural, political and economic contexts that have an influence on individuals' lives and circumstances. This influence can be seen as the perception that is created through these systems (Kail & Cavanaugh, 2010). An example of this can be traced back to the Apartheid era where those in power depicted those without power as filthy, lazy, dangerous, disgusting and unintellectual. Even now in post-Apartheid the influence of these systems can be seen as certain types of people are portrayed to the world based on the judgements made by a select few. The aim of this study was to explore adolescents' experiences of stereotypes during identity development.

1.2 Theoretical grounding of the study

The theoretical perspectives pertaining to life span development and social psychology formed the basis from which adolescents' experiences of stereotypes during identity development were explored.

From a developmental psychology perspective, adolescence is viewed as an integral part of the life cycle. Development in various domains can be considered during this period. Identity development is one of the aspects of development that are prioritised during adolescence. When considering this concept, it is important to note the work of Erikson (1970) and Marcia (1966), as they are deemed seminal to the study of identity. Using these theories as background, it is also important to consider work pertaining to the social and collectivistic nature of the African culture; therefore, the work of Jones and McEwen (2000) and Tajfel (1978) was also considered in this study.

In this study, stereotypes are also viewed from a collectivistic perspective as this is the lifestyle led by most of the participants, and as context and interactions seem to affect the stereotype experienced and how intense it is experienced. As stereotypes are viewed from a social psychology perspective, Bronfenbrenner's (1979) systems theory is used to emphasise the importance of context in the developmental process experienced by adolescents, while social role theory (Koenig & Eagly, 2014) emphasises the importance of the content of social interactions. These two theories underlie this study of the experience of stereotype. Theories about stereotyping considered for this study include the four approaches of Berryman, Ockleford, Howells, Hargreaves and Wildbur (2006) and the explanation of Quinn and Chaudior (2009) of how stereotypes develop.

1.3   Research design and methods

In this study, a non-experimental and qualitative research design (Salkind, 2008) was employed to explore the research aim. Qualitative research was employed to gain in-depth information from participants and thus view their real-life experiences realistically (Babbie & Mouton, 2005). When a single case study research design is used, the researcher focuses on collecting data in a real world context rather than relying on imitative data (Yin, 2012).

By means of a non-probability sampling method, namely purposive sampling, participants were identified. Data were collected by means of semi-structured focus group sessions to gain rich and in-depth information. Thematic analysis was used to analyse and interpret the information as themes and sub-themes arose from the participants' discussions.

1.4   Delineation of chapters

In this dissertation, Chapter 1 introduces and provides a brief description of this study. This chapter highlights the lack of South African research in the area of stereotyping experienced by adolescents during identity development and illuminates the need for this study.

Chapter 2 discusses the concept *identity development during adolescence*. Adolescence is conceptualised, and the various domains of development are considered. The process of identity development is investigated, and the concept *identity* is conceptualised. Theories and frameworks underlying development of identity are discussed. Subsequently, current international and national trends and debates regarding identity development are investigated.

In Chapter 3, the variable *stereotype* is defined. The components that lead to stereotyping and the factors that make one prone to being stereotyped are investigated. Bronfenbrenner's systems theory (1979) is utilised to explain the various effects stereotyping has on various individuals, and the effect stereotypes might have on identity formation is considered. Relating to this, self-fulfilling prophecy and the threat of stereotyping are discussed.

Chapter 4 provides an in-depth explanation of the methodology employed in this study. In this chapter, the rationale, purpose and aim of the study are stated. An overview of the research design and approach is given, and the research participants are discussed according to their biographic information. The sampling and data-gathering procedures and the procedures of data analysis employed in this study are explained. The ethical concerns that were addressed in this study are outlined, and the trustworthiness of this study is considered.

Chapter 5 provides an overview of the results obtained in this study, followed by a discussion regarding the responses received from the participants. The most significant results of the study are pointed out and then deliberated in the discussion section of the chapter.

Chapter 6 highlights the key findings and contributions of this study. The limitations encountered in the study are discussed, and recommendations are made for future research in this area.

1.5   Chapter summary

In this chapter, the rationale and relevance of this study were discussed, and the aim of the study was stated. The chapter layout for the rest of this dissertation was provided.

CHAPTER 2: IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT DURING ADOLESCENCE

Adolescence is a developmental stage during which identity development is prioritised. During this tumultuous, transformational, developmental period, individuals mature on various levels (Arain et al., 2013). In this chapter, adolescence is discussed, as it forms the backdrop to which identity development occurs. Adolescence is conceptualised, and the physical, cognitive, social, emotional, and moral domains of development are considered. Next, the process of identity development is considered. As the focus in this study is on identity and forming of identity, these concepts are conceptualised. Various theories and frameworks regarding identity development are discussed. Current international trends and debates regarding identity development are investigated, and the researcher discusses how these trends seem to appear in the South African context. All of this is done with the aim of the current study in mind. The chapter is concluded with a summary.

2.1   Adolescence

The bridge between childhood and adulthood is the transitional period called adolescence (Bayer, Gilman, Tsui, & Hindin, 2010). Smetana et al. (2006) state that adolescence may begin in biology, but it ends in culture, as physical changes and the search for social validation both seem to characterise adolescent development. The first sign of the transition to adolescence pertains to the physical and biological changes that start taking place during adolescence. The last sign of adolescence, to become independent, pertains to the cultural side of adolescence. Being recognised and accepted as part of the group is a difficult task, as the specific timing of the changes associated with adolescence and their exact influence on individuals differ from person to person (Bayer et al., 2010). It is also important for individuals to find their own unique identity in the adolescent period rather than to succumb to social pressure, as is generally the norm in adolescence (Annandale, 2008). Adolescence is the developmental stage in which values and attitudes are formed and refined, which will then influence the future participation of adolescents in their community and society (Steyn, 2006). Thus, these factors give rise to a variety of conceptualisations of the term *adolescence*.

2.1.1   Conceptualising adolescence

According to Newman and Newman (2012), one cannot be sure when or where adolescence begins or ends and, thus, defining the term becomes complicated. Adolescence has been described as a transition period of pubertal maturation between childhood and adulthood

(Shirtcliff, Dahl, & Pollak, 2009), in which individuals are in a more equal position to adults and start taking on adult roles (Newman & Newman, 2012). This does not happen overnight, however, and adolescence is viewed as a time when individuals have not made commitments yet (Arndt, 2014). Owing to social, political, and economic factors, adolescence manifests differently in diverse cultural and historical contexts, thus blurring the lines between childhood and adulthood even further (Coleman, 1990; Newman & Newman, 2012).

Adolescence is the second decade of life (Wild & Swartz, 2012). Erikson (1964) views an adolescent as someone between the ages of 12 and 20. According to Newman and Newman (2012), adolescence can be divided into two stages, namely early adolescence, with the focus on biological factors, and late adolescence, with the focus on social factors. Once again, however, the division line is blurred, as experts do not agree on a criterion to distinguish these two stages of adolescence from childhood and adulthood. Some view adolescence along the lines of chronological age and define it as the teenage years (13-19 years), but this might only be a measure of convenience as many adolescents portray behaviour associated with adolescence well before the age of 13, and some are still dependent well after the age of 19 (Newman & Newman, 2012). On the other hand, some experts view adolescence along biological and social markers such as the onset of puberty or signs that an individual is mature enough to perform certain tasks (Hartman, 2002). Some specialists view it as a transition to adulthood and adult roles through certain rites of passage (Arnett, 2006). Supporting this viewpoint, Craig and Dunn (2010) state that certain rites of passage, connected to the period of life where adolescence is entered during the entering of the reproductive years, are performed in many cultures.

Previously, adolescence was often demarcated as a time marked by conflict with parents and society, moodiness, high-risk behaviour and stress (Arain et al., 2013). In stereotypical terms, this led to the description of the adolescent period that devalues this generation and the struggles they face (Coleman, 1990; Newman & Newman, 2012). This is seen in the enduring depiction of adolescence as a period of turmoil, stress and storms (Arnett, 2006). Some emotional changes can substantiate the views from the past that adolescence is a period of turmoil, defiance, and conflict (Arain et al., 2013). Adolescence is a time when depression and eating disorders increase as individuals become progressively concerned about gaining positive social validation. During adolescence, it is important to be part of a clique and form a group identity rather than being alienated (Newman & Newman, 2012). It is a time of

emotional and behavioural disturbance (Arnett, 2006) because adolescents experience more negative emotions than children or adults do (Craig & Dunn, 2010). However, these feelings of anger, hostility, anxiety, and pressure are due to the physical, social, cognitive and moral challenges with which adolescents must learn to cope (Schultz & Schultz, 2009).

Today, the views mentioned above are regarded as exaggerated. Adolescence is experienced in diverse ways, however, and thus does not always implicate storm and stress, but can be stormy, calm, or dynamic (Fuhrmann, 1986). Researchers currently view adolescence as a normal developmental period in which an identity is formed and a future is planned (Craig & Dunn, 2010). Ideally, adolescents will then find stability and equilibrium as they reach adulthood (Arnett, 2006).

According to Erikson's (1970) theory of personality development, the main crisis adolescents face entails the task of searching for identity cohesion versus stagnating in role confusion (Schultz & Schultz, 2009). An identity is the idea individuals form regarding themselves relating to their role in the world (Pe'rez-Sales, 2010). Adolescents gain independence, responsibility, and autonomy as they find a stable and congruent identity and role in society.

As can be seen from the discussion above, adolescence is a complex stage. This period of life includes some universal features with large individual variations affecting adolescent development. Thus, one definition cannot encompass all these complexities (Newman & Newman, 2012). For the purpose of this study, the researcher will take an integrated view of these conceptualisations to ensure that a comprehensive understanding is gained when studying adolescence. Therefore, in this study, adolescence is regarded as a complex transitional period of change in the physical, cognitive, emotional, and social domains, beginning in puberty and ending in cultural acceptance into adulthood.

2.1.2   Domains of adolescent development

Adolescence is a developmental period characterised by tremendous growth and change in the physiological, individual, social, and contextual domains (Smetana et al., 2006). These domains are discussed in the following section.

2.1.2.1   *Development in the physical domain*

Adolescence is the time when individuals are confronted with physical maturation, the transition to romantic and sexual relationships, and coming to terms with their sexuality

(Newman & Newman, 2012). Adolescence is associated with the onset of puberty and maturity when growth rate increases, reproductive organs develop and secondary sex characteristics appear (Craig & Dunn, 2010). Physical changes are one of the hallmarks of adolescence and are due to an increased release of certain hormones in the body (Craig & Dunn, 2010). In females, this process begins around the age of 10-11 years, while males begin to experience these changes around 12-13 years (Arain et al., 2013).

The arms, legs, hands, and feet are the first to start growing rapidly (Arain et al., 2013), leading to clumsiness and awkwardness as adolescents learn to live in their new bodies (Craig & Dunn, 2010). Secondary sex characteristics develop next and include the appearance of body hair, the maturation of the genitalia, and increases in both body fat and muscle (Craig & Dunn, 2010). There is also an increase in appetite (Smetana et al., 2006), hormonal activity, and oil-production that causes skin breakouts (Craig & Dunn, 2010). As sex hormones increase, the limbic system changes, affecting risk-taking behaviour, decision making, emotions, and self-control (Arain et al., 2013).

Important changes occur in the structure and functioning of the brain during adolescence (Arain et al., 2013). Until approximately the age of 10, grey matter increases in the brain; after the age of 10, grey matter decreases again until the age of 25 (Craig & Dunn, 2010). Contrary to this, white matter starts increasing during adolescence, thus increasing adolescents' ability to think and solve problems (Craig & Dunn, 2010). This does not take place all over the brain at the same time, however, but rather starts at the back of the brain and moves forward (Smetana et al., 2006). This leads to better sensory functioning and better coordination (Craig & Dunn, 2010) between the ages of 13 and 17 (Schultz & Schultz, 2009) and better decision making, problem solving, and thinking between the ages of 17 and 21 (Craig & Dunn, 2010; Smetana et al., 2006).

2.1.2.2 Development in the cognitive domain

During adolescence, individuals find themselves in a stage that Piaget calls the formal operational stage. In this stage, people can think abstractly, speculate, and see possibilities (Craig & Dunn, 2010). Adolescents have better attention spans and memory and can process information quicker than before (Smetana et al., 2006). They organise their thoughts, weigh risks, and regulate impulses more effectively (Arain et al., 2013). They can plan, formulate, test, evaluate, order, and reflect on their thoughts (Craig & Dunn, 2010). Adolescents can

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think logically and systematically, but still weigh positive experiences heavier than negative experiences, leading to risk-taking behaviour (Arain et al., 2013).

Other cognitive factors emerging prominently during adolescence relate to the personal fable and the imaginary audience. Adolescents live in an egocentric personal fable where everything about them feels unique and special, making them feel that bad things happen to other people but will not happen to them. This increases risky behaviour (Craig & Dunn, 2010). As adolescents see themselves as special, they also feel that others are just as interested in them as they are in themselves. They feel that everyone is watching their every move and thus judging them. This leads to self-esteem issues when situations occur that might embarrass them (Smetana et al., 2006). This imaginary audience leads to an intense need to conform (Annandale, 2008).

2.1.2.3 *Development in the moral domain*

Adolescents are confronted with new issues that they have never had to deal with on their own and thus have to form their own opinions of these issues for the first time (Craig & Dunn, 2010). Factors that can influence moral behaviour in this time include cognitive development, parental behaviour and expectations, peer group interaction, beliefs, socio-economic status, and stereotypes (Schultz & Schultz, 2009).

Moral behaviour depends on the degree to which the moral beliefs and values of society are incorporated into the individual's personality (Blasi, 1995; Harris & Butterworth, 2002). The importance attached to these beliefs direct behaviour, as it forms a moral commitment that individuals will stand by (Hart & Fegley, 1995; McCormick & Pressley, 2007). Youniss and Yates (1997) state that a moral identity is formed by a commitment to serve the community and thus by taking on social roles and responsibilities (McCormick & Pressley, 2007).

Individuals in this life stage find themselves on Kohlberg's second level of moral reasoning, the conventional level, where moral behaviour is reached through the conformation of social expectations and stereotypes (Craig & Dunn, 2010). This level consists of doing what others will approve of, doing your duty, respecting others, and following rules because others are watching and judging your behaviour (Smetana et al., 2006). Adolescents thus need to learn to weigh different perspectives and find what is acceptable for them in this time (Craig & Dunn, 2010).

2.1.2.4   Development in the psycho-social domain

Peer relationships become vital in this time because these relationships provide support during times of change. Individuals learn social skills by finding a role in the group (Craig & Dunn, 2010), and thus socialisation becomes important. Adolescents have a great need to conform, and not stand out, and this can lead to anxiety and self-doubt (Annandale, 2008). Adolescents are acutely aware of the changes in their bodies as they compare themselves with their peers and other role models (Craig & Dunn, 2010). Same gender cliques form where individuals can share and express their experiences (Arain et al., 2013). After this, different gender cliques start to interact and combine to form mixed groups where individuals learn what is expected of them by the opposite gender (Smetana et al., 2006). After this, couples form and move away from the safe group environment as they now test out what they have learnt (Arain et al., 2013).

The relationships adolescents have with their parents often change in this time as the peer group becomes more important. However, this does not mean that the family is not important, as they still provide a safe space for the adolescent from which to venture out while experimenting with new roles (Smetana et al., 2006). As adolescents can now see possibilities, they begin comparing their real worlds with their ideal worlds, which leads to conflict with their parents, siblings, and communities at large when reality does not meet their ideals (Schultz & Schultz, 2009). These battles allow adolescents to test their independence in a safe space as they learn to negotiate with society (Craig & Dunn, 2010). Thus, conflict is normal as new social roles are found in the community by shifting parameters and dynamics in the adolescents' various relationships (Schultz & Schultz, 2009).

When a sense of an identity is formed, individuals become conscious of their independence and unique place in society (Smetana et al., 2006). This process is particularly intense during adolescence, as it becomes necessary for the adolescent to integrate the physical, emotional, and cognitive changes with an integrated identity during this period (Peacock & Theron, 2007).

2.2   Identity

According to Low et al. (2005), identity formation is based on the assumption that individuals should find beliefs, goals, and values that are personally and socially acceptable (Schultz & Schultz, 2009). This becomes a multifaceted task, as it is expected that the self-representation

will be integrated with the social representation of the individual (Peacock & Theron, 2007). Adolescents should form a unique identity as they face interpersonal differentiation and need to learn new coping skills as they try to foster a productive reciprocal relationship with the community in which they live (Peacock & Theron, 2007).

2.2.1   Conceptualising identity

Identity formation can be a lifelong process (Weiten, 2014). Identity refers to an awareness of uniqueness within the self (Erikson, 1970). According to Pe'rez-Sales (2010), identity can be viewed as the idea an individual forms regarding his or her place and role in the world and the knowledge of who he or she truly is (Craig & Dunn, 2010). It relates to the stable characteristics found in individuals (Erikson, 1964). Identity development has a great influence on who individuals become, what they do, and how they do it (Annandale, 2008). Individuals strive towards building an identity in various roles, but to be true, an identity must be validated socially (Baumeister & Bushman, 2011).

Schiavone (2009) points out that a self-role is developed in the context of events, experiences, and relationships. However, not only the circumstances in the specific community but also the world-view of surrounding communities influence identity development. Individuals' surroundings shape their identity (Pe'rez-Sales, 2010). Weiten (2014) states that the integration of various roles to form an ego identity becomes the basis of personality. This includes the integration of three images: how we see ourselves, how others see us, and who we would like to be (Schultz & Schultz, 2009). An identity determines how important a certain group is to the person belonging to it, how interaction takes place in this group, and the roles one may portray in each group (Pe'rez-Sales, 2010). An identity is the conscious and unconscious connotation individuals have of their role in society (Erikson, 1970, Pe'rez-Sales, 2010). Thus, identity development becomes the cornerstone that affects how successful future challenges will be handled, as it forms the roles assumed in society (Smetana et al., 2006).

Bamberg (2011) states that an "identity is a label attributed to differentiate and integrate a sense of self along different social and personal dimensions" (p. 6). In a study on traumatic experiences, Pe'rez-Sales (2010) found that the roles one takes on in such a situation could invade the identity of the individual and become a new source for that identity. It was found that being exposed to community violence could affect identity development (Schiavone, 2009). Identities are not only imposed and prescribed, but multiple incompatible identities are created (Pe'rez-Sales, 2010), as might be the case when individuals are stereotyped. When a

part of an individual's identity is judged as unacceptable, it can be devastating (Craig & Dunn, 2010). Building a secure and positive self-image is difficult at best, and this becomes even more so when the individual is from a minority or disadvantaged culture (Cohler & Hammack, 2007).

Identity is thus a set of physical, social, interpersonal, and psychological characteristics that defines an individual (Vandenbos, 2006). By balancing the interpersonal, intrapersonal, and social contexts, a sense of self can be found (Schiavone, 2009). Identity can be categorised into a variety of affiliations including ethnicity, occupation, socio-economic status, age, race, and gender (Bamberg, 2011). For the purpose of this study, no differentiation is made regarding these affiliations, and identity is viewed as an all-inclusive term. Identity is viewed as the variable that determines and defines who one is in a unique sense, but also in the communal sense, according to the role in which individuals can picture themselves and assume in social situations.

2.2.2 Theories on identity development

The two main paradigms in developmental psychology today are the universality approach and the culture-specific approach (Adams, 2014). The universality approach (Adams, 2014) is based on systematic assessment, using established theoretical models and thus broadly generalising. In this approach, the aim is to understand the commonalities between cultures and then identify the differences if there are any (Adams, 2014). On the other hand, the culture-specific approach (Adams, 2014) is based on the world-view that different cultures are diverse and unique. Theorists in this paradigm argue against the clustering of characteristics into commonalities. They support the emphasis of aspects that make a culture different from other cultures, thus giving rise to diverse cultural identities (Van de Vijver & Leung, 1997). The theories that can be used in this approach are viewed as newer as and more flexible than those that fall in the universality approach (Adams, 2014), as individual, circumstantial, and context variations are considered.

According to Van de Vijver and Leung (1997), separating these two approaches in cross-cultural psychology research is restricting. Using an integrative approach leads to a holistic and comprehensive view of identity (Adams, 2014). By integrating these two approaches, established theories become the framework for what is known as the generalised concept of identity, while newer theories provide culture-specific information relating to the topic. Therefore, in this study, universal theories will be considered as the framework for what

identity is, while flexible theories that consider unique aspects, diversity, and context become the basis on which identity theory is made relevant to the specific population group in this study.

It is beyond the scope of this study to consider all the identity theories in the field. Therefore, the discussion focuses on a few theories of specific relevance to the aim of this research. The works of Erikson and Marcia, which reflect the universality approach (Adams, 2014), are discussed because they are regarded as seminal to the study of identity. Furthermore, two theories by Jones and McEwen (2000) as well as Tajfel and Turner (1979) respectively, based on the culture-specific approach (Adams, 2014), are discussed because they consider the unique context and situational factors contributing to the formation of an identity.

First, an overview of Erikson's (1964) psychosocial theory, which is one of the first theories linking adolescence to identity development, is given. Second, Marcia's (1966) theory of identity status development, which builds on Erikson's (1964) theory, is investigated. Third, an overview of Jones and McEwen's (2000) model of multiple dimensions of identity is given, as this model depicts how identity is conceptualised today by considering the environmental factors that affect development processes. Fourth, Tajfel's (1978) social identity theory is discussed, as it emphasises the importance of social and group interactions in identity development.

2.2.2.1 *Erikson's psychosocial view of identity development*

Erikson's contribution to the body of knowledge held today includes the view that development is a lifelong process and that one can overcome previous challenges (crises that were not handled successfully) during a later stage in life (Schultz & Schultz, 2009). In the psychosocial theory of personality development, Erikson (1970) identifies four factors that can influence the formation of an identity. First, he states that an identity is always partly in the conscious and partly in the unconscious (Craig & Dunn, 2010), as individuals make choices in their specific contexts (Erikson, 1970). Second, identity development is precipitated by a conflict that needs to be resolved by committing to a certain choice. Third, identity development depends on the individual's holistic development, as there are certain social preconditions that influence this process (Erikson, 1970, Weiten, 2014). In the fourth place, as already noted, identity development is an ongoing process that begins in adolescence (Erikson, 1970).

There are eight stages in Erikson's theory through which each individual must advance in his or her lifetime (Erikson, 1970). This is done by overcoming a certain crisis associated with each specific stage. These stages and accompanying crises in the psychosocial theory of personality development are depicted in Table 1 (Craig & Dunn, 2010; Weiten, 2014). The focus of this study is on the stage of adolescence, in which the crisis entails the task of searching for identity cohesion versus stagnating in role confusion (Schultz & Schultz, 2009). Therefore, the main task is to go through the process or crisis of role confusion, find a suitable identity (Erikson, 1968), and commit to the chosen identity (Schultz & Schultz, 2009).

Table 1

Erikson's psychosocial theory (Craig & Dunn, 2010; Schultz & Schultz, 2009; Weiten, 2014).

Age	Stage	Description
Birth to 12 months	Trust versus mistrust	In this stage, one should learn that the world is a safe place, and a sense of trust should be formed.
12 months to 3 years	Autonomy versus shame and doubt	In this stage, the individual should realise that he or she is independent.
3 to 6 years	Initiative versus guilt	In this stage, new things should be explored and handled individually.
6 to 12 years	Industry versus inferiority	In this stage, the individual should acquire basic working skills.
12 to 18 years	Ego Identity versus identity diffusion	In this stage, an integrated sense of self should be formed, and the individual should find a place in the world.
18 to 40 years	Intimacy versus isolation	In this stage, a connection should be made between individuals, and a relationship of mutual care should exist.
40 to 65 years	Generativity versus self-absorption	In this stage, a contribution should be made to society as the person gives back and invests in a new generation.
65 and older	Integrity versus despair	In this stage, individuals must view their lives as worthwhile and meaningful.

Individuals who can integrate their choices into a coherent self-image attain a stable personal identity (Erikson, 1968). They know who they are and where they belong in their community, family, and personal lives, and are comfortable with the roles they assume in these settings. There is still room for change as situational factors weigh in on their lives, but a stable identity is found and inner peace can be expected.

If integrating the various life roles is difficult, individuals will face role confusion (Weiten, 2014) and will experience conflict in these roles (Erikson, 1968). If this occurs, adolescents have three options: they will either become isolated as they withdraw from socialisation, conform to others' wishes (Craig & Dunn, 2010), or start taking part in reckless and risk-taking behaviour. Being in this state of confusion, while going through the experimental stage of adolescence, can cause much harm because individuals can make many life-changing mistakes while searching for a true identity (Weiten, 2014).

Erikson's (1968) theory has been criticised because there is no room for individual differences in this somewhat rigid framework. This theory is seen as universal with the emphasis on external events rather than on the unique differences that influence how people react to situations (Schultz & Schultz, 2009). Critics also stress the fact that Erikson underemphasises the influence of cognitive, moral, and physical development and focuses too much on the influence of social interaction in the development of a personality (Harber, 2006).

2.2.2.2 *Marcia's identity status development theory*

Expanding on Erikson's (1968) conceptualisations of identity, Marcia (1966) developed a theory about development of identity status. Positive contributions made in this framework include the incorporation of the influence of expected and unexpected live events on individuals' identity formation processes (Marcia, 2002). The focus in this theory also falls specifically on adolescent development and the particular task associated with this stage. This focus narrows the developmental frame of reference and provides opportunity for a detailed description of the adolescent developmental process, rather than giving a brief overview of each life stage (Peacock & Theron, 2007).

Marcia (1966) identified two central variables that would determine where an individual would be on the continuum of identity development, namely a crisis experience and committing to a decision. In this theory, identity search is precipitated by the experience of a crisis. Adolescents must then try to overcome the crisis by exploring different identity options and committing to a decision. This decision is supposed to facilitate the specific roles they must fulfil, but this does not necessarily always happen. If no crisis is experienced, individuals commit to what others seem to expect from them. Exploration is seen as an active attempt by the adolescents to negotiate a viable identity for them by investigating alternative options (Marcia, 2002). Committing to an identity gives an individual a purpose in life.

Commitment means choosing which alternatives to abandon and which to pursue (Marcia, 2002). The specific combination of the crisis experience, exploration, and commitment generates four alternative modes for identity formation (Marcia, 1966). However, it is important to note that individuals will be in different modes during different times in their lives due to diverse cultural expectations (Craig & Dunn, 2010).

Table 2

Marcia's identity status development theory (Marcia, 1966)

	No commitment	Commitment
No exploration	Identity diffusion	Identity foreclosure
Exploration	Identity moratorium	Identity achievement

In the identity diffusion state, individuals experience no crisis; therefore, no exploration takes place. No commitment is made, and these individuals seem reluctant to do so (Marcia, 1966). The individuals seem to be directionless and work only for immediate gratification with little thought of the future (Schultz & Schultz, 2009). Adolescents in this state may turn to crime and reckless behaviour because there is no secure sense of identity.

In the identity foreclosure state, individuals experience no crisis, and no exploration takes place, but a commitment is made (Marcia, 1966). The individuals thus have not gone through any self-reflection process and just accept the choices others infringe upon them (Schultz & Schultz, 2009). According to Weiten (2014), adolescents from traditional backgrounds seem to fall in this group more often. According to Marcia (1966), these individuals choose environments that are similar to those in which they grew up, and obediently accept the values and moral standards of the authority figures in their lives. This willingness to conform often reflects rigidity and low levels of openness to new experiences.

In the identity moratorium state, a crisis is experienced and exploration takes place, but no commitment has been made (Marcia, 1966). Individuals in this state are trying actively to find themselves and are experimenting in order to find a personally acceptable role and identity (Schultz & Schultz, 2009). In this stage, individuals are open to new experiences and curiously try out new roles. However, emotional distress is experienced because no secure identity has been found (Marcia, 1966).

In the identity achievement state, a crisis was experienced, identities have been explored, and a commitment has been made (Marcia, 1966). The individuals have moved through a phase of experimenting with roles and found a way to integrate their various roles in order to form a cohesive ego identity (Schultz & Schultz, 2009). These individuals are mature and accept social responsibility (Marcia, 1966).

Criticism against this framework includes that it does not consider the fact that all individuals do not have the luxury to choose a commitment, but are forced by circumstances into what will then appear to be identity foreclosure (Schultz & Schultz, 2009). What is considered as identity achievement in one culture also differs from what another culture views as identity achievement (Peacock & Theron, 2007).

2.2.2.3   *Jones and McEwen's model of multiple identity dimensions*

According to Jones and McEwen (2000), many studies regarding identity formation focus on only one dimension of identity development, at the expense of other relevant factors. This segments the multifaceted identity development process (Jones & McEwen, 2000). Jones and McEwen (2000) developed a dynamic model that depicts the interaction among various dimensions of a socially constructed identity (Abes, Jones, & McEwen, 2007).

According to Jones and McEwen's (2000) model of multiple dimensions of identity formation, each dimension that influences identity formation should be understood in collaboration with all other influencing factors, including the ever-changing context of the individual (Abes et al., 2007). This is represented in their model (see Figure 1), which shows a core (personal identity) surrounded by intersecting rings, indicating the alliance between all the influencing dimensions (Jones & McEwen, 2000). However, the salience of these multiple identity dimensions is important to consider, because it will differ from individual to individual and from context to context (Abes et al., 2007).
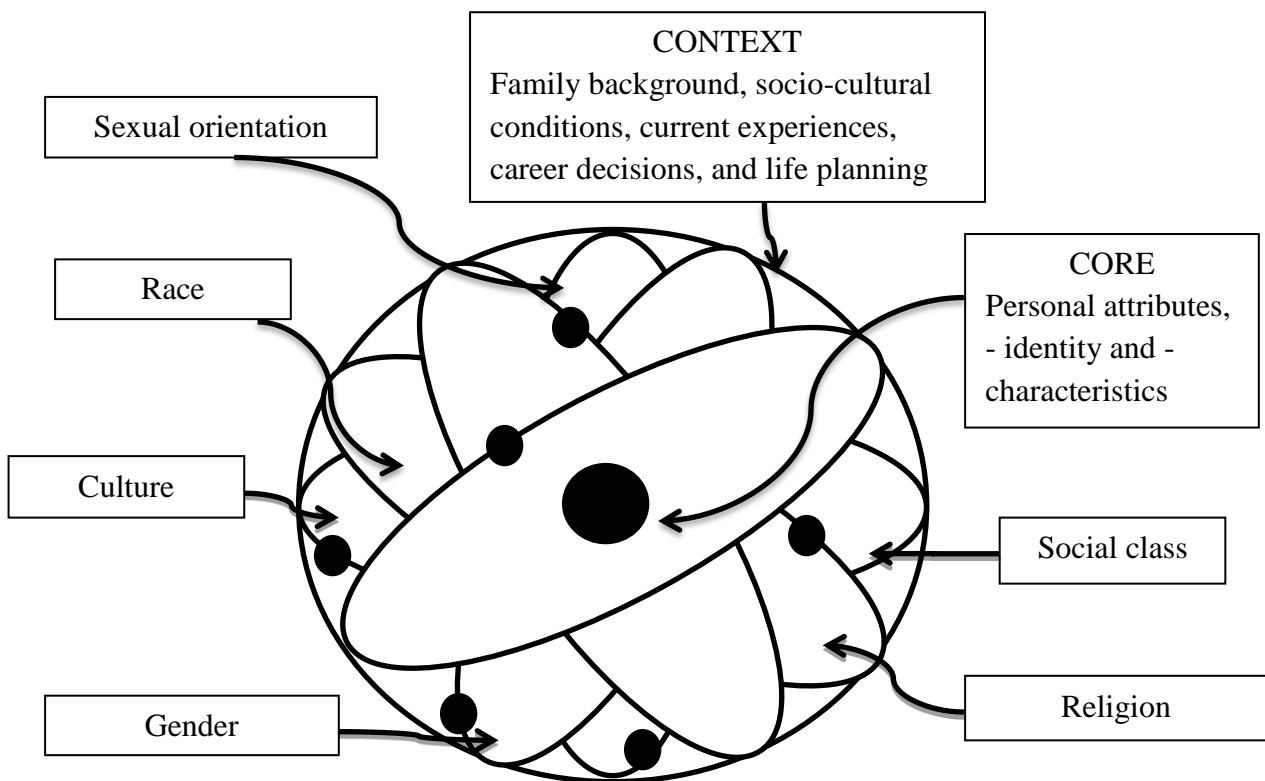
Figure 1. Model of multiple dimensions of identity (Jones & McEwen, 2000).

The core in this model represents the personal identity of the person in question, including personal attributes and characteristics (Jones & McEwen, 2000). Surrounding the core are the various identity dimensions to be considered, including sexual orientation, race, social class, and culture (Abes et al., 2007). The outermost circle represents the individuals' context and current experiences, including their socio-cultural conditions and family life (Jones & McEwen, 2000). Each of these dimensions is depicted as fluid; therefore, it is open to influences from the contextual surroundings of the individual (Abes, et al., 2007).

Even though this model is dynamic, it shows only a snapshot of identity development as it is experienced at a certain time, and is thus subject to change (Jones & McEwen, 2000). This model cannot be used to predict identity development, as there are too many variables to take into account when considering the identity development process (Peacock & Theron, 2007).

2.2.2.4 Tajfel's social identity theory

According to Tajfel's (1978) social identity theory, humans tend to categorise themselves and others into groups according to certain characteristics. By applying this theory, social differentiation and social change can be considered as influencing factors in how identity is

conceptualised (Korte, 2007). As the social aspect is incorporated in this theory, it becomes a bridge between the individual and the communal and adds an alternative view to established theories (Trepe, 2005).

The aim in social identity theory is to understand the behaviour and thoughts individuals display due to social interaction and group processes. In this theory, it is accepted that a part of each individuals' self-concept is defined and formed by his or her membership of different social groups (Trepe, 2005). This membership is evaluated and valued, giving rise to a social identity (Tajfel, 1978). A clarification of the social theory process is illustrated in Figure 2.
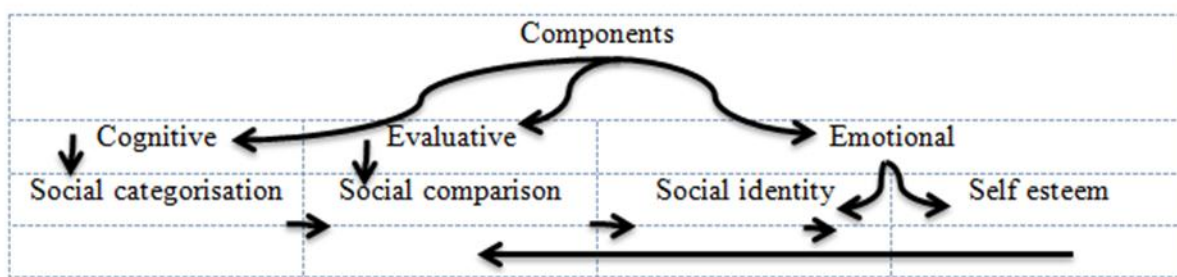
Figure 2: Tajfel's social identity theory (Tajfel, 1978).

As illustrated in Figure 2, Tajfel's (1978) social identity theory consists of three components, namely the cognitive, the evaluative, and the emotional components. All three of these components consist of a principle on which they operate. Next, each of these components and the principles underlying it are discussed.

The cognitive component consists of individuals' knowledge that they belong to a certain group (Trepe, 2005). This component involves a principle called social categorisation, which simplifies the world with the aim of making the encoding and decoding of information as easy as possible and thus saving cognitive energy (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Belonging to a certain group creates expectations regarding the behaviour to be anticipated from the individual; therefore, less energy is needed when anticipating what will happen when contact is made with this individual (Tajfel, 1978). People categorise others automatically in order to make the world more understandable in less time. However, all individuals belong to more than one group at the same time due to the different roles they assume in their lives. The group of most importance in people's lives strongly influences their identities, yet the group of most

importance depends on the circumstances surrounding that person at that time (Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

The evaluative component consists of a positive or negative experience regarding the evaluation of in-groups and out-groups (Trepe, 2005). The principle is called social comparison, as individuals tend to evaluate groups in which people are categorised (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). In-group comparisons are made with the aim to determine how beneficial it is to be a part of a certain group, while out-group comparisons are made to determine which group is superior or inferior (Tajfel, 1978). This phenomenon usually occurs when there is no objective measure with which to contrast groups. If inter-group comparisons are positive, it can build self-esteem and lead to inter-group favouritism (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). On the other hand, if in-group comparisons are negative, it can lead to out-group discrimination (Trepe, 2005). For both of these conditions to occur, three requirements must be met: First, individuals must internalise their membership to the group in their self-concepts; second, the situation must allow for comparisons; and third, there must be a relevant out-group against which to measure (Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

These comparisons then lead to a positive or negative emotional reaction in the emotional component. In this component, individuals feel either good or bad about their membership of the group, depending on the results of the comparison (Trepe, 2005). Two principles must be considered in this component. The first is social identity, in which the group's value contributes to the individual's self-concept. This feeling does not depend entirely on the valuation of the group, but what the group means to the individual also plays a part (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). If a positive feeling is experienced, the person feels superior. If a negative feeling is experienced, the individual can either move to another group or try to change the standard against which the group is measured (Tajfel, 1978). The second principle in this component is self-esteem (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). This motivation element keeps this comparison cycle in progress because groups change over time as circumstances change; therefore, the comparison component of self-esteem is constant, and social identities are never stable (Trepe, 2005).

As can be seen in the discussion above, an identity is formed and influenced by a never-ending process of categorisation and comparison because the information received from the environment and the way in which it is perceived change (Trepe, 2005). This influences individuals' self-esteem, with the effect depending on how favourable it seems to the

individual to belong to the group being compared, and thus, social identities are formed (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Various social group identities are combined to form the individual's integrated, holistic identity.

One of the limitations in this theory is that most of the support for the theory comes from studies done under controlled circumstances in laboratories (Trepe, 2005). The concept *identity* is also defined very broadly and is therefore open to many interpretations. Social theory cannot predict future behaviour; therefore, it is only a tool to explain social interactions (Korte, 2007). This theory has also been criticised due to the emphasis it puts on self-esteem as the motivating force behind social comparison (Campbell, 1997). The reason for this lies in the fact that many other factors might be motivating factors in this process, but there is no empirical evidence proving which factor might be of more importance than self-esteem.

In the discussion above, it has become clear that the term *identity* is a complex variable to understand because it is constant, yet flexible. It has also become clear that various factors may contribute to the identities that individuals develop throughout their adolescent years. The theories of Erikson and Marcia form the basis for understanding identity development, while the theories of Jones and McEwen and Tajfel are sources of information regarding the social factors that contribute to this process.

2.3   International trends and debates

According to Smetana et al. (2006), there are several trends in research on adolescent and identity development. These trends include a stronger focus on ecological and collectivistic approaches, interest in diverse societies, and consideration of the positive psychology framework.

The ecological approach, such as Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological model, focuses on the interpersonal and intrapersonal interactions of individuals, as well as the contexts surrounding these interactions (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). The emphasis is on the multiple interactions between the individual's various contexts, such as the school, home, peer, family, community, and country domains (Smetana et al., 2006). Researchers are now investigating the influence of aspects such as race and ethnicity on the beliefs, values, and behaviour of adolescents and their interaction in various relationships (Smetana et al., 2006). For example, Archer (2008) points out that a better understanding of parenting and the parent-adolescent relationship is important in the context of other relationships.

Recent research focused on a more collectivistic value approach in non-Western contexts (Abubakar, Van de Vijver, Mazrui, Arasa, & Murugami, 2012). Research is now moving towards a focus on multicultural societies with collectivistic structures (Adams, 2014). Thus, the focus is now on the group, and what individuals do for the good of the group, rather than on the individual. According to Sanchez, Zogmaister, and Arcuri (2007), studies on multiple in-group identification have drawn attention as researchers investigate identity shifts when individuals begin to identify more strongly with higher status groups while still valuing their lower status groups. This influence of status differences on identity development has drawn attention and will lead to new directions in research. Thus, belonging to different status groups might influence identity development because these groups are valued by those belonging to them.

Another trend in adolescent research is the study of groups that were mostly ignored in previous research, such as diverse populations and immigrants (Smetana et al., 2006). The findings of research in the areas of ethnicity and social class that were done in the past cannot be applied to groups outside of the white male standard group, and a need for new research with non-Westernised groups arose (Smetana et al., 2006).

There is also renewed attention in the positive psychology sector. In positive psychology, the role of identity as mediator, moderator, and outcome has drawn attention (Archer, 2008).

Positive youth development has become an area of increased interest, and individual differences in adjustment and the constructive nature of adolescent development have gained much more attention (Smetana et al., 2006). Resilience is of importance, especially when considering adverse circumstances, and is linked to positive identity outcomes (Archer, 2008).

Even though the focus in adolescent research seems to have shifted from a focus on the negative and problematic to the positive and resilient, the problematic outcomes of adolescence still dominate research today as it has always done (Archer, 2008). During the Apartheid era, during which segregation took place based on racial stereotyping that led to the suppression, abuse and disempowerment of several racial groups, the focus was on risky behaviour, suicide rates, teenage pregnancy, and juvenile behaviour of adolescents. Today, these aspects still receive much attention because these rates are increasing at an alarming rate (Smetana et al., 2006).

Factors that influence the adolescent experience today seem to include earlier entry into puberty, the strive towards higher levels of education, suspended entry into the workforce, and the choice to marry and have children later in life (Bayer et al., 2010). Other factors include pressures such as increases in the HIV/AIDS rate and the cost of living experienced throughout the world. Underprivileged adolescents are often expected to raise households and provide for their extended families, while privileged adolescents, more often than not, have a variety of life choices, which extends the period of experimentation for them (Smetana et al., 2006). However, the focus in adolescent research is on portraying experiences during adolescence from the adolescents' point of view (Bray, Goosken, Kahn, Moses, & Seekings, 2010). Not the focus, but rather how adolescents experience these factors has an effect. An example of this might be that, even though studies are still being done on juvenile behaviour, the focus has moved from why adolescents commit crime (needing to provide for their families) to how they experience the pressure that force them into crime (feeling responsible).

2.4   The South African context and the current study

As was the case in international research, most of the South African research done in earlier years was done on white, Westernised men; therefore, there is a gap in knowledge regarding the applicability of theories for most African racial groups. In the accepted Westernised view, an identity is formed in adolescence as adolescents become more independent and try out new roles in their communities (Erikson, 1964). However, becoming independent is a Westernised view. Current research suggests that white South Africans utilise an individualistic approach, while black South Africans employ a collectivistic approach (Eaton & Louw, 2000). The focus in African families is less on individualism and independence, and more on collectivism and interdependence in society (Nsamenang, 2009). This indicates that contributing to the community is an important aspect during a black individual's adolescence. In collectivistic communities, adolescents are expected to contribute and put the family's needs above their own, but due to increasing Westernisation, adolescents choose to move away from their cultural heritage, leading to a conflict in their identity formation (Mashego & Madu, 2009).

Research is now moving towards studies in multi-ethnic contexts in collectivistic structures (Abubakar et al., 2012). More research is now done in multicultural societies with diverse groups (Adams, 2014). Researchers in the area of identity and group orientation are focusing on diverse groups in multicultural societies (Johnson et al., 2011).

According to Adams and Dzokoto (2003), increasingly visible topics have become identity and the self, with a tendency to question the cultural identity categories. The reason for this phenomenon seems to be that favouring a cultural identity leads to obliviousness regarding a personal identity.

During the Apartheid era, adolescent research focused on the problems posed by the youth. Previous research focused on the process of racial desegregating in the education system and the political imbalances of Apartheid (Holtman et al., 2005). Amoateng and Kalule-Sabiti (2013) point out that most South African studies do not pay much attention to adolescents' intrapersonal interactions. The focus is on the prevalence of problematic behaviours, ignoring the social and economic conditions that might help to explain these behaviours. Studies have been done about pregnancy during adolescence, drug abuse and the effect of religion on adolescent behaviour (Adams & Dzokoto, 2003; Brittian, Lewin, & Norris, 2013; Kaufman, De Wet, & Stadler, 2001), yet few studies consider the constructive side of adolescent development (Smetana et al., 2006).

Soon after Apartheid, the focus shifted to the problems faced by the youth and especially how these problems were experienced by the youth (Bray, 2003). Researchers are now moving towards recognising the historical and cultural backgrounds of their samples, but focusing on everyday experiences (Bray et al., 2010). According to Donald, Dawes, and Louw (2000), there is also a focus on the centrality of perception in studies investigating behavioural reactions.

Research on children and adolescents has become popular, as it is deemed to give the powerless a voice and authority (Bray et al., 2010). Children are now viewed as individuals rather than a part of a family or as works in progress undergoing socialisation (Bray et al., 2010). It has also become evident that neighbourhoods and sociability are important factors in adolescents' lives, but these areas are seldom researched.

Considering the above-mentioned trends, the aim of this study is to explore adolescents' experiences of stereotypes during identity development.

2.5   Chapter summary

In this chapter, adolescence was conceptualised as a period in which tremendous change takes place. The various domains in which these changes occur were discussed. The process of

identity development was outlined. The concepts *identity* and *identity formation* were conceptualised because the focus of this study was on this domain. Various theories and frameworks regarding identity development were discussed, including Erikson's, Marcia's, Jones and McEwen's, and Tajfel's theories. Current international trends and debates regarding identity development were investigated, and these trends were viewed in the South African context.

CHAPTER 3: THE EXPERIENCE OF STEREOTYPES DURING IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT

Stereotypes mostly contain specific information about specific groups of people and are formed by interactions with the environment (Weiten, 2014). In this chapter, stereotypes are conceptualised, and definitions of the concept *stereotype* are given. Terms related to and often confused with stereotypes are considered. Different stereotypes and the development of stereotypes are deliberated. This is done by considering four approaches to social psychology, including the learning, cognitive, motivational, and interdependence approaches (Berryman et al., 2006). The influence stereotypes may have on identity formation is considered. The effects of stereotype threat and the self-fulfilling prophecy are discussed. This is done by associating stereotypes with the various identity theories discussed in the previous chapter. The components that contribute to the continued existence and experience of stereotypes are explained, and various factors that make individuals prone to being stereotyped are considered. In conclusion, a chapter summary is provided.

3.1   Conceptualising stereotypes

Historically, a stereotype was a stable or solid (stereo) seal or stamp (type) from which individual impressions or exact copies were made (Cantwell, 1990). Today, it is seen in the grouping of people based on beliefs regarding certain traits associated with the specific group (Baumeister & Bushman, 2011). Even though homogeneous groups still contain immense individual diversity, group members are regarded as more or less imperfect impressions of one another, and thus just a variant of the specific stereotype stamp (Cantwell, 1990). When investigating the socialisation process, it becomes clear that all social groups are stereotyped in some way (Martiny et al., 2012; Quinn & Chaudior, 2009; Weiten, 2014). The process of stereotyping is seen in the attribution of certain characteristics to specific people, and is based on widely held beliefs, which are socially learnt (Baumeister & Bushman, 2011).

3.1.1   Various definitions of stereotypes

According to Quinn and Chaudior (2009), stereotypes are observed worldwide and can revolve around factors such as race, gender, social class, ethnicity, sexuality, and nationality (Way et al., 2013). Allport and Ross (1967) view stereotypes as a dislike based on a mistaken, but inflexible, generalisation (Katz, 1991). The above-mentioned stereotype categories can have an immense effect on diverse life outcomes, including self-esteem, life satisfaction,

happiness, anxiety, depression, and identity formation (Quinn & Chaudior, 2009). Stereotyping also influences individuals' employment, housing, educational progress, and social development (Way et al., 2013). Negative stereotypes are associated with certain occupation types (Ihme & Möller, 2014) as there are certain characteristics associated with these roles. Consequently there are expectancies for all life roles and thus the social role one assumes can make one more prone to being stereotyped (Koenig & Eagly, 2014).

A stereotype is an image held of a group, based on an opinion that ignores individual differences (Kreidler, 1997). Way et al. (2013) say that stereotypes destroy originality because it generalises and fosters inaccurate perceptions of individuals and transform individual variation into homogeneity (Weiten, 2014). The reason for this lies in the fact that individual traits are not completely fixed or unchanging but rather flexible, variable, elusive, dynamic, adaptive, and transient (Cantwell, 1990).

Stereotypes are the associations and attributions individuals make and hold according to specific characteristics of groups. These associations and attributions mirror beliefs about the characteristics of a typical group member (Dovidio, Hewstone, Glick, & Esses, 2010). Stereotypes are highly resistant to change (Weiten, 2014) and not only accounts for what is perceived, but also shapes the form in which it is perceived (Cantwell, 1990). It is evident that stereotypes are linked closely to discrimination and prejudice; therefore, it is important to distinguish these three terms from one another.

3.1.2 Related terms

The concept *stereotype* is confused with, and sometimes interchangeably used with, related terms such as *prejudice* and *discrimination*, even though these terms are conceptualised very differently. However, it is important to differentiate prejudice and discrimination from the term *stereotype* that is defined in the previous section.

According to Craig and Dunn (2010), prejudice is a negative attitude directed towards individuals based on their membership of a group. The origin of this attitude is found in group interaction (Dovidio et al., 2010) and is shaped without a sufficient reason (Craig & Dunn, 2010). Allport and Ross (1967) view prejudice as antipathy based on faulty generalisation; thus, it is an evaluation of a whole group (Dovidio et al., 2010). Prejudice can be felt and expressed only towards the stereotyped group (Allport & Ross, 1967).

On the other hand, discrimination refers to the unfair and unequal treatment of certain groups or individuals belonging to that group, based on prejudice held against that group (Baumeister & Bushman, 2011). It can be defined as the treatment of others in a biased and prejudiced manner (Craig & Dunn, 2010). The biased behaviour can be in the form of actions with the aim of harming another group and placing them in a disadvantaged position, or in the form of favouring one's own group above the other group unfairly (Dovidio et al., 2010).

From this discussion, it becomes clear that stereotypes (beliefs regarding individuals or groups) lead to prejudice (attitudes regarding these groups), which may lead to discrimination (behaviour that treats these groups unequally).

3.2   Different forms of stereotypes

According to Quinn and Chaudior (2009), stereotypes are observed worldwide and are determined by the communities and contexts individuals encounter. Even though it is impossible to summarise exactly what would make one prone to being stereotyped, the context and topics that are prioritised in that context, heighten the possibility of being stereotyped. Factors that are commonly used to group individuals together and that may lead to stereotyping include gender, race, class, neighbourhoods, ethnicity, sexual orientation, and age. Each of these aspects is discussed next.

Gender divides all individuals into one of two groups, namely male and female (Newman & Newman, 2012). This division is based mainly on biological characteristics, but also incorporates the social roles attributed to each of these groups (Arain et al., 2013). These roles prescribe the expected behaviour, attitude, and emotions for each group and are maintained by social expectations (Smetana et al., 2006). Thus, these gender roles are stereotyped and controlled by the attitude of society towards each role.

Sexual orientation, on the other hand, refers to an individual's sexuality and to which gender attraction is felt (Aspinall & Mitton, 2008). Individuals are grouped as either heterosexual, being interested in the opposite sex; homosexual, being interested in the same sex; or bisexual, being interested in both sexes (Bailey, 2009). Individuals often choose to keep their sexual orientation unknown for fear that others will discriminate against them based on this characteristic, as it is an integral part of their being (Annandale, 2008).

Race has always been one of the major aspects used to group individuals in the world. When considering wars across the globe, from those between the ancient Greeks and Spartans to the Second World War, a clear division between these races could always be made. In South Africa, this was no different. In the Apartheid era, people were characterised according to the colour of their skin (Holtman et. al., 2005). Thus, stereotypes initiated what would become one of the largest oppressive campaigns around the world. Race is determined biologically and therefore seems fixed in an individual (Smetana et al., 2006), yet other aspects such as social expectations, cultural restraints, and communal norms are also related to race.

Class is associated with income and socio-economic status. Status is measured by material conditions, access to resources, and education levels (Smetana et al., 2006). It is assumed that people who earn more have more skills and are more capable than others are (Sen, 2010). Typically, people who are categorised in the lower socio-economic status groups are stigmatised and stereotyped.

Neighbourhood stereotypes are related to class and thus correlate with educational level, crime rate, and personality (Loughnan et al.,, 2013). Neighbourhoods include the surroundings, circumstances, and context in which individuals find themselves (Smetana et al., 2006). This includes the geographic location of individuals, the resources, services, and opportunities available to them, and the problems that they will face (Bray et al., 2010). Neighbourhoods determine attitudes and behaviours because the neighbourhood forms the cognitive patterns used by individuals living in these communities (Smetana et al., 2006). Thus, it is clear that certain stereotypes regarding certain neighbourhoods might form when considering that these groups might think, feel, or behave similarly (Ihme & Möller, 2014).

Finally stereotypes can also include internal character traits, physical appearance, hairstyle, the clothing people choose to wear, music to which people listen, and the food people eat (Ihme & Möller, 2014). It can also include individual preferences and behaviour, as well as the social roles in which individuals find themselves (Lee, McCauley, & Jussim, 2013). As stereotypes can be found in a vast area of domains it becomes imperil to investigate how these stereotypes develop.

3.3   The development of stereotypes

Four social psychological approaches can explain how stereotypes develop. These approaches include the learning approach, the cognitive approach, the motivational approach, and the

interdependence approach (Berryman et. al., 2006). Each of these approaches is discussed next.

3.3.1 The learning approach

According to this approach, behaviour and habits are learnt through the interactions individuals have with their surroundings (Berryman et al., 2006). This type of learning occurs through classical conditioning, operant conditioning, or observational learning.

In classical conditioning, learning occurs through making associations (Morris & Maisto, 2002). According to Gawronski (2003), the behaviour perceived in social roles forms the trait assumed to be possessed by the entire group. The characteristic perceived in the group is associated with all who seem to belong to this group. Thus, according to social role theory (Koenig & Eagly, 2014), stereotypes have their origin in the beliefs formed by the interaction individuals have with members of groups in their typical social roles. This is especially true if the members of the specific group are overrepresented in a certain role compared to the representation of the general population in that specific role (Wood & Eagly, 2012). An example of this is observed when the assumption is made that a doctor is a male, because the medical profession is male dominated, even though there are many female doctors today.

In operant conditioning, learning takes place in an effort to gain a reward or to avoid punishment (Berryman et. al., 2006). Thus, acceptance by a group might serve as a reward, while rejection and stereotyping might serve as punishment in a community, for example when adolescents join gangs to gain acceptance in these groups, while these groups are stereotyped as dangerous.

In observational learning, others are observed and imitated (Morris & Maisto, 2002). Parents seem to be viewed as role models, and their behaviour and opinions can influence the behaviour and opinions of the adolescent observing this, for example when homosexual individuals hide their true identities and condemn other homosexual individuals as their social group does.

3.3.2 The cognitive approach

In this approach, people do not just respond to the environment, but perceive, interpret and analyse information to react beneficially (Berryman et. al., 2006). According to Cantwell (1990), individuals are judged on differences and similarities and then grouped based on a

single trait. Stereotyping is a normal and automatic cognitive process as people are grouped to simplify the social world (Weiten, 2014). Stereotyping is a cognitive method to save time and mental effort as expectancies are created based on these judgements (Baumeister & Bushman, 2011). Stereotypes portray the opportunities and threats others presumably pose (Neuberg & Sng, 2013). These broad overgeneralisations ignore diversity (Weiten, 2014; Way et al., 2013), as these traits are supposed to be unchanging and fixed in the group (Cantwell, 1990). An example of this is observed in the fact that black African American men are perceived to be more dangerous and thus a greater threat than white men (Baumeister & Bushman, 2011). Because the stereotype that black men are dangerous already exists, an individual walking alone in the dark will automatically perceive a black man approaching as a threat, even though the man has done nothing to arouse this assumption. This is also observed when eyewitnesses more often wrongly accuse black men of crimes than they accuse white men (Lebone, 2012).

3.3.3 The motivational approach

In this approach, individuals are thought to strive towards a constant state of balance and thus require consistency between the inputs they get from their surroundings and what they believe about themselves (Berryman et. al., 2006). They will either strive towards changing the input from their surroundings (finding another group) or change their own beliefs regarding themselves (accepting the prescribed values) in an attempt to reach equilibrium in their lives. Continuous change in their surroundings or personal belief system will ultimately bring about the desired consistency (Berryman et al., 2006). An example of this can be seen when females actively choose male-dominated careers to oppose gender role stereotypes, or start believing that they are not capable of succeeding in certain careers and then choose to stay within the existing gender role boundaries.

3.3.4 The interdependence approach

In this approach, the interactions between individuals are important (Berryman et. al., 2006). According to Allport and Ross's (1967) contact theory, in-groups consist of those who hold the stereotype while out-groups refer to groups being stereotyped. Increased contact between these two groups was deemed to decrease the intensity of stereotypes. However, certain conditions concerning this hypothesis are that these groups must be of equal status, have no authority barrier, and not compete but have common goals (Allport & Ross, 1967). An example of this is observed in racially integrated groups where increased contact between

different groups seems to decrease the stereotypes held for each group. On the other hand, Pettigrew, Tropp, Wagner, and Christ (2011) believe that these conditions are not of necessity during contact between diverse groups because other positive outcomes are reached that could decrease the stereotypes in these groups. These authors emphasise respect, friendship, trust, forgiveness, and understanding as outcomes of increased contact.

3.4 Stereotyping and identity development

South Africa has a diverse population in which communities are changing briskly (Arndt, 2014), and identity formation is influenced strongly by the social validation found in adolescents' communities (Baumeister & Bushman, 2011). Thus, re-evaluation takes place when negative feedback is gained from the environment, as is the case when being stereotyped. This might lead to a change in behaviour as the individual conforms to or strengthens his or her stereotyped belief, as it motivates him or her to prove the opposite. Allport and Ross (1967) hypothesise that identity is formed by finding a balance between the true self (who you think you are), the ideal self (who you think others think you should be) and the possible self (who you could be).

Excluded individuals unconsciously mimic others (Claypool & Bernstein, 2014). Studies show that self-concepts are based and constructed on the feedback gained from others (Coleman, 1990). How one perceives oneself is based on how one thinks one is perceived by others (Kadianaki, 2013). According to Claypool and Bernstein (2014), the most adaptive way to respond to exclusion is to seek and form new connections with others, thus conforming. People with a stereotype vulnerability are unsuccessful or do not reach their full potential because they internalise the negative thoughts others have of them (Schiavone, 2009). For example, short- and long-term studies have shown that negative self-stereotypes affect cognitive performance (Levy, Zonderman, Slade, & Ferrucci, 2011).

However, stereotypes not only form identity development in the sense that they prescribe who individuals are allowed to be (Baumeister & Bushman, 2011), but also have an effect as people build their identities to contrast what is expected and prescribed for them (Way et al., 2013). Adolescents actively resist stereotypes by exhibiting the exact opposite behaviour that is expected of their group (Weiten, 2014), and thus, this influences identity formation as these acted-out behaviours become habits (Cantwell, 1990).

As can be seen from the information provided above, individuals compromise who they are in order to fit in and be accepted, or compromise who they are by actively trying to prove the opposite of what the stereotype suggests. Either way, a piece of their identities seems to be lost due to their reactions to the fact that they are being stereotyped. This is demonstrated in the discussion on fulfilling a false stereotype and stereotype threat. To fully apprehend this the components in fulfilling a false stereotype must firstly be investigated.

3.4.1 Components in fulfilling a false stereotype

Three steps are involved in fulfilling a false stereotype (Baumeister & Bushman, 2011). First, the individual has to believe that an event will happen in the future. Second, the expectation creates a new behaviour that would not have been present without the expectation created by believing the stereotype. Third, the event takes place due to the changed behaviour (Baumeister & Bushman, 2011; Coutant, Worchel, Bar-Tal, & Van Raalten, 2011). In the motivational approach (Berryman et al., 2006), this becomes evident as a constant state of balance is sought out, even if the consequences are not desired. An example of this is observed when individuals are afraid of being rejected by their peer group when they are perceived as week due to a personal crisis in their lives. Expecting this, they start pushing those who want to support them away instead of accepting the support. Consequently, they are rejected even though this would not have been the case if the individual had not started the rejection process.

According to Kim, Lee, and Hong (2012), individuals can foresee many of the outcomes in real-performance contexts before engaging in the task. Validating the negative group stereotype beforehand minimises the effect the stereotype has on the person if he or she confirms the stereotype by the behaviour shown. This is evident in the cognitive approach (Baumeister & Bushman, 2011; Berryman et al., 2006), as these individuals try to rationalise the results of their behaviour before they have failed.

The effect of being stereotyped depends on four stigma- and stereotype-related components. According to Quinn and Chaudior (2009), these components are expectation, centrality, salience, and the cultural or community level. The interaction between these components determines the extent to which being stereotyped will influence the individual. Next, each of these components is discussed.

a)   Expectation

When people are aware of the stereotypes held about their groups (Weiten, 2014), they expect a certain amount of prejudice, discrimination, and devaluation based on those beliefs (Coutant et al., 2011). This is seen in the interdependence approach (Berryman et al., 2006) when individuals influence each other. The greater the anticipation, the greater the distress and resulting impairment in functioning will be (Quinn & Chaudior, 2009). An example of this includes the different expectation levels individuals will experience when one individual expects to be stereotyped based on his or her homosexuality and another individual is stereotyped unexpectedly based on getting a piercing. In this way, harm is done not only by the stereotype itself, but also by the anguish caused by the expectation of being stereotyped.

b)   Centrality

This relates to how much an individual relates with the stereotyped group (Coutant et al., 2011). The more an individual identifies with the specific group, the greater the effect will be, because it becomes personal (Quinn & Chaudior, 2009). This is explained by Jones and McEwen's model (Jones & McEwen, 2000), which points out that each individual has multiple identities, but some are of greater importance than others are at certain times. An example of this includes the difference in being stereotyped based on sexuality (very much a part of a person's identity and an important support group in his or her life) versus being stereotyped based on expected characteristics such as being good in sports or cultural activities due to a common cultural characteristic shared within a certain racial or ethnic group, when these aspects are not of personal importance to the individual. Here, the depth and thus power of the influencing stereotype over the individual's life come into consideration.

c)   Salience

This term, linked to the component of centrality, refers to how often the stereotyped factor affects the individual's life on a daily basis (Quinn & Chaudior, 2009). Because some factors are thought of more often than others are and have a greater effect on more domains in a person's life than other factors have, they can affect the experience of being stereotyped (Coutant et al., 2011). Increased salience leads to increased distress (Quinn & Chaudior, 2009). A factor that comes into consideration here is the identity stage in which individuals find themselves. In Marcia's (1966) view of identity, status modes as the experience of a

crisis and the commitment to a decision will affect the salience of the aspect being stereotyped. An example of this is gender stereotypes that prescribed how females should live, what was expected of them, and what was allowed in the 1900s versus cultural stereotypes say relating to eating habits. The reason for this is that gender role stereotypes influence all aspects of the individual's life at home, at work, in the community, and in family and social settings, while eating habits become important in only one aspect of an individual's life.

d) Cultural or community level

This concept refers to the degree to which the factor is devaluated in the community or culture of the specific individual (Coutant et al., 2011). The more the stereotype is connected to the characteristic, the more distress will be experienced, and the greater the effect will be on the individual's functioning (Quinn & Chaudior, 2009). This becomes evident in Jones and McEwen's (2000) theory, as well as Bronfenbrenner's (1979) theory when the context in which stereotyping occurs becomes important. Examples of this include racial stereotypes where black individuals still had a community that accepted them during the Apartheid era, even though the broader community stereotyped and discriminated against them. In contrast with this, people who were stereotyped based on sexuality were even discarded in these ethnic groups and thus faced a higher level of stereotyping.

3.4.2 Self-fulfilling prophecy

A self-fulfilling prophecy is a belief about the future that comes true in part because the belief causes it to come true and can thus be seen as self-stereotyping (Baumeister & Bushman, 2011). According to the learning approach (Morris & Maisto, 2002) and from a behaviouristic perspective (Skinner, 1953), expectation creates behaviour. Individuals seem to feel powerless when they feel stereotyped (Cook et al., 2011) and start fearing that their actions will confirm the stereotype (Van Laar et al., 2008). According to Baumeister and Bushman (2011), the fear of being stereotyped affects performance negatively. This fear creates anxiety, trust issues, and a lack of concentration, thus leading to the confirmation of the stereotype (Van Laar et al., 2008).

When individuals feel stereotyped, they feel greater inhibition, negative affect and behavioural restraint (Cook et al., 2011). According to Cantwell (1990), stereotyped individuals enact others' expectations by internalising them and thus exhibit and reinforce the

false stereotype. Tajfel's (1978) theory also holds that individuals cognitively evaluate and internalise the stereotypes around them and thus react accordingly.

3.4.3 Stereotype threat

People with a stereotype vulnerability are unsuccessful or do not reach their full potential because they internalise the negative thoughts others have of them and thus this influences their identities (Weiten, 2014). Baumeister and Bushman (2011) claim that these (often negative) beliefs come true if they are accepted. Stereotypes are most powerful when they are difficult to contradict (Baumeister & Bushman, 2011). People are aware of negative stereotypes and how those outside their groups judge them (Weiten, 2014). This leads to feelings of exclusion, social isolation, and disconnection (Claypool & Bernstein, 2014). In turn, these feelings can lead to an increase of anticipated stigma and stereotyping, which is the concern that others will discriminate against or shun someone based on certain traits or characteristics that link him or her to a certain group (Quinn & Chaudior, 2009). The anticipation of being stereotyped is a barrier to achievement (Kim et al., 2012).

How strongly the individual identifies with the group that is being stereotyped will influence the effect of being stereotyped (Martiny et al., 2012). When individuals from a stereotyped group expect to fail in a task, they will self-stereotype in order to link the failure to a less central aspect of their self-concept (being members of the stereotyped group), rather than to a more central aspect, like competence (Kim et al., 2012). Thus, according to Martiny et al. (2012), the greater the identification, the more harm the individual will experience. This is seen when individuals accept the stereotypes and expectations of others and then tend to behave in a manner that is consistent with those expectations (Baumeister & Bushman, 2011).

People further look for explanations for events and tend to regard cause and effect as fabricated; therefore, impersonal forces are not regarded as an important determining factor (Katz, 1991). Thus, stereotypes regarding certain groups came into existence. When stereotyped groups find themselves in situations where the stereotype becomes relevant, unique performance pressure is added; consequently, it becomes more likely that the stereotype will be proven accurate (Brown & Lee, 2005).

Stereotypes are also persistent, and a factor that contributes to this static nature is interpersonal communication (Simpson & Kashima, 2013). The reason for this is that stereotypes are useful for managing and understanding social opportunities and threats, even

though they are imperfect and inaccurate (Neuberg & Sng, 2013). In a study by Simpson and Kashima (2013), it was found that when people communicate about a stereotyped group and the information relayed contains both stereotype-consistent and -inconsistent information, the stereotype-consistent information is more likely to be retained.

3.5   Stereotypes in context

According to Erikson (1968), minority-group youths in deprived communities are likely to develop self-hatred and a negative identity as they internalise the views of society. Risk factors affecting such development can include poverty, illness, underachievement, and community violence (Newman & Newman, 2012). In turn, all these factors arise more often in low-income, disadvantaged urban areas (Fiske & Ladd, 2005). Thus, individuals in this period of life have to overcome many hurdles. The difficulties adolescents face are complicated further when the meaning and expectations associated with certain discrimination variables and risk factors come into consideration (Pinckney, Outley, Blake, & Kelly, 2011). Neighbourhoods not only form an integral part of who an individual becomes, but can also become the basis on which they are grouped and consequently stereotyped.

With his eco-systemic perspective, Bronfenbrenner (1979) highlights that it is important to understand the system in which people live, in order to understand their functioning (Kail & Cavanaugh, 2010). Bronfenbrenner (1979) considers the environment on five interrelated levels, namely the micro, meso, exo, macro and chrono systems. Changes or conflict in any one of these systems will result in change in all other systems (Amoateng & Kalule-Sabiti, 2013). Neighbourhoods include circumstances, context, and surroundings; thus, there are various systems to consider when this broad construct is deliberated. To highlight this complexity, Bronfenbrenner's systems theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) is utilised.

Bronfenbrenner (1979) explains the micro system as a pattern of activities, social roles, and interpersonal relations experienced by the developing person. It consists of the people and objects in a person's immediate environment (Kail & Cavanaugh, 2010) and includes an individual's parents, siblings, school, peer groups, teachers, church, and sports teams (Amoateng & Kalule-Sabiti, 2013). These are all the groups to which the individual belongs or is perceived to belong to. In poor neighbourhoods, this system might be made up of children living with their grandparents or having to take care of their younger siblings. These individuals are absent from school much of the time and do not have the luxury of being able

to participate in sports or other recreational activities because it is expensive (Fiske & Ladd, 2005). Their peer groups are living in the same conditions, and many of them have dropped out of school thus reinforcing the experienced stereotypes. Stereotyping in this system can then be observed where children in these disadvantaged areas are regarded as potential criminals and their dreams and hopes are discarded (Ihme & Möller, 2014). Teachers mostly do not understand these circumstances, and there is no one to turn to for these individuals as they struggle through their daily lives (Fiske & Ladd, 2005).

Micro systems are connected to form the meso system (Kail & Cavanaugh, 2010). These micro systems influence one another when they interact and change (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Amoateng & Kalule-Sabiti, 2013). Thus, the different groups to which individuals belong will influence one another, with an effect on the individual, depending on the importance of each group to the individual. Once again, an example of the interaction between these systems in a poor neighbourhood can be observed in the interaction between the adolescent's parents and the school. A parent from a poor neighbourhood is not necessarily as involved in the adolescent's school as a privileged parent is, as he or she does not have the time to be involved. The interaction between the parent and the teachers then is limited; consequently, the adolescent does not receive the support needed to succeed in school. Examples of stereotypes experienced here include that teachers may perceive uninvolved parents as not caring about their children's education, while this lack of involvement might be due to the parents' circumstances.

The exo system refers to the interconnections between the micro and meso systems (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). The individual has no direct contact with or experience of these systems, but they still influence the person and all the other systems (Visser & Moleko, 2012). For example, changes in government policy and the parents' occupations are examples of exo systems (Amoateng & Kalule-Sabiti, 2013). In a poor neighbourhood, there might not be running water, access to health care, or opportunities for further study for adolescents. Examples of stereotypes in this system include that individuals living in these conditions are not used to anything better and consequently do not aspire to achieve anything in life.

The macro system is the broadest environmental context, which consists of the cultures and subcultures in which the micro system, meso system, and exo system of the individual are embedded (Kail and Cavanaugh, 2010). This includes society (the community), religion, and heritage of individuals (Amoateng & Kalule-Sabiti, 2013). An example of this is that

Westernisation has become the custom, and the standard of living is set by Westernised countries (Loughnan et al., 2013). Less advanced societies are then perceived as less mature, capable and civilised (Saminaden, Loughnan, & Haslam, 2010). In a poor neighbourhood, individuals might then be perceived as filthy and as drug addicts with no future.

The macro system evolves over time and thus relates to the chrono system, as each generation may develop in a unique macro system according to what is happening in society and the world at that time (Kail & Cavanaugh, 2010). What was once unacceptable then might become acceptable, and thus stereotypes might change. An example of this is change of gender role, as it has become acceptable for women to work instead of raising their children as housewives.

3.6   Chapter summary

In this chapter, stereotypes were conceptualised, and various definitions of stereotypes were given. Terms that are often confused with the term *stereotype* were discussed. Various forms of stereotypes were deliberated, and the development of stereotypes was investigated by considering four approaches, namely the learning, cognitive, motivational and interdependence approaches. The influence stereotypes may have on identity formation and the effect of stereotype threat and self-fulfilling prophecy on the functioning of individuals were discussed. The components that contribute to the continued existence and experience of stereotypes were explained, and factors that make one prone to being stereotyped were discussed.

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY

In this chapter, an overview of the methodology employed for this research study is provided. First, the rationale, purpose, and aim of this study are stated. Second, an overview of the research design and approach is given. In the third and fourth sections, the research participants are discussed by considering their demographic and biographic information, and an overview of the sampling and data-gathering procedures is given. Fifth, the data-analysis procedures employed in this study are explained. In the sixth section, the ethical concerns addressed in this study are outlined, and the trustworthiness of this study is considered, the researchers reflexivity is also discussed in this section. In conclusion, a chapter summary is provided.

4.1   Rationale, purpose and aim of the study

Cohler and Hammack (2007) state that being from a minority or disadvantaged culture makes building a secure and positive self-image very difficult. According to Papalia, Olds and Feldman (2009), young people with sound emotional support structures in their community, schools, and homes develop more positively. Individuals living in low socio-economic neighbourhoods find themselves in situations of greater poverty and crime levels, where they often experience less social support and thus need to develop more coping skills than those individuals living in more privileged neighbourhoods (Austin et al., 2009). The transition to adult roles and responsibilities is more rapid in disadvantaged communities, as adolescents have to head households, face homelessness, and have to take care of and provide for younger siblings (Dashiff, DiMicco, Myers, & Sheppard, 2009), due to a lack of good and affordable health care, poverty, drug use, and unemployment (Miller, Webster, & Macintosh, 2002), which is often experienced in these areas. According to Mcbride-Murry et al. (2011), certain neighbourhoods, specifically lower socio-economic neighbourhoods, may inhibit identity exploration by creating challenging environments for adolescents' development. Furthermore, the associated lower socio-economic factors all contribute to greater stigmatisation and stereotyping (Schiavone, 2009).

In South Africa, during the Apartheid era, one's race determined the community in which one would live. Black individuals were placed in communities, provided with little to no resources or services, and given no rights due to the colour of their skins (Howie, 2003). Even though Apartheid theoretically is something of the past, most black people still live under the

conditions caused by this paradigm. Today, twenty years after Apartheid, many areas are still disadvantaged and underprivileged; crime rates are high, and income, education and opportunities are low (Lebone, 2012).

In central South Africa, many people in disadvantaged neighbourhoods (mainly black neighbourhoods) frequently find themselves in adverse situations leading to a lack of support structures in their lives (Miller et al., 2002). These situations include exposure to trauma, crime, poverty, and abuse. These individuals have to live with divorce, discrimination, AIDS, unemployment, the abuse of alcohol and drugs, and being homeless (Miller et al., 2002). According to Nsamenang (2009), all these factors affect the identity formation of South African adolescents in disadvantaged communities. No South African studies payed specific attention to adolescents' intrapersonal interactions, and the social and economic circumstances that contribute to the related development are ignored (Amoateng & Kalule-Sabiti, 2013). Therefore, it becomes important to understand the experience of identity development of South African adolescents in this challenging context (Arndt, 2014).

In an American study investigating the influence of the macro context on identity formation, it was found that stereotypes do influence meaning-making processes and, thus, how identities are formed. However, the influence of stereotypes on identity formation has not gained much attention (Way et al., 2013). Research concerning the effects of neighbourhood influences in the construction of identity is also scarce and inconclusive (Mcbride-Murry et al., 2011).

The focus of the current research, like previous studies by Smetana et al. (2006), is on gaining greater understanding of the power of a context in shaping, influencing, and constraining adolescent development. These new insights can illuminate the influence of socio-cultural aspects on the developing adolescent (Kadianaki, 2013). A better understanding of the experiences of stereotypes during the identity development of South African adolescents can lead to better interventions to counter stereotypes. Therefore, the aim of this study was to explore adolescents' experiences of stereotypes during identity development.

4.2 Research methodology, approach and design

In this study, qualitative research (Salkind, 2008) was conducted by using a case study design (Baxter & Jack, 2008). An overview of the essence of this specific approach and design is provided in the following sections. The strengths and limitations of each are stated, and reasons are given for choosing this approach and design for this specific study. An

explanation of the application of this approach and design in the current study is also provided.

4.2.1 Qualitative research approach

In the qualitative paradigm, it is assumed that there is more than one reality, as knowledge and reality are formed through subjective experience (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Taylor-Powell & Renner, 2003). Qualitative research methods are employed to gain in-depth understanding of the human being by exploring and describing the behaviour, feelings, and reactions of participants (Babbie & Mouton, 2005) in real-world situations (Baxter & Jack, 2008). The focus is thus placed on the collection of data in a real-world context rather than relying on reproduced data (Yin, 2012).

The number of psychology publications engaging in qualitative methods of doing social research has increased since the 1990s (Carrera-Fernández, Guàrdia-Olmos, & Peró-Cebollero, 2014). Before this period, qualitative approaches were avoided, as it was viewed as subjective, and thus unscientific in nature (Freeman, 2013). Criticisms against qualitative approaches include that small samples are used and that generalisability can be questioned (Baxter & Jack, 2008). The researcher plays an active role in generating the information gained from participants, and thus it may appear as if the researcher can influence the results to suit the research aim. However, qualitative researchers do not agree with these criticisms (Carrera-Fernández et al., 2014).

The strengths of qualitative work include that the data gathered are rich, descriptive, and representative of real-world conditions and situations (Babbie & Mouton, 2005; Freeman, 2013). This approach provides the opportunity to access problems that could not be approached with quantitative methods (Carrera-Fernández et al., 2014). Furthermore, the participants' views and experiences are gained as they construct their own realities (Denzin, Lincoln, & Giardina, 2006).

Freeman (2013) states that the object of inquiry in a qualitative paradigm is not an objective in itself. The objective is rather understanding "the living, breathing, loving, suffering, praying, dying human being" (Freeman, 2013, p. 120). Thus, it is a subjective process, as participants are unique and interpret situations differently, depending on the diverse experiences they have had (Freeman, 2013). This indicates that one cannot view or

understand research participants' answers objectively, as these answers are not based in objectivity.

A qualitative approach was relevant to this study because the focus was on participants' experiences. Being stereotyped is a very personal and sensitive issue. A true understanding of the implications this has on identity formation can be gained only by gathering quality, in-depth data regarding experiences, rather than by analysing objective data sets. To counter the claims that qualitative data is too subjective, unreliable, and invalid, the transferability, credibility, confirmability and dependability (Morrow, 2005) of this study are considered in a later section of this chapter.

4.2.2   Case study research design

Case study research has been defined as a method, a design, and a methodology (Van Wynsberghe & Khan, 2007). According to Yin (2009), the case study method can be defined as an investigation regarding a modern-day phenomenon occurring in its real-world context. According to Yin (2012), understanding the context and other complex circumstances connected to the case being studied are fundamental to understanding the case itself. The reasoning behind this statement is that considering a wide range of situational factors can give a researcher an 'insider' perspective in the lives of the participants, thus making data deep and meaningful (Sorin-Peters, 2004).

A case study approach is used in the qualitative paradigm when researchers wish to gain in-depth, thorough understanding of a small group of participants' experiences of certain events or circumstances (Baxter & Jack, 2008). This then explains the why, how, and what of the participants' thoughts and behaviours (Van Wynsberghe & Khan, 2007). Researchers consider more than isolated variables when information is gained from multiple sources. This multi-layered approach gives rise to a variety of topics stemming from a single case study (Yin, 2012). This method is appropriate when a comprehensive investigation of a case can provide insights into social themes considered important (Sorin-Peters, 2004).

There are various limitations in doing case study research, including that it is very time consuming (Baxter & Jack, 2008), and the topics for case study research must be selected very carefully (Creswell, 2012). The data gathered may be extremely contextualised, giving rise to questions regarding the generalisability of this method (Baxter & Jack, 2008; Creswell, 2012; Yin, 2009). Using case studies makes each research project unique (Bassey, 1999). This

implies that general frameworks need to be developed and utilised to ensure that case study research projects can be replicated and yield theoretical insights (Bassey, 1999). Yin (2009) points out that, due to the large amount of information and difficulty to organise the data, case study documents might be difficult to read. There might also be ethical concerns, as uncontrolled interventions can influence the lives of participants, distort world-views and showcase dynamic events as static (Baxter & Jack, 2008).

The positive features of the case study method make it relevant for use in this study. These attributes include in-depth understanding that is gained when examining the themes that arise in discussions (Baxter & Jack, 2008). Participants can also relate to and contribute to one another's experience of the same occurrence as they hear one another's stories. Research occurs in a natural setting, and thus prohibits the alteration of reactions and behaviour of participants that might follow when they are placed in situations unrelated to the phenomenon under study (Van Wynsberghe & Khan, 2007). This method gives attention to and recognises the complexity, subtlety and social truths embedded in the social worlds of the participants (Bassey, 1999).

A case study method was appropriate for use in this study because an attempt was made to identify themes rooted in certain social truths. This method is also appropriate because the context can be considered from within its framework, thus giving rise to information that is multi-layered and describes the case study, namely the influence of stereotypes on identity development, in detail.

4.3   Research participants and sampling procedures

The population group of interest in this study consisted of black adolescents from the Mangaung area in central South Africa, even though some of these learners did not identify themselves as black (Appendix F). For the purpose of this study, adolescence is defined as a complex period between the ages of 12 and 18 years, during which transitions in various domains take place and the adolescent searches for a congruent identity and role in society.

This study was conducted at a high school in the Mangaung area of central South Africa. Mangaung is situated adjacent to Bloemfontein in the Free State Province in central South Africa and is an area where one can still see the effects of the neglect of Apartheid government on the community living here. Schools in this area serve mostly black learners. Owing to the effect of Apartheid in South Africa, these individuals are more likely to live in

these underprivileged areas (Howie, 2003). In these areas, education standards are lower, and individuals have to learn how to be autonomous much sooner than those who have parents who are able to provide for them (Howie, 2003). Individuals in the Mangaung area in particular do not have the resources, connections, or opportunities that those in better socio-economic groups have. Therefore, in this study, being black entails the reality of having to cope with adverse situations from a very young age with little prospect of improved circumstances.

A non-probability sampling method, namely purposive sampling (Stangor, 2011), was employed to select participants for this study. Purposive sampling is a sampling method by which individuals are selected based on their ability to provide relevant data (Creswell, 2012). According to Babbie and Mouton (2004), the aim is not the proportionality of the sample, but rather to contact individuals who have direct experience of the variable under study and can thus fulfil the goals of the study.

The strengths of purposive sampling include that this method of sampling gives the researcher control over the inclusion of participants and thus yields rich, meaningful data (Babbie & Mouton, 2004), making it relevant for use in this study. Participants can be selected according to their willingness to provide the necessary information and the experience needed to do so (Tongco, 2007). All participants participated willingly, as they had the opportunity to indicate whether they wanted to be part of the study (Appendix E). Only participants who were interested in the topic participated in the discussion.

On the other hand, limitations of purposive sampling include that meaningful data are missed when the selected individuals feel that the issue is too sensitive to talk about. Participants were selected specifically for thus study according to their experience of a certain topic and thus might have been hesitant to participate due to the meaning the sensitive topic had in their own lives. Another disadvantage of purposive sampling is that the selection of participants is very subjective; therefore, the researcher's bias can affect the participants (Babbie & Mouton, 2004). Other factors and practicalities, such as school test schedules, may also affect who volunteer to be a part of the study. Therefore, for this study, the researcher needed information on possible participants in advance to make sure that the necessary information would be gained when gathering data.

Only one school was selected to participate in this study because the school was a good example of the community life experienced in this neighbourhood in the Mangaung area. At the beginning of this study, the researcher arranged a meeting with the principal and the Life Orientation teacher of the school and discussed the topic that would be dealt with in the focus group sessions. The type of information needed for this study was identified (Appendix F). Certain Grade 10 and 11 classes in the school were selected to participate in this study, based on key informants' (the principal and teachers') recommendations. In their classrooms, these key informants were aware of the various individuals' situations and abilities. The aim of the study was explained to the groups, and the selected individuals could then decide whether they wanted to participate in the study.

Inclusion criteria for participating in this study were being an adolescent, a person between the ages of 12 and 18 in the identified disadvantaged school in the Mangaung area of central South Africa, being from a black African ethnic group, and having had a subjective perceived experience of being stereotyped that the participant was willing to talk about. For the purpose of this study, this meant that participants had to know what stereotyping means, should personally have experienced some sort of stereotyping, and had to be willing and able to articulate their experience. All participants were fully informed regarding the essence of the study and had the option of withdrawing from the study (Appendix E). Furthermore, all participants had to be proficient in English to ensure that effective communication could take place.

Exclusion criteria included being over the age of 18, but still in school, being unable to speak English, and not being from a black African ethnic group.

The final sample consisted of three focus groups with approximately 25 participants per group. Table 3 shows a summary of the information gathered in the biographic questionnaire.

Table 3

Biographic information

	Participant information	Focus group 1	Focus group 2	Focus group 3	Total sample	Percentage
	n	25	23	25	73	100
Age	13	0	1	0	1	1,4
	14	0	0	0	0	0
	15	6	2	0	8	11,0
	16	9	3	2	14	19,2
	17	7	10	9	26	35,6
	Unknown	3	7	14	24	32.8
Gender	Female	16	7	9	32	43,8
	Male	6	10	2	18	24,7
	Unknown	3	6	14	23	31,5
Home Language	Afrikaans	0	3	0	3	4,1
	English	0	1	0	1	1,4
	Sesotho	7	2	2	11	15,1
	isiXhosa	2	1	0	3	4,1
	Setswana	13	10	9	32	43,8
	Unknown	3	6	14	23	31,5
Race	Black	22	13	10	45	61,6
	White	0	1	0	1	1,4
	Coloured	0	3	1	4	5,5
	Unknown	3	6	14	23	31,5%

The majority of the participants were 17 years old, thus placing them in the period of late adolescence. Approximately half of the participants identified themselves as females, while 31% of participants preferred not to identify themselves in terms of their gender. Most participants spoke Setswana as a home language, and 61% of participants identified themselves as being from a black racial group. Some of the participants preferred not to identify themselves in terms of any of these aspects; therefore were grouped in the 'Other' or 'Unknown' category.

4.4 Data-gathering procedures

Data were collected by means of semi-structured focus group discussions. By means of this method, understanding of the experiences black adolescents have regarding stereotypes and how they interpret what happens in their world relating to their identity development was gained. Focus group discussions are a method of data gathering in which group interviews with purposefully nominated individuals are held to gain insight into the participants' feelings, ideas, attitudes, and thoughts about a certain subject (Silverman, 2006). Focus groups are used to gather information in a non-threatening, non-evaluative, open environment (Stewart, Shamdasani, & Rook, 2007). This method is effective when researchers try to gain understanding of real experiences (Gibson & Brown, 2009).

A positive aspect of this method is the rich and detailed information that can be gathered (Howitt, 2010) as new ideas emerge from what is heard in the discussion. Note can be taken of differences in opinion, and the researcher can easily keep the participants to the topic (Gibson & Brown, 2009). A limitation of focus groups is that the researcher is a subjective part of the discussion and thus may influence the group's opinion about the subject at hand (Gibson & Brown, 2009). Adolescence is also a period in which social validation and acceptance is of utmost importance; therefore, the honesty of participants can be questioned when they have to give an opinion while their peers are listening.

Some researchers suggest that there should be no more than 10 participants in a focus group (Grønkjær, Curtis, De Crespingny, & Delmar, 2011), while others believe that as long as communication between the members are possible, the group is regarded as a focus group (Belzile & Oberg, 2012). On average, prescribed focus groups consist of approximately 15 participants, with each individual becoming an expert on the given topic (Gaizauskaike, 2012).

Smaller groups are preferred because participants can relate to and contribute to each other's experience of the same occurrence as they hear each other's stories when everyone has a speaking turn (Gaizauskaike, 2012). Individuals are more prone to share their thoughts when they believe that the group can be trusted, and shy individuals will voice their opinions in smaller groups (Belzile & Oberg, 2012). On the other hand, individuals might feel pressured when they are the only ones who do not agree with the group, as might be the case in small

groups (Grønkjær et al., 2011). Heterogeneity is also lost in small groups because participants are selected according to similar characteristics (Belzile & Oberg, 2012).

Using small focus groups is a non-standardised technique; therefore, the use of larger groups is not prohibited. A larger focus group implies that an expert group is formed rather than viewing individuals as experts (Acocella, 2012). Having more participants in a group gives rise to a diversity of opinions that might not have arisen if fewer members were present (Gaizauskaike, 2012). The reason for this is that individuals may be afraid to say that they disagree with what someone is saying when they stand alone, but with the support of people they know in their group who share their feelings, they will be more prone to confront the stated idea. This also allows the researcher to consider contradictions in the views of participants (Creswell, 2012). A weakness of using bigger groups is that using large groups comes at the expense of gaining detailed description, as participants may not feel that they can share their experiences in large groups (Van Wynsberghe & Khan, 2007). Not all participants get the opportunity to voice their opinions, and the time limit does not allow for probing those who do not contribute voluntarily.

The researcher decided to use a bigger focus group sample for each session because this would include a heterogeneous group of individuals, as would be found in a normal community setting. In this focus group would be room for various subgroups creating the opportunity to investigate the stereotypes experienced by the diverse groups. Because stereotypes are formed by a group's view of another group, it is evident that this could be witnessed in a bigger focus group. Individuals would also be given the opportunity to voice the opinions of their in-group and hear the opinions of the out-group with which they usually did not have contact.

At the beginning of each focus group, the topic was introduced to the participants, the research aim was explained, and informed consent was obtained. This was done verbally and by using an informed consent form (Appendix E) that each participant signed after he or she had read the information. A self-compiled biographic and demographic questionnaire (see Appendix F) was used to gain information regarding participants' gender, age, and race.

The data required in this study were personal in nature; therefore, a collaborative and communicative environment was created to ensure that participants felt free to share their stories. A safe, friendly, and supportive space was created where participants felt comfortable

and thus could share their experiences. All opinions were accepted as relevant and considered for further discussion, according to the particular focus group's needs. Participants were encouraged to share any experiences they were willing to, relating to the topic at hand. All participants were given an opportunity, and encouraged, to contribute.

Semi-structured questions were asked to direct the discussion according to the research topic and aim (Appendix F). These questions were kept open ended, and additional relevant questions were incorporated as the opportunity presented itself during the discussions. As the data required had to be subjective and rich in detail, this approach was used to keep the discussion open and free from rigid structure. Semi-structured questions included questions such as the following: *Would you say that you have been stereotyped in some way? Could the experience of these stereotypical situations affect identity development?* With the consent of the participants, all the sessions were recorded and transcribed verbatim for later analysis (Appendix G).

4.5   Data analysis

The data gathered in this study were analysed by means of thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006), in which patterns in data were identified as main and subthemes that emerged from the data sets. The realities, meanings, and experiences of participants considered as underlying assumptions, ideas, and conceptualisations were investigated (Taylor-Powell & Renner, 2003).

The advantages of this method of analysis include its flexibility, interdependence to theory, and wide range of applicability. It can provide an in-depth, detailed, and rich description of the meaning found in the participants' responses (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Thematic analysis consists of and can be explained in six phases (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Taylor-Powell & Renner, 2003). In Phase 1, it is important to familiarise oneself with the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Taylor-Powell & Renner, 2003). Repeated active reading of the data sets is important in the search for patterns and meaning (Taylor-Powell & Renner, 2003). The researcher can check for accuracy by comparing recordings made in focus groups with the transcribed text to ensure that the meaning is not lost (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Taylor-Powell & Renner, 2003). Phase 2 in the thematic analysis process consists of generating initial codes (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Taylor-Powell & Renner, 2003). Data should be organised into meaningful groups that become the building blocks for the identification of themes (Taylor-

Powell & Renner, 2003). In Phase 3, the researcher searches for themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Taylor-Powell, & Renner, 2003). A list of different codes can be made in this phase, and codes are then divided into potential themes. Different codes can be linked and combined as main themes and subthemes arise (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). In Phase 4, the themes identified in Phase 3 should be refined by searching for supporting or contradicting data (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Taylor-Powell & Renner, 2003). Phase 5 consists of naming and defining the identified themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Taylor-Powell & Renner, 2003). The researcher identifies the essence of each theme and determines which aspect of the data each theme represents (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Each theme is analysed and documented in order to identify subthemes and ensure that there is a link between themes, but that the overlap does not lead to unnecessary repetition (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Taylor-Powell & Renner, 2003). In Phase 6, the story the data tell is told concisely, logically, and non-repetitively (Taylor-Powell & Renner, 2003).

In this study, the researcher personally collected the data, and thus entered analysis with prior knowledge, interests, and thoughts regarding the data. The researcher took notes of ideas during the collection process. The notes taken were used to support initial codes regarding the information contained in the data. A mind map was used to organise all the different codes in meaningful ways as relations among them arose and became clear as data were read again and coded for analysis. The researcher tried to ensure that coherence and cohesion consisted in all identified themes and the data set as a whole by crosschecking the themes identified. The researcher named the identified themes according to broadly known and accepted terms that represented the themes that emerged. The documented themes are shown in the results section of this dissertation.

4.6   Ethical considerations

Researchers should follow and honour the ethical codes that exist in doing social research, as searching for the truth may never infringe on people's rights (Babbie & Mouton, 2004). One should follow ethical guidelines to ensure that all participants are treated fairly, equally, and with dignity and respect. Some of these considerations are discussed below.

All host institutions or organisations must authorise and approve any research to be done in advance (Stangor, 2011). Research must then be done in accordance with the approved research protocol (Babbie & Mouton, 2004; Shenton, 2004). To ensure that the rights of all

participants in this study were respected and considered, permission to conduct this study was granted by the Research Committee of the Department of Psychology and the Research Ethics Committee of the Faculty of the Humanities of the University of the Free State, ethical code number, UFS-HUM-2013-30 (Appendix A). Authorisation to conduct focus group sessions in the school was obtained from the Free State Department of Education (Appendix B). The aim of the study and the procedures that would be followed were explained in writing to the school principal (Appendix C), and permission to conduct the study at the school was obtained from the school principal (Appendix D).

According to Babbie and Mouton (2004), social research can intrude people's lives and disrupt their activities. Researchers ask participants to reveal personal information, and participants should have a choice whether they are willing to do so (Stangor, 2011). Participants should be informed regarding the purpose, duration and procedures of the study (Stangor, 2011). They should know that they are free to withdraw at any time, who to contact if they have any questions and what to expect during the study (Babbie & Mouton, 2004; Stangor, 2011). It is of utmost importance that participants are not deceived in any way regarding what to expect or what they can gain from participating in the research study (Babbie & Mouton, 2004; Stangor, 2011). The aim of this research was discussed with all participants, and precautions were taken to prevent uncertainty, fear, and suspicion. The researcher was authentic and honest with all participants, and thus, no false expectations were created, and no deception took place. Willing, informed consent was obtained from all available participants by using learner consent forms. The learner consent form (Appendix E), which was signed by each participant, pointed out that participation in the research study was voluntary, as participants were given the choice to participate in the study, and they were free to withdraw from the study at any time. The learner consent form provided information regarding the topic at hand, the nature of the questions to be expected, and the expectations of the researcher should the individual choose to participate. At the beginning of the focus group discussions, the aim of the study was explained to the participants, and they were given the opportunity to ask any questions related to the study. The researcher also explained that all sessions would be recorded for later transcription (Appendix G).

Participants' identities and specific contributions should be protected as far as possible (Babbie & Mouton, 2004). Anonymity is implemented when the researcher cannot link the specific response to a certain individual (Babbie & Mouton, 2004; Stangor, 2011).

Confidentiality, on the other hand, refers to an agreement in which the researcher is able to link the specific response to a certain individual, but undertakes not to (Babbie & Mouton, 2004). This was explained to all parties to this research beforehand, and all participants knew that their information would be kept anonymous. Only the researcher and her supervisor had access to the recordings and transcribed data collected in the focus group sessions. All the participants' contributions were kept anonymous in the transcriptions (Appendix G) and the information obtained by means of the biographic questionnaire (Appendix F) could not be linked to the information obtained from the participants' discussions.

Social researchers work with sensitive information that can cause psychological harm when it is not treated with the necessary respect (Babbie & Mouton, 2004). Participants are sometimes unaware of certain aspects within themselves, which are uncovered during a study; this can cause stress and affect their daily living (Stangor, 2011). In this study, caution was taken to avoid potential risk or harm to participants by ensuring confidentiality and giving them the option to withdraw from the study at any time. The researcher offered to send a copy of the research results to the school principal, where participants who were interested could view the copy.

4.7   Trustworthiness

The trustworthiness of research is found in ensuring that the study is credible, confirmable, dependable, and transferable (Babbie & Mouton, 2004). In qualitative studies, however, these factors are often questioned due to the subjective nature of data collection. Therefore, it is vital for the researcher to ensure that the study is kept as valid and reliable as possible by ensuring the trustworthiness of the study (Babbie & Mouton, 2004; Lincoln & Guba, 1982; Shenton, 2004).

Credibility implies that the findings are a true interpretation of the data gathered (Babbie & Mouton, 2004). This concept is an indication of the accuracy of the data gathered in terms of reality (Shenton, 2004). It is important to ensure that all relevant information is included and irrelevant information excluded (Salkind, 2008; Shenton, 2004). It can be achieved by doing persistent observation, member checks, peer debriefing and focusing on researcher reflexivity (Babbie, & Mouton, 2004; Salkind, 2008). This can also be achieved by including heterogeneous individuals in the group to gain variety in the responses (Patton, 1990). In this

study, credibility was achieved by comparing results found between different focus groups and identifying overlapping themes and subthemes in all three groups.

Confirmability is the degree to which the reader can validate the findings and to which the findings are unbiased by the researcher's predispositions. It is important to show that the data represent reality and not the researcher's biases or prescribed theories (Shenton, 2004). This is done by keeping an audit trail and by including the transcribed data and direct quotations to support the proposed findings. Therefore, researchers must emphasise that their findings stem from the data collected and not from their personal biases.

Dependability means that the findings in a study are consistent (Babbie & Mouton, 2004). This is done by implementing overlapping methods and triangulation. In this study, the themes that emerged from the various focus group discussions also supported dependability in the study, as their significance was confirmed when they repeatedly arose in the study.

The transferability of a study is the capacity to transfer the findings of the study to other contexts and groups (Lincoln & Guba, 1982; Salkind, 2008) and other samples (Babbie & Mouton, 2004). This implies that any researcher who wishes to replicate the study can see exactly what was done and how it was done (Salkind, 2008). This is ensured by detailed descriptions of the research design, implementation methods, and specific context in which data were gathered (Shenton, 2004). In this study, this was done by describing each method used in detail. As qualitative work is subjective, there is no guarantee that results can be transferred. Yet, with detailed explanations and descriptions of the participants' views and context, transferability can be achieved and is left to the reader to determine.

Researcher reflexivity is another important factor that implies assurance that biases of researchers do not infringe on the study at hand (Babbie & Mouton, 2004). All biases that could possibly influence the study should be noted and considered, and the researcher should be aware of this while conducting the study.

The trustworthiness of this study was assured by carefully taking notes of any biases that arose as the study progressed. The researcher is a white female and thus she could not identify with the participants on a racial level. She could however relate on a gender level as discrimination against females is also important in the African context. As the researcher is 23 years old, it was possible to relate to the adolescents who took part in this study. Unfortunately the researcher cannot speak any African languages and thus this could have had

an influence on the meanings derived on either side of the focus group discussions. The researcher's motivation for doing this study relates to intrigue regarding the multi-layered process of identity development and those factors influencing this development.

4.8   Chapter summary

In this chapter, an overview of the methodology employed for this research project was provided. The aim of this study was stated, and the qualitative research design and case study approach used in this study was explained. The non-probability sampling method, purposive sampling, was discussed, and an overview was given regarding the demographic and biographic information of the participants. The method of data analysis, namely thematic analysis, was considered, and the ethical considerations and the importance of the trustworthiness of this study were discussed.

CHAPTER 5: PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF THE RESULTS OF THIS STUDY

In this chapter, an overview is given regarding the results obtained in this study. First, the results emerging from the thematic analysis are presented. Then, these results are discussed by comparing and contrasting the results with theoretical frameworks and previous research findings in the field. The chapter is concluded with a chapter summary.

5.1 Results

In this section, the themes that emerged from the analysis of the focus group discussions are presented. The main themes that emerged in the thematic analysis are presented in the following three overarching categories: 'Who I am', relating to the participants' perceptions regarding identity; 'Being stereotyped', relating to the participants' perceptions regarding stereotypes; and 'Being stereotyped while trying to be me', relating to the participants' perceptions regarding the relationship between identity and stereotypes. Each of these themes consists of various subthemes. By carefully considering each of these subthemes separately, a picture was created regarding adolescents' experiences of stereotypes during identity development. A summary of the themes and subthemes is provided in Table 4.

Table 4

The Main Themes and Subthemes that Emerged Regarding Adolescents' Experiences of Stereotypes during Identity Development.

Main theme		Subthemes
Who I am	The manner in which adolescents perceive identity	What it means to be me
		Becoming who I am
Being stereotyped	The manner in which adolescents perceive and experience stereotypes in their daily lives	Perceptions of stereotyping
		The stereotypes in my life
		How stereotypes develop
		My feelings about being stereotyped
		Breaking the cycle of stereotyping
Being stereotyped while trying to be me	The manner in which adolescents perceive stereotypes to relate to their identity development	

5.1.1 Who I am

From the participants' viewpoints, it has become clear that identity development is a very diverse process that can be experienced as difficult and stressful, as well as calm and peaceful. Many factors relate to the process of forming an identity, many of which are experienced as external and uncontrollable. In this first theme, the manner in which participants in this study perceived identity is summarised. This theme contains two subthemes, namely 'What it means to be me', referring to how the participants defined their identities, and 'Becoming who I am', referring to the various aspects they regarded as contributing to their identity development. These subthemes are discussed next.

a)   What it means to be me

The participants defined identity as something unique about oneself that is regarded as "*being the original you*" (3.17 Female participant, Focus Group 3), as well as aspects that make one different from others.

The participants described identity by referring to the importance of self-knowledge, for example in the following phrase from a statement: "*... knowing yourself, identifying yourself, knowing your weaknesses and strengths and your advantages and disadvantages...*" (1.13 Female participant, Focus Group 1). All the participants placed high priority on the task of finding their true selves.

Some participants viewed identity as something from within, while others expressed the view that identity encompasses the whole person – both inside and outside aspects, including thought processes and behavioural patterns, as well as values. One participant stated that it is "*all about a person, a name, a religion, a belief*" (3.25 Male participant, Focus Group 3).

Most participants related their current identity to a phase of transformation and referred to the changes they were going through in this life stage, as follows: "*It is like when you grow then there are like changes that happen in your like physical appearance*" (2.23 Male participant, Focus Group 2). Physical changes were mentioned most prominently as something of which the participating adolescents were acutely aware.

b)   Becoming who I am

Participants related development to finding oneself and becoming who one really wants to be. A participant explained development as "*just to dig more, to know more about who you really are*" (3.17 Female participant, Focus Group 3). Identity development was described as a growth process, for example in the following phase from a statement: "*when you actually get to know yourself more, experience some stuff*" (1.11 Female participant, Focus Group 1).

Participants identified a variety of factors that facilitated the process of becoming who they were. Some of these factors included the culture and traditions in their lives, their need for social support, and the role models in their lives.

Development was regarded as an inherent trait that is part of "*your culture and where you come from*" (3.12 Female participant, Focus Group 3). Development has traditional roots that include the culture and traditions in which adolescents grow up, the family ancestors and traditional rituals in which they are expected to take part. This was of importance in this study, as one participant stated that it occurred to "*especially black people*" (1.41 Female participant, Focus Group 1) where tradition still played a large role in their everyday lives. This affected individuals' aspirations and in what they to take part in their communities.

Participants identified social support as a key factor in their development. Being supported and accepted seemed to be of vital importance in the search for an adult identity, as one participant stated, "*You want support from the community. You want that belief that, in life, there are some people who are looking up to me as a leader, as a something*" (3.100 Male participant, Focus Group 3). Some participants felt that an identity is formed by one's aspirations and thus "*the things I want to be in life*" (3.45 Male participant, Focus Group 3). Others felt that "*the criticism*" (3.49 Female participant, Focus Group 3) from "*friends and family*" (3.49 Female participant, Focus Group 3) would form who they, as their self-esteem was influenced by those individuals from very early in their lives. One participant stated, "*I will change who I am just to impress or just try to fit in their group*" (3.119 Female participant, Focus Group 3). Participants felt that they needed people who would accept and support them, look up to them and inspire and encourage them to be more and achieve more. Participants stated that, in the absence of persons who were willing to do this, they felt that they did not belong in their communities. One participant stated, "*That makes me feel small,*

like I do not belong to the people " (3.106 Female participant, Focus Group 3). These feelings then led to further isolation and rejection, leaving many questions regarding their identities.

Participants felt that they needed someone to look up to and inspire them, as a role model, to rise above their circumstances. They felt that finding this person in their communities, who would accept and guide them, was a key factor in developing an identity. This is captured in the following quotation: "*In a way I think the inspiration that I get from my parents, or the inspiration that I see, the people who are successful in life, those are the things that inspire me, the things I want to be in life*" (3.45 Male participant, Focus Group 3).

Another aspect included negative environmental influences from their neighbourhoods. This becomes clear in the following statement: "*Factors that impact my identity would be pressure from my community, alcohol and drug abuse*" (3.35 Male participant, Focus Group 3). The reason behind this seems to be that the example set for these adolescents in their neighbourhood influenced their perceptions and world-views, expectations and hopes, thus keeping them in the situations in which they grew up.

5.1.2   Being stereotyped

Participants were acutely aware of the stereotypes that were prominent in their daily lives as learners at the school and as members of their community. In this theme, the manner in which the adolescents perceived and experienced stereotypes is summarised. This theme consists of five subthemes that are discussed in the following order:

- 'Perceptions of stereotyping', referring to how these adolescents experienced stereotypes in their own lives;
- 'The stereotype in my life', referring to the stereotypes that were commonly experienced by the adolescents;
- 'How stereotypes develop', referring to the aspects that seem to keep stereotypes alive;
- 'My feelings about being stereotyped', referring to the perceived effect stereotypes had on these individuals; and
- 'Breaking the cycle of stereotyping', referring to the solutions adolescents saw for stopping stereotyping.

a) Perceptions of stereotyping

Participants related stereotypes to rigid world-views and the inability to change and adapt. One participant stated, "*I think a person with stereotypes stick to one fact, and don't change*" (1.35 Male participant, Focus Group 1) and another felt that "*they tend to believe in one thing*" (1.39 Female participant, Focus Group 1). Another participant described stereotyping as when "*you are looking at one point of view*" (2.52 Male participant, Focus Group 2). Thus, stereotypes are viewed as labels that cannot be adjusted or changed.

People who stereotype were described as being unable to see past their first impression of another individual; hence, "*someone who is biased*" (2.50 Female participant, Focus Group 2). This is especially true if the person is unwilling to consider other facts or contradictory information regarding those being stereotyped. Other descriptions provided were the following: "*Stereotypes, I think it is being against something*" (3.55 Female participant, Focus Group 3); and "*the grouping of individuals*" (2.104 Male participant, Focus Group 2).

Thus, stereotypes are regarded as beliefs held by others regarding a certain person or group that are not considered factual. These beliefs seem to be based on subjective judgements, without any concrete evidence. The participants seemed to feel that stereotypes are generated within the person doing the stereotyping based on what is experienced, or thought to be experienced, from those they stereotype. Thus, stereotypes seem to be linked closer to the attitude of the person doing the stereotyping than to the characteristics of those being stereotyped. This is seen in the following opinion: "*When you see someone for the first time, you do not know that person, so you think something… you are going to give him or her your first opinion*" (1.120 Female participant, Focus Group 1).

b) The stereotypes in my life

The various stereotypes that were mentioned by the participants can be grouped into four types, namely gender role, sexual orientation, racial, and language stereotypes.

With regard to gender role stereotypes, participants felt that the expectancy still existed, as in traditional gender roles, that men should work and women should do house chores and raise children: "*There was some girls, I do not know whether it is in Nigeria or something, they were kidnapped, all of them, they were kidnapped at school due to they had the stereotyping that girls are not supposed to be educated at that specific age they are. They are supposed to*

get married" (1.136 Female participant, Focus Group 1). Even though all the participants had basic education, many of the females felt that they would not finish higher education or be able to go to an institution to receive further education, as that would clash with the roles that they had to fulfil in life, because they felt that they were expected to do household chores while the men were seen as the breadwinners. This is clear in the following statement: "*Because maybe you can't do that job because it is for the certain people, maybe that job is for the males, neh? You are a lady you can't do that job because of your gender*" (2.11.4 Female participant, Focus Group 2).

Related to gender stereotypes is the sensitive, yet prominent stereotype regarding sexual orientation: "*We have females and males... so there are those who become lesbians and gays. So other people do not like lesbians and gays, so they discriminate those that are...I think they do not feel comfortable with those lesbian and gays who are out, they always keep away from them*" (3.61 Male participant, Focus Group 3). This form of stereotyping seemed to be of importance to some of the participants, as they felt that others judged them for being something that they did not choose and could not change.

With regard to racial stereotyping, a strong link was made to discrimination and xenophobia: "*...like when we have someone from another country and she comes to our country, we discriminate him because of his language, his appearance and his colour*" (3.74 Male participant, Focus Group 3). An example of this was provided when one individual said that this was true for "*especially the Nigerians; we do not want to be near them because we are so afraid of the...what do you call it? Ebola... As long as they are here, they came here to our country to take our jobs. They come and exploit us*" (3.77 Female participant, Focus Group 3). Others linked racial stereotyping specifically to the discrimination experienced in Apartheid, for example in the following statement: "*...maybe like, this place is for the coloureds, the other one is for the blacks. The coloureds only need to be on this side*" (2.96 Male participant, Focus Group 2).

Another stereotype that emerged was being viewed as a 'snob' when speaking the English language: "*They like to act like other people and they are not...they think they are better than the other people*" (1.79 Male participant, Focus Group 1). The reason behind this seems to be that those who do speak English well "*like to correct whenever there is something wrong*" (1.79 Male participant, Focus Group 1) when those who are less proficient attempt to speak English. Participants felt that people who speak English "*act so superior and they treat us like*

we are inferior" (1.89 Female participant, Focus Group 1); therefore, they are stereotyped as snobs. Here, the stereotype seems to revolve around what a certain group is able to do and another group is not.

c) How stereotypes develop

With regard to the reasons behind certain stereotypes and behaviour, participants' discussions revolved round the age-old question of nature versus nurture.

Supporting the nurture argument, one participant stated, "*I think that it started back then, when black people were still practising the traditional rituals where they started to believe that women are meant for work, for the household chores and then men are used to go out there, come up with bread, and what not, to provide for the family*" (1.75 Female participant, Focus Group 1). According to this participant, stereotypes originated due to the lifestyle enforced upon people. These traditional roles then never evolved and still have implications in contemporary life.

Another participant viewed stereotyping as genetic and natural: "…*runs in your genes so that's who you are*, *it's one of your characteristics*" (1.117 Male participant, Focus Group 1). This statement implies that it is normal to stereotype and that the reaction of grouping people together based on minimal information is something that comes naturally to all individuals. This statement also refers to the involuntary nature of stereotyping, seen as an automatic brain function of grouping people together.

Other explanations for developing stereotypes were provided, such as the inability to understand and appreciate diversity: "*They like to think that we are not like others*" (1.80 Male participant, Focus Group 1); and "*They don't understand the uniqueness of us, they do not understand the uniqueness that we have*" (1.88 Female participant, Focus Group 1). Other participants shared this sentiment: "*She does not understand us. The things that she does, does not suit what we do at this school*" (1.82 Female participant, Focus group 1); and "*They do not actually understand, there is the problem*" (1.85 Female participant, Focus Group 1). From these comments, it becomes clear that stereotypes are based on things of which the majority disapprove and thus do not understand or accept.

Stereotypes were seen to develop out of fear and jealousy: "*Sometimes, it comes up with jealousy. You might discover that the person is actually jealous or he has a little 'beef' with*

that other person, so at the end of the day, they stereotype them" (1.115 Male participant, Focus Group 1). Participants felt that, "*if they see you doing great things, they don't want you to be successful in life. They criticise you*" (2.110 Male participant, Focus Group 2). The reasons given for this phenomenon included that "*they are trying to intimidate them, but they are actually intimidated by themselves*" (1.94 Male participant, Focus Group 1). Thus, stereotypes are regarded as tools to belittle others due to jealousy. The fear associated with stereotypes seems to derive from the fact that those who stereotype feel uncomfortable with something about the person they are stereotyping.

Others considered first impressions to be at the root of stereotypes: "*When you see someone for the first time, you do not know that person, so you think something… you are going to give him or her your first opinion*" (1.120 Female participant, Focus Group 1). Thus, people are judged and placed into categories pertaining to what is evident about them when you meet them for the first time.

Others were of the opinion that stereotypes originate from the expectation that all individuals share the majority world-view. One participant said, "*They want me to be like them*" (2.127 Male participant, Focus Group 2). If this does not happen, differences in viewpoint or opinion create discomfort and a stereotype is developed regarding groups whose world-views do not correspond with those of the majority.

d) My feelings about being stereotyped

Stereotypes were viewed as both positive and negative. Some stereotypes build people up: "*Kenyan men are good runners*" (1.43 Male participant, Focus Group 1), whereas other stereotypes tear people down: "*Women are bad drivers*" (1.43 Male participant, Focus Group 1). Even when considering only negative stereotypes, individuals may portray diverse reactions. One participant stated the following regarding stereotypes: "*It will impact their lives completely in a bad way, to an extent that they do not see their lives worth their dreams, or whatever, and others will be stronger in what people think about them, and try to show them what exactly they are, to prove them wrong*" (3.111 Male participant, Focus Group 3).

Being stereotyped was viewed mostly as a negative experience, as it seemed to be demotivating to participants: "*Because sometimes like someone will say something bad to you, then you give up doing something that you want to do*" (1.54 Male participant, Focus Group 1). It creates feelings of despondence and sadness, as it lowers self-esteem and self-

confidence. A participant reported, "*It makes me feel so worthless because the life that I am living is what I want to be and what I want to become in the future. So these people make me feel sad and awful*" (3.98 Female participant, Focus Group 3). Other participants felt that being stereotyped made them feel inhuman and stated that feeling like that could lead to suicide, as "*they do not treat you normally*" (3.87 Female participant, Focus Group 3) and "*makes me feel small like I do not belong to the people*" (3.106 Female participant, focus Group 3).

Some participants stated that these feelings led to self-doubt as they stopped believing in themselves and wondered, "*Are these people right?*" (1.58 Female participant, Focus Group 1). Others also claimed that these feelings created a glass ceiling in their development as it hindered their growth tremendously as society turned a blind eye to what was happening. Conformation is being prized, and diversity is suppressed in an effort to make all individuals fit into a single mould that is accepted by majority groups in society. This is evident in the following quotation, which suggests that stereotypes exist "*because of not understanding someone's feelings, not understanding to like that person's choices*" (3.74 Male participant, Focus Group 3).

While being stereotyped was mostly regarded as something negative, some participants described being stereotyped as something positive: "*If people kind of like say negative things about you, it kind of like builds you up, you know*" (1.64 Male participant, Focus Group 1). Participants described the experience as something that "*helped me to improve more, to actually show them that I am able to do all the things they say I cannot do*" (1.71 Female participant, Focus Group 1). The solution to this state seemed to be that "*you will get used to it*" (3.118 Male participant, Focus Group 3). Only after accepting it, every negative comment could be taken as a motivation. The majority of the participants seemed to feel that this was the optimal reaction when being stereotyped.

e) Breaking the cycle of stereotyping

Participants felt that even though it may be difficult, it is possible to stop stereotyping others and thus reverse the damage that was done by the stereotype. Solutions include having a positive attitude and treating each other as equals, with respect. Participants emphasised the importance of understanding each other's uniqueness: "*There is nothing wrong with being a snob, it is just that you grow up in a different way*" (1.94 Female participant, Focus Group 1),

and learn from each other: "*If we work together, we could learn more, we could actually teach them this and they could teach us something*" (1.98 Female participant, Focus Group 1).

To the participants, it thus seemed important to "*accept each other the way they are*" (1.99 Male participant, Focus Group 1). Stereotypes can be reversed when these guidelines are followed: "*Now you have learned to know them, you know who they are, so the opinion kind of changes, you know the true them not your opinion of them or towards them*" (1.130 Female participant, Focus Group 1). Participants thus believed that people should learn not to judge as quickly as they do and try to evaluate each new person they meet on individual merits.

5.1.3 Being stereotyped while trying to be me

In this discussion, participants felt that there was a link between their identity development, who they became, and being stereotyped. The third theme, 'Being stereotyped while trying to be me', refers to the how adolescents perceived stereotypes influenced their identity development. This theme includes the change that occurs in identity development due to stereotyping, the constraint stereotypes place on identity development, and the need to be accepted rather than being stereotyped.

Participants spoke of changing their lifestyles, music taste, appearance, and even the way they spoke just to try to fit into the majority group. Individuals who were stereotyped felt that "*you are also going to try and change yourself just to impress the people that are surrounding you*" (2.121 Male participant, Focus Group 2). An example of this can be seen in one participant's relation: "*Okay uh, well, I was this boy who liked to listen to hip hop and all of that and then I met a couple of friends who like listening to house and so then they were like 'Dude you should not listen to this type of music because we don't hang out with people who listen to music like that.' Yes so I decided to change myself*" (2.182 Male participant, Focus Group 2). This indicates a conscious decision to try to fit in by suppressing the true self. Another example of this, relating to peer pressure often experienced during adolescence, can be seen in the following statement: "*Whenever a person comes to me and tells me you don't drink, you don't smoke, I want to change that because I would want to fit in a crew or in a group, so I would be like them smoke and drink so that is going to change my lifestyle*" (3.119 Female Participant, Focus Group 3). This factor can have a major influence on the roles individuals choose to assume in their lives.

Some participants felt that being stereotyped compromised who they were as people, and made them feel as if their dreams were not worthwhile. This becomes evident in the following quotation: "*Someone will say something bad to you, then you will give up doing something that you want to do*" (1.54 Female participant, Focus Group 1). These feelings aroused the need to either prove those who judged and criticised wrong or change themselves, their hopes, dreams, and aspirations to suit the expectations of others, and thus give up on their identities. One participant stated that these pressures created the feeling that he should "*follow their dreams*" (3.117 Male participant, Focus Group 3) instead of his own. The opinions and criticism of significant others in these individuals' lives "*will impact their lives completely in a bad way, to an extent that they do not see their lives (and dreams) worth*" (3.111 Male participant, Focus Group 3).

Being stereotyped was viewed as restrictive and life altering, as those doing the stereotyping "*come to me saying all those bad stuff, so at the end of the day I will ask myself, who am I? Are these people right?*" (1.58 Female participant Focus Group 1), and "*I start to not have the freedom to be who I am*" (1.58 Female participant, Focus Group 1). These questions may lead to feelings of worthlessness; therefore, individuals give up and stop trying. By doing so, they then compromise their own identities and unwillingly prove the stereotype about them true. As already mentioned, a glass ceiling comes into play when individuals feel that they are resisting a norm that is keeping them from being who they truly are. This is to no avail, as the judgements and criticisms of society keeps this threshold firmly in place. As individuals put it, "*then I can't be who I am*' (2.117 Male participant, Focus Group 2), because "*I will change who I am just to impress, or just try to fit on their group, that means I am compromising who I am and trying to fit what they are*" (3.113 Female participant, Focus Group 3).

5.2   Discussion

Identity development is a daunting internal task (Bayer et al., 2010), complicated by external factors such as peer pressure, the need to conform, pressure from authority figures, and communal restraints such as values, norms, expectations, and beliefs (Annandale, 2008). Individuals are expected to find an acceptable personal and social role in society within these moulds (Erikson, 1970). When the adolescent then chooses a role that is frowned upon by the community, it might lead to stereotyping (Baumeister & Bushman, 2011), which in turn might influence the identity formation process. Considering the presentation of the results above, a

discussion of the theoretical grounding of the study and the findings of previous research in the field follows.

5.2.1 Views on identity

In this study, it was found that participants viewed identity as unique and original. This implicates the importance of self-knowledge and finding oneself during adolescence. Various internal and external aspects relating to identity were deemed significant, of which physical appearance was highlighted. Another central idea was the prominence of change and transition in identity during adolescences.

Identity was viewed as an aspect that makes individuals unique and who they are. This relates to the physical, social, intellectual, emotional, and moral aspects of the individual, as differences in these domains create unique beings. Even though participants in this study highlighted being unique on an individual level, this did not exclude the communal level because who one is in a certain group was also deemed important. These findings are in accordance with previous findings, as these insights support the notion that identity makes an individual original because it relates to the uniqueness within the self (Erikson, 1970). This also supports the view that diverse domains contribute to the specific identity that is formed (Smetana et al., 2006). This relates to Marcia's (2002) theory of identity status development, because an identity is formed according to the roles an individual must fulfil in society. It also agrees with findings that state that identity refers to an individual's unique place in society (Smetana et al., 2006).

Finding oneself and a suitable identity during adolescence relates to having self-knowledge. Participants in the study viewed self-knowledge as what individuals know about themselves. This consists of knowing who individuals are, internally as well as externally, with their peer groups, families, and communities. Even though participants in the study focused on and perceived identity as a growth process, knowledge of the past and future was also considered as an important factor. The past includes these individuals' heritage, beliefs and customs, and the future pertains to who these individuals could become. Both of these periods seem to play a role in adolescents' view of themselves in the present. These findings support the findings of Craig and Dunn (2010) that an identity concerns the knowledge of who one truly is, thus representing the importance of Erikson's (1970) statement that it is vital that an individual explores and searches for identity cohesion. This also supports the notion that an identity is developed within the individual due to various external interacting aspects (Annandale, 2008;

Jones & McEwen, 2000; Tajfel, 1978). Findings relating to a triple past, present and future time perspective support Amoateng and Kalule-Sabiti's (2013) study, which found that heritage and ancestors, mostly, of black individuals in African countries still played a part in their present lives. This study contributes to this perspective by including a third time perspective, the future, to be considered, because who individuals might possibly become was deemed important.

Because participants in the study viewed identity formation as something within a person, with reference to personality traits, but also outside of a person, with reference to the culture, context, background, and interactions of the individual, it was deemed to depend on various factors. Thus, there are various internal and external aspects of identity. According to participants, internally, identity development referred to the attitude, personality traits, motivations, intellectuality, and sexuality of the individual. Externally, factors such as race, gender, physical appearance, and behaviour were regarded as important. These findings support Erikson's (1970) view that identity development is a lifelong process and that various aspects play a role in this development as life changes. The findings that indicate that especially intellect and sexuality are important factors to consider contribute to studies that show that ethnicity, occupation, socio-economic status, age, race, and gender should be considered when studying identity development (Bamberg, 2011).

In the process of finding an identity, the prominence of change and transition in identity during adolescence becomes evident. This includes internal change as the individual grows physical, emotionally, and morally, and external change as the individual's context, social support, and circumstances become essential in regulating the individual's life. This became evident during the group discussions, as individuals felt that their families, friends, communities and the events that happened in those relationships, such as drug abuse and violence, influenced who they became as they tried to change and fit in with what seemed to be the norm in their everyday lives. Thus, identities were moulded by the community to benefit the group rather than the individual, and some of the adolescents felt that they were being shunned because they did not fit in the mould. A choice then had to be made between being true to the self, or avoiding the stereotype to gain social approval. This corresponds with the theories of Bronfenbrenner (1979) and Jones and McEwen (2000), and studies done by Pe'rez-Sales (2010) and Schiavone (2009), which emphasise the importance of considering context and change when investigating identity development. In this study, it was found that

the context of these individuals should be taken into account because it shaped their world-view and how they interpreted and understood the world. The findings in this study contribute to the body of knowledge pertaining to the influence of context on identity development by adding the information that identity is perceived to depend on who and what an individual is allowed to be in certain contexts as the circumstances and majority group's opinions, thoughts, feelings, and beliefs determine what is regarded as acceptable in a certain community at a certain time. The reason for this seems to be that the support of the community indicates what is allowed and what not and thus what one may or may not become or aspire to. Being accepted thus has an influence on the constraints or empowerment experienced by the individual. Another contribution can be seen in the realisation that these restrictions or motivations influenced the opportunities and strengths in the participants' lives as well as how they perceived and used these factors, thus influencing the choices they made, roles they assumed, and how their lives developed.

5.2.2   Views on stereotypes

In this study, it was found that stereotypes were considered as unchangeable perspectives based on being against something without fully understanding it or considering contradicting evidence to what was believed. Stereotyping was regarded as not understanding someone and being afraid of the unknown. It was regarded as a permanent and fixed bias against something and as the subjective opinion of those doing the stereotyping. Thus, it was regarded as an internal attitude based on the observable actions of those who were perceived to be different from the in-group, expressed externally as a stereotype. The participants in this study identified stereotypes that were relevant in their everyday lives, including racial, gender role, language and sexual orientation stereotypes, with the latter gaining the most attention. Racial stereotypes related to Apartheid and what happened during that era. Gender role stereotypes referred to the customs and expectations in the participants' communities, as this prescribed certain roles for each gender. Language stereotypes referred to a difference in the way individuals grew up. Sexual orientation stereotypes incorporated gender stereotypes, as these individuals felt forced to identify with a certain gender and the roles devoted to that gender.

These findings correspond with findings of previous studies in which individuals were regarded as imperfect impressions of each other (Cantwell, 1990) based on a subjective, inflexible view (Kreidler, 1997) of their preferences, behaviour and social roles (Lee et al., 2013). This study supports the notion that biases are formed by the perception and

generalisation of characteristics in certain groups (Weiten, 2014), especially when the factors on which these stereotypes are based are presumed to be a threat (Neuberg & Sng, 2013). Another contribution made in this study is the view that a stereotype develops internally in a person and is then expressed externally.

The stereotypes identified by the participants in this study correspond with the groupings found in previous studies, indicating that gender, race, class, neighbourhoods, ethnicity, sexual orientation, and age are the factors about which stereotypes are formed (Holtman et. al., 2005; Ihme & Möller, 2014; Sen, 2010). Even though gender and gender role stereotypes were identified as one of the easiest ways in which groups are divided (Arain et al., 2013; Newman & Newman, 2012), the intensity of this form of stereotyping was greater because heritage and tradition still played a major role in the participants' communities. The influence of a sexual orientation stereotype was also highlighted in this study; it had a greater effect on the identity development of individuals whose sexual orientation did not correspond with that of the majority of the community in which they lived. This contribution indicates a need for more research about this issue (Aspinall & Mitton, 2008; Bailey, 2009).

5.2.3 The development of identity and stereotypes

In this study, it was found that identity and stereotypes develop due to certain aspects. These aspects are culture and tradition, including the ancestry of the participants, social support and social influence – therefore, the family, friends and role models of the participants – and environmental factors such as the neighbourhoods and contexts of the participants.

Factors that were deemed to affect identity development and the stereotypes that existed in these individuals' communities included family background, traditions, rituals, and culture. This could be because diverse cultures value different characteristics in people and thus promote those characteristics in their societies while discouraging unacceptable characteristics. As was seen in one of the themes that emerged in this study (5.1.2, being stereotyped), gender stereotypes can be attributed to traditional expectations and the way in which individuals are raised to complete certain chores. In South Africa, these phenomena have been a cause of identity crises as the younger generation becomes more Westernised and thus adopts Western values, while the older generation cling to their own tradition and African values. This places a strain on adolescents who desperately try to fit in with their multicultural and multiracial peer groups, as it seems impossible to merge these two worlds. Questions regarding gender role, education, employment, religion, and values are an integral

part of the identity formation process, and yet these aspects cause conflict in the double world dynamic in which these individuals are living. The findings of this study support the social psychology approaches that explain how stereotypes develop and how they are maintained. In the learning approach (Berryman et al., 2006), individuals in the community associate certain roles, behaviour, and attitudes with certain groups in the community and learn that conforming to the expected role, behaviour, or attitude increases the rewards and decreases the punishment given to the individual by the community (Berryman et al., 2006; Gawronski, 2003). In the cognitive approach (Berryman et al., 2006), the individual perceives, analyses, and interprets certain expectations from the community and decides whether to follow these unspoken rules or not (Baumeister & Bushman, 2011). This study has shown that it is essential to consider the collectivistic culture when dealing with participants who still hold their culture, traditions, and rituals dear.

Social factors that were deemed to affect identity development and the stereotypes that existed in the participating individuals' communities included attitude, behaviour, peer pressure, role models, self-esteem, and self-confidence. The role models individuals chose were important, as the adolescents followed and obeyed these individuals. During adolescence, friends became more influential than family, even though the opinion of the family was still regarded as important. Relating to this factor, social support seemed to be important during identity development, as the support of the community indicated what was allowed and thus what one might or might not become or aspire to. In this sense, social support became a restricting or empowering force behind identity development. This can be seen in the theme of being stereotyped (1.5.2) where individuals stated that they felt rejected based on integral parts of themselves that could not be changed. These aspects were also regarded as aspects about which they needed the most acceptance, understanding, and appreciation but they did not receive this because of jealousy, conformation to the majority world-view, and fear. This is clear when individuals either conform to the norms and values held in their communities in order to gain acceptance or express feelings of loneliness, sadness and rejection when they are not able to change the attribute that is being stereotyped and cannot find a way to successfully fit into their community or peer groups. This is in accordance with Annandale (2008), who states that adolescents have a need to conform and not stand out during identity development. The findings also support the fact that an identity must be found in various social roles, but to be successful, this must be validated socially (Baumeister & Bushman, 2011). This also becomes evident in Tajfel's (1979) social identity theory, as individuals place themselves in

groups where their self-esteem will be validated. These findings agree with the motivational approach (Berryman et al., 2006) as individuals change themselves or between groups in order to find a balance between the inputs they receive from their community and what they believe about themselves. This is also observed in the learning and cognitive approach, as individuals learn to either conform or interpret their situations to change them (Berryman et al., 2006).

Environmental influences include the neighbourhood in which an individual lives. This includes the context and circumstances of a community. In this study, this included poverty, hunger, illness, death, illiteracy, rape, crime, and drug abuse. Individuals living in this environment were stereotyped as violent, dangerous, and filthy. As these individuals could not change their circumstances easily, they accepted them and did not try to change them. This supports findings that low socio-economic neighbourhoods are at risk of stigmatisation and being stereotyped, and that they inhibit identity exploration (Fiske & Ladd, 2005; Schiavone, 2009). In correspondence with previous findings and the cognitive approach (Berryman et al., 2006), living in lower-class neighbourhoods determines the world-view of individuals living there, and their circumstances rarely change (Smetana et al., 2006). This study highlights the importance of Bronfenbrenner's (1979) systems theory in considering environmental influences. In agreement with the model of multiple dimensions of identity, the role of each of these contextual factors in the development and experience of each individual is important (Jones & McEwen, 2007).

5.2.4   The interplay between experiences of being stereotyped and identity formation

This study produced various results due to the interaction between the experience of being stereotyped and identity development. The most significant of these were that stereotypes were experienced positively as well as negatively. The reactions of individuals who actively tried to resist and prove the stereotype wrong, and the individuals' needs to break the stereotype cycle were prominent.

Participants in the study regarded being stereotyped as both a positive and a negative experience, as it either reinforced who the stereotyped individuals were, or compelled them to change who they were in order to fit in. This was regarded as an attempt to suppress what came naturally in order to favour what was appreciated by the community in which these individuals lived. In the past, stereotypes were viewed as a negative experience; therefore, the focus was on the negative results of these interactions. This included feelings of self-doubt,

sadness, worthlessness, lower self-esteem, lower self-confidence, and feeling as if they did not belong in their communities. An example of this can be seen in various adolescent suicides because they begin to feel all alone, misunderstood, and that there is no place on earth for them. In this study, no distinction was made between positive and negative stereotypes. It became clear that individuals were experiencing stereotypes not only as a force that depleted who they were, but rather as something that could be used to enhance their diversity by motivating them to resist conforming and thus strengthen the stereotyped traits in them in a community that reinforced this action. Thus, stereotyping was described as something that builds a person up, as it motivates the person to stay true to his or her true nature.

These findings support previous findings that people fear conforming to a stereotype and this fear then generates feelings of exclusion, disconnection, isolation (Claypool & Bernstein, 2014) anxiety, powerlessness (Cook et al., 2011), a lack of concentration and decreased self-confidence (Baumeister & Bushman, 2011). Contrary to these views, this study found that stereotypes may be experienced positively, and that being stereotyped can be used as a personal motivation for staying original and embracing the unique qualities that the individual has.

Nevertheless, the experience of stereotypes, whether positive or negative, has an effect on the identity formation process, as the individual actively tries to either conform to or resist the norms of the community norms. The motivation to resist conformation leads to resistance reactions in individuals who actively try to prove the stereotype wrong. This is done by purposefully deciding to display the stereotyped behaviour, attitude, or trait even to an exaggerated degree. This then also compromises the identity, as this resistance is maintained regardless of the situation or contextual circumstances. This compromises who they are and makes them feel as if their dreams are not regarded as worthwhile. The opinions of those who are important to the individual determine what is regarded as important and acceptable; therefore, these individuals start to question who they are, as they have to prove this to their communities on a daily basis.

One of the most adaptive ways to respond to exclusion is by seeking and forming new connections by conforming (Claypool and Bernstein, 2014). In contrast to this, this study found that the most adaptive way to respond to exclusion is to use the negative information gained from society positively and thus embrace uniqueness. This is in agreement with

Weiten's (2014) view that individuals present the opposite behaviour from what is expected in an attempt to resist stereotypes. According to Baumeister and Bushman (2011), a self-fulfilling prophecy is a belief about the future that is realised because the individual believes it. In this study, it was found that believing that one would be stereotyped led to the active exposition of the expected stereotyped behaviour in an attempt to resist conformation; therefore, individuals were stereotyped. On the other hand, the expectation that a certain attitude or behaviour would be changed if those exhibiting it were rejected by the group did not lead to the fulfilment of this belief.

Individuals in the focus group expressed the need to break the stereotype cycle because changing internally and especially externally to fit into the group was deemed unacceptable. These changes stretched from taste and appearance to lifestyle and the roles assumed in a community. As stereotyping is used as a social control instrument, it is seen as unavoidable. Stereotypes related to those things in the individuals that could not be changed easily. This included biologically and socially determined factors such as gender, sexual orientation, race, and the language they spoke. These stereotypes were also considered as external as the stereotyped factors could not be hidden easily by those being stereotyped. Individuals believed that stereotypes could and should be stopped because any stereotype affected the identity of the person being stereotyped. This could be done if everyone was accepted by others. This would then entail getting to know people before judging them and trying to understand their point of departure. The adolescents also felt that, if they could all learn from one another and appreciate their differences, stereotypes would not have the immense effect they were believed to have. This required being positive, treating each other as equals and appreciating the uniqueness in people. Thus, it is clear that individuals felt that the power of stereotypes did not necessarily reside only with those doing the stereotyping, but could rather be used by those being stereotyped to educate and enlighten those in their out-group.

These findings support studies that found that self-concepts are influenced by the feedback gained from others (Coleman, 1990). Thus, self-perception is based on the perception of others (Kadianaki, 2013). Individuals who are excluded conform to and mimic others (Claypool & Bernstein, 2014) for fear that they will confirm the stereotype (Van Laar et al., 2008). As was seen in this study and other studies, they do expect prejudice, stereotyping, and discrimination (Coutant et al., 2011) based on the interaction they have with others, as is seen in the interdependence approach (Berryman et al., 2006). This study confirms the notion that

greater identification with a group and increased salience increase the effect of stereotyping on the individual (Quinn & Chaudior, 2009). This corresponds with Jones and McEwen's (2000) model and Bronfenbrenner's (1979) systems theory, as some aspects of an identity and some factors in the individual's context are more important at certain times and in certain situations than others are. This study contributes to the body of knowledge regarding this experience by adding that even though stereotyped individuals actively resist the stereotypes placed on them, they do have a need to break the stereotype cycle because it has an immense influence on their identities and emotional well-being.

5.3   Chapter summary

An overview of the results obtained in this study was provided. Three different themes with their subthemes were discussed. The first theme, 'Who I am', with subthemes 'What it means to be me' and 'Becoming who I am' pertained to identity as a variable in this study, while the second theme, 'Being stereotyped', with subthemes 'Perceptions of stereotyping', 'The stereotypes in my life', 'How stereotypes develop', 'My feelings about being stereotyped', and 'Breaking the cycle of stereotyping' pertained to stereotype as a variable in this study. The third theme, 'Being stereotyped while trying to be me' pertained to the experience of being stereotyped while searching for an identity. The key findings in this study were discussed. These findings involved the views about identity, stereotypes, the development of identity and stereotypes, and the interplay between experiences of being stereotyped and identity formation.

CHAPTER 6: KEY RESULTS, LIMITATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The aim of this study was to explore adolescents' experiences of stereotypes during identity development. Better understanding of the power of a context in shaping development was gained in an effort to understand adolescents' experience of stereotypes during identity development. In this chapter, a summary of the most significant results in this study is given. The limitations encountered in this study are considered, and recommendations are made regarding aspects to consider for further research. In conclusion, a summary of this chapter is provided.

6.1 Summary of the most significant results

Individuals viewed identity as something within a person; thus, the personality traits and characteristics that make individuals unique and different from those around them. It was also viewed as something external; thus, the physical, cultural, and social aspects related to a person, including the context, background, and interactions of the participating individuals in their communities. This is in accordance with existing literature regarding identity development (Baumeister & Bushman, 2011, Pe'rez-Sales, 2010). Participants also related this to the past, present, and future of the individuals, as they claimed that it included their heritage, traditions, rituals, the characteristics they had, and who they would become. This then incorporates a lifelong growth process, as Erikson (1968) portrayed the process, as they develop new attitudes, beliefs and values, develop their weaknesses and build on their strengths to generate a viable future for themselves. The past and future time perspectives were of importance in this study, as they highlighted the conflicting worlds in which these individuals found themselves, as tradition and modernisation prescribed different norms and standards for living, thus adding to this perspective. The future perspective was also complicated by the fact that these individuals had limited opportunities to change their circumstances as their surroundings largely depended on the situations their parents found themselves in. This then contributes to the theory regarding identity development as a broader perspective is required when considering this phenomenon.

Culture is regarded as an aspect that affects identity development and the stereotypes found in certain communities. The characteristics that are valued or discouraged in a community differ according to the circumstances in that community. This relates to the context in which

individuals find themselves, as this determines how people view their world and how their communities and the world at large view them, as Abes et al., (2007) stated. These contexts are important because they reinforce certain standards by means of social control. In this study the participants voiced that traditions and rituals played an important role, as they set the standard that created the projected roles, values, and beliefs by which individuals were expected to live.

Another important result relating to this is that social support in finding an identity was deemed important. Thus, the role models chosen in a community display what is allowed or appreciated in a community. Participants regarded social support as restricting or empowering in identity development and the appearance of stereotypes, thus adding to the body of literature regarding this topic. Acceptance of feelings was important to the participating individuals, as this was a source of validation for their choices. Yet, acceptance was regarded as not only a reward for conforming but also as a source of restriction because stereotyping and rejection arose if the individual did not conform. This limited the opportunities, choices and roles that individuals had or could internalise. Individuals voiced that they were forced to conform in order to gain acceptance and compromise their identities in this way.

Stereotypes were viewed as subjective opinions and not as facts. From the view of these participants it became clear that even though subjectivity was mentioned, world-views were viewed as fixed and thus unchangeable, supporting stereotype literature (Martiny et al., 2012; Quinn & Chaudior, 2009; Weiten, 2014). It became evident that being stereotyped could not be avoided because the aspects being stereotyped were generally of an external nature. For the participants, avoiding a stereotype thus entailed being able to hide the aspect being criticised. The individuals felt that they should not feel as if they needed to conform and suppress who they really were and yet felt that this was the only way in which they could gain acceptance. This highlights adolescents need to gain acceptance, as Erickson (1970) stated, and stop stereotyping even though some individuals actively resist conforming.

Stereotypes are regarded as socially learnt, carried over between generations, and thus related to the values and norms held in a community. This is evident when the stereotype is never questioned and individuals cannot explain why they feel or think in a certain way about another group. Participants in this study strongly linked this to the xenophobic attacks occurring throughout South Africa. This study then illuminates the need for more neighbourhood and environmental studies, as neighbourhoods and environments create the

context in which individuals live and according to which they are stereotyped. This contributes to the lack of research in this area (Mcbride-Murry et al., 2011).

A genetic component is involved in this process, as stereotypes occur naturally. Furthermore, stereotypes are used cognitively to simplify the world, and according to the motivational approach (Berryman et al., 2006), individuals use stereotypes to find a balance in their lives. Individuals who participated in this study believed that jealousy motivated stereotypes, as people did not want those who were different from them to succeed. It was also apparent that individuals felt that they seemed to react on their first impressions rather than exert the energy to get to know the person they were observing.

In this study participants also experienced stereotypes as something positive because it encouraged and motivated them to prove the stereotype wrong, or as something negative because it forced them to conform and accept what the society at large seemed to regard as acceptable. These two diverse reactions would then depend on the stereotyped individual and how important the aspect of being stereotyped seemed to be to that person. Either way, both of these experiences led to a compromise in identity as the individual either conformed to the prescribed behaviour, norms, and values or actively resisted these social constraints. This finding then adds insights into the experience of stereotypes as this was always deemed as mostly negative (Adams & Dzokoto, 2003; Brittian et al., 2013; Kaufman et al, 2001).

Participants voiced that when stereotypes are experienced positively, individuals are motivated and use the emotions gained from this experience to enforce and maintain the stereotypical attitude, behaviour, or trait in order to express their uniqueness and originality. In this focus group this was identified as the most adaptive way to react to a stereotype, contrary to the belief that conforming is adaptive. The reason for this may lie in the fact that the power remains in the hands of stereotyped persons and is not taken by those doing the stereotyping.

In this study, the self-fulfilling prophecy was contested, even though participants pointed out that expecting to be stereotyped led to the active showcase of the stereotyped trait and thus stereotyping. By resisting conformation, the community's expectation of changing the individual by social control is not confirmed (result); therefore, the stereotype continues in spite of the expectation (change) and behaviour (stereotyping).

6.2   Limitations of the study

Even though this study delivered insightful findings, some limitations of this study should be considered when interpreting the results obtained. These limitations are discussed next.

As English was used as the mode of communication, it can be expected that some of the participants might have refrained from participating in the study or presenting their opinions. Individuals are not only more comfortable and confident when expressing themselves in their mother tongue, but can also provide richer descriptions because they do not have to translate what they are thinking first. During the focus groups, there were instances when individuals struggled to express themselves in English and expressed their views in Sesotho, which were then translated by fellow participants, thus creating the possibility that meaning might have been lost. However as this discussion took place in a friendly and comfortable environment, participants who struggled to express themselves could ask others to help them find the correct words and thus the the effect of this phenomenon was limited.

The language and cultural differences between the researcher and participants should be considered. Although care was taken to ensure that the true meaning of questions and discussions were captured, language and cultural differences could have resulted in different nuances and understandings than those that were noted.

Owing to practical constraints, the researcher could obtain only three rather large focus groups. Having more focus group sessions of smaller sizes would have been better. The fact that the groups were large might have had a negative effect on the participants' willingness to participate in the study. On the other hand, the larger focus groups could have helped some participants to feel more comfortable, as they knew that their viewpoints were shared by some others in the group. This also gave the participants who were not confident in voicing their opinions the opportunity to affirm statements made by other participants.

Even though inclusion and exclusion criteria were stated at the beginning of the study (focussed on black adolescents), five participants identified themselves as being from other racial groups (white and coloured) and formed part of the final sample as the focus groups they found themselves in stereotyped them as being black. These participants identified with the black culture, and their viewpoints did not contradict those made by the rest of the participants. This limitation alludes to the complexity of race and culture and the inability to group people using clear-cut criteria.

Both gender groups were included in this study. However, no differentiation was made between the two genders in the analysis. Thus, the results of this study remain general in regards to gender. As the results of this study highlight the importance of gender role and sexual orientation stereotype categories, a distinction between the experiences of gender groups might provide interesting results.

Some participants submitted incomplete biographic questionnaires. Owing to the voluntary nature of the study, participants were allowed to withhold information if they had personal reasons. Still, the inability to describe the final sample of this study clearly limits the decision the reader can make regarding the transferability of the study.

Irrespective of the limitations mentioned above, the current study still provides new insights into adolescents' experience of stereotypes during identity development as is discussed in 6.1 summary of the most significant results.

6.3 Recommendations for further research

Considering the limitations and findings of this study, certain recommendations can be made for future studies.

As language seemed to be a consideration during the data-gathering process, it is advised that a professional translator or facilitator with the same mother tongue as the participants be included during focus group discussions.

Furthermore more focus groups of a smaller size will also increase the confirmability and dependability of future studies. If this study is replicated, controlling for different age groups can yield interesting results. Gender differences can also be considered.

The use of multiple-case studies (rather than a single case study as in this research) could shed more light upon this multi-layered experience.

Future research might benefit from emphasising a multicultural approach to the experience of stereotypes, as a comparison between ethnic, cultural, and/or racial groups may provide new insights into the growing field of research in this area. As the younger generation seems to incorporate a variety of values of a globalised world with their development (and existing culture), the integration of various cultures can be considered as a sensitising concept. Furthermore, various subcultures in a particular culture should receive attention.

Another route that can be taken in this area of research includes taking a definite positive approach towards stereotypes rather than focusing on the general effect it has or may have on individuals, as was done in this study. As stereotypes generally are regarded as negative, the more optimistic view can provide a fresh perspective on the effect of stereotypes on identity.

In this study, identity (in the general sense of the word) and stereotypes in general were explored. Future studies can be more specific in nature. Multiple identities should be considered. Research about identity can then focus on a specific type of identity, such as social, personal, racial, cultural, or sexual identities. With regard to stereotypes, the specific forms of stereotyping that are highlighted in this study, such as gender role and sexual orientation, can be the focus of future studies.

A longitudinal study on the effect of stereotypes can yield insightful results because the specific context in which individuals are determines the stereotypes experienced (Brittian et al., 2013); thus, stereotypes will change as situations change. The implication of this may be that, even though the stereotype affects the individual now, it may have no relevance to the same individual in the future. On the other hand, stereotypes that may have little effect on individuals in the present may become of great importance later in their lives. This should be taken into account when studying this dynamic concept.

6.4   Chapter summary

In this chapter, a summary of the various key findings obtained in this study was discussed to contribute to the growing body of research with regard to the experience of stereotypes by adolescent groups during identity development. The limitations encountered in this study were noted, and recommendations regarding aspects to consider for further research were made to improve on previous work in this area.

The aim in this study was to explore how adolescents experience stereotypes in their daily lives during identity development. This research study provides an image of how this phenomenon is experienced and the effect it is deemed to have on personal development. The aim of this study has been achieved, as in-depth understanding of stereotype experience has been gained. The results obtained in this study support the findings of previous studies done respectively on identity formation and stereotypes. Light is also shed on a relatively new area of research combining these two concepts.

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Ethical clearance by research ethics committee

(Faculty of the humanities)

UNIVERSITY OF THE
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FREISTATA

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GEESTESWETENSKAPPE

16 May 2014

Dr L. Naudé
Department of Psychology
UFS

Ethical Clearance Application: Living and learning in Central South Africa

Dear Dr Naudé

With reference to your application for ethical clearance with the Faculty of the Humanities, I am pleased to inform you on behalf of the Ethics Board of the faculty that you have been granted ethical clearance for your research. The committee discussed two issues that might be considered:

- Simplifying the informed consent form for these young participants
- Bearing in mind that some Grade 8 learners might still be 13 years of age which requires parental consent.

Your ethical clearance number, to be used in all correspondence, is:

UFS-HUM-2013-30

This ethical clearance number is valid for research conducted for one year from issuance. Should you require more time to complete this research, please apply for an extension in writing.

We request that any changes that may take place during the course of your research project be submitted in writing to the ethics office to ensure we are kept up to date with your progress and any ethical implications that may arise.

Thank you for submitting this proposal for ethical clearance and we wish you every success with your research.

Yours sincerely,

Katinka de Wet
Research Ethics Committee (Faculty of the Humanities)

Copy: Ms Charné Vercueil (Research Co-ordinator, Faculty of the Humanities)

Approval by department of education to conduct research

Enquiries: Motshumi KK

Reference:

Tel: 051 404 9290

Fax: 086 667 8678

E-mail: motshumikk@edu.fs.gov.za

education
Department of
Education
FREE STATE PROVINCE

**OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR:
STRATEGICPLANNING, POLICY & RESEARCH**

10 March 2014

Dr Naude L

RE: APPROVAL TO CONDUCT RESEARCH IN THE FREE STATEDEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

1.   This letter serves as an acknowledgement for receipt of your research request in the Free State Department of Education.

2.   **Research topic:** Living and learning in Central South Africa

3.   Approval is granted for you to conduct research in the Free State Department of Education.

4.   This approval is subject to the following conditions:-

    4.1   The names of participants involved remain confidential.

    4.2   The structured questionnaires are completed and the **interviews are conducted outside normal tuition time or during free periods**.

    4.3   This letter is shown to all participating persons.

    4.4   A bound copy of the research document and a soft copy on a computer disc should be submitted to the Free State Department of Education (Strategic Planning, Policy& Research).

    4.5   You will be expected, on completion of your research study, to make a presentation to the relevant stakeholders in the Department.

    4.6   The attached ethics document must be adhered to in the discourse of your study in our department.

5.   The costs relating to all the conditions mentioned above are your own responsibility.

6.   You are requested to confirm acceptance of the above conditions in writing, within seven days after receipt of this letter. Your acceptance letter should be directed to:

**DIRECTOR: STRATEGIC PLANNING,POLICY & RESEARCH;
Old CNA Building, Maitland Street OR Private Bag X20565, BLOEMFONTEIN, 9301**

Thank you for choosing to research with us.We wish you every success with your study.

Yours faithfully,

MJ MOTHEBE (DIRECTOR: STRATEGIC PLANNING, POLICY & RESEARCH)

Directorate: Strategic Planning, Policy Development& Research – Private Bag X20565, Bloemfontein, 9300 – Room 301, Old CNA building,
Charlotte Maxeke, Bloemfontein 9300 – Tel: 051 404 9283/ Fax: 086 6678 678   E–mail: research@edu.fs.gov.za

Request for permission from school principal to conduct research

	Name of Division in Department	205 Nelson Mandela ave. / rl.
		Park West, Bloemfontein 9301
		P.O. Box / Posbus 339
		Bloemfontein 9300
		South Africa / Suid Afrika

July 2014

Dear Principal

Request to conduct research

I, Ms Nelani Lombaard, am currently registered for a Master's degree in Psychology at the University of the Free State. The topic of my research is: Black adolescents' experiences of stereotypes during identity development. This research is done under the supervision of Dr L Naude. I have already obtained permission from the Department of Psychology, the Research Ethics Committee of the Faculty of the Humanities and the Free State Department of Education to conduct this research in schools during 2014. With this, I ask permission to conduct my research at your school.

For this research, I intend to conduct focus group sessions of approximately 1 hour each with about 8 learners at a time. The aim of the focus groups will be to gain information regarding adolescents' experiences of stereotypes during identity development. The focus groups will be conducted at a time negotiated with you and the learners.

Participation in this study is completely voluntary and learners may withdraw from the study at any point without any explanation. The study will be conducted in a confidential manner and all responses will be respected.

Please feel free to contact me should you require any further information.

Nelani Lombaard 076 317 8752
nelanilombaard@gmail.com

Please complete the permission slip below to confirm that you give permission to conduct my research at your school.

Thank you in anticipation.

Nelani Lombaard

Permission by school principal to conduct research

Name of Division in Department   205 Nelson Mandela ave. / rl.
Park West, Bloemfontein 9301
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July 2014

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Please feel free to contact me should you require any further information.

Nelani Lombaard   076 317 8752
                    nelanilombaatd@gmail.com

Please complete the permission slip below to confirm that you give permission to conduct my research at your school.

Thank you in anticipation.

Nelani Lombaard

Permission to conduct research

I hereby grant permission to Ms N Lombaard to conduct research with learners from my school during the third term of 2014.

Name of school   : KAELONG Sec. S.

Name of principal   : T. A. NATUKA

UNIVERSITY OF THE FREE STATE
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YUNIVESITHI YA FREISTATA

Learner consent form

Dear Participant.

I, Ms Nelani Lombaard, am currently registered for a Master's degree in Psychology at the University of the Free State. The topic of my research is: Adolescents' experiences of stereotypes during identity development.

I would like to thank you for your willingness to assist me by participating in this focus group discussion.

During this focus group session of approximately 1 hour, I would like to discuss your views and experiences regarding stereotypes and how they impact on your identity development. The discussion will be recorded for later use.

Your participation in this study is completely voluntary and you may withdraw from the study at any point without any explanation. I would like to assure you that the study will be conducted in a confidential manner and all responses will be respected.
You will not be linked to the answers you give in any way.

If you are comfortable and willing to continue, please complete and sign the form below.

I, …………………………………………. hereby confirm that I understand the aim of the research and my role. I am willing to take part in this session and that the session be recorded for later use.

…………………………………………… ……………………………..
Signature of participant Date

Interview schedules

Biographic questionnaire

School:…………………………………………………

Please answer the following questions by marking your answer with an **X**

Age	13	14	15	16	17
Gender	Female			Male	
Home language	Sesotho	SeTswana	isiXhosa	Afrikaans	English
Ethnicity	Black	White	Coloured	Other	

Questions for discussion

1. What do you know about identity development?
2. What factors do you think can have an impact on identity development?
3. What do you know about stereotypes?
4. Would you say that you have been stereotyped in some way?
5. Does anyone want to share their experience?
6. Could the experience of these stereotypical situations have an impact on identity development?
7. Why?
8. How?

Transcription of focus group discussions

<u>**Focus group 1**</u>

1.1 Interviewer:	Thank you. Ok as your teacher said now, I am Nelani and I am studying at the University of the Free State. I am doing my masters research and my topic is, adolescent's experience of stereotypes during identity development. So I wanted to come and speak to you, and ask you about the stereotypes that you experience and how you see your identity development. I want you to really just to talk to me, tell me what you think, share your opinion if you have one or if you want to. Then I just want to tell you about the forms I just gave you, it just says what my research is about and that it is confidential, so I won't tell anyone outside of this room what you said , no one will ever know if I go away from here , that you participated in my study , ok? I want you to all just respect each other's opinions , we all have opinions about things and we have the right to have our own opinions, so if you don't agree with someone, just say " I don't agree this is what I think, but its fine if you think that" ok?
1.2 Participants:	Yes Ma'am.
1.3 Interviewer:	So, if you are fine to participate in this study, you can please just sign your form at the bottom there, and then if you turn the page they ask you a few questions, your age, your gender…, if you can just please fill that in quickly.
1.4 Interviewer:	Ok, here is my focus group one; I have 9 boys and 16 girls, so that's a total of 25 learners.
1.5 Interviewer:	Then just also, quickly listen, I am recording this session because I have to write everything down that you said. So if I go home I want to listen to it again and just write everything down. If it's fine with you?
1.6 Participants:	Yes.
1.7 Interviewer:	If you say something, just speak loud enough so that people can hear you. Ok, is everyone ready?
1.8 Participants:	Yes.
1.9 Interviewer:	Ok, so the first question I want to ask you is: "what do you know about identity development?"
1.10 Interviewer:	"What do you know about identity development?" Yes?

1.11 Participant (F):	Well according to me, I think identity development is where you start to identify who you are, and when you start to actually get to know yourself more, experience some stuff, and at the end of the day, you develop some stages.
1.12 Interviewer:	Ok, anyone else? Yes?
1.13 Participant (F):	Uhm, I think identity development is when you start knowing yourself, identifying yourself, knowing your weakness and strengths and you advantages and disadvantages of yourself.
1.14 Interviewer:	Ok...knowing yourself, can anyone else thinks of anything else when you think about identity development? No one else? Yes?
1.15 Participant (M):	And once again , I think identity development is when you can identify yourself, so if someone has a problem, because you can identify yourself, you can identify that there's something wrong with that person and you see that there's a problem with that person.
1.16 Interviewer:	Ok....do you all agree?
1.17 Participants:	Yes Ma'am.
1.18 Interviewer:	Ok, then the second question I want to ask you is; "What factors do you think can have an impact on identity development?" What factors are there in your life that impact who you are? Yes?
1.19 Participant (M):	Yes Ma'am I think its low self-esteem.
1.20 Interviewer:	Self-esteem? Ok, must I ask the question again?
1.21 Teacher:	Yes...
1.22 Interviewer:	Ok, what factors are there in your life personally, that you think impact who you are today?
1.23 Participant (M):	The behaviour.
1.24 Interviewer:	The behaviour.
1.25 Participant (F):	The attitude.
1.26 Interviewer:	Attitude.
1.27 Participant (F):	Peer pressure.
1.28 Interviewer:	Peer pressure...Yes? Ok...
1.29 Participant (M):	And also family background.

1.30 Interviewer: Family background

1.31 Participants: Unclear...

1.32 Interviewer: (Loughs) Ok so you agree? Ok so are those all the factors you can think of now? Yes?

1.33 Participant (F): Participant: Self-confidence.

1.34 Interviewer: Self-confidence.....Anything else you can think of? Ok if during the discussion, you think about the answer you wanted to give, you can still give it okay? Ok then the third question; What do you know about stereotypes?

1.35 Participant (M): I think a person with stereotypes stick to one fact, and don't change.

1.36 Interviewer: Yes? Did you hear what he said?

1.37 Participants: No.

1.38 Interviewer: He said a person who stereotypes looks at one fact about you, and just sticks with that. He doesn't consider anything else.

1.39 Participant (F): They tend to believe in one thing.

1.40 Interviewer: Believing in one thing. Ok. Anyone else? What kind of stereotypes do you know about?

1.41 Participant (F): Uhm for example uhm...long ago especially black people...err a man, his job at home was to go and provide for the whole family , but then a women was meant for raising the children, doing the chores at home and also cooking and that kind of stuff. So in that way that was a stereotype.

1.42 Interviewer: Other types of stereotypes you know about?

1.43 Participant (M): I think that a positive stereotype is when, like for example when, we say like Kenyan man are good runners for example. Or like uhm...let me say women are bad drivers or something.

1.44 Interviewer: Ok...Would you say, stereotypes are just bad, or can it be good?

1.45 Participant (F): Well, Ma'am, according to me I think it is bad. ermm I would like to talk about my experience at this school. uhm A lot of students in this school, they have this stereotype where they believe that if you are a student here, because urhm the compulsory language that we use in this school is Tswana , you have to speak Tswana. You are not allowed to speak any English. , By the time they find you speak English, and what not, they will start to say bad things to you, and telling you that this school is only meant for Tswana people.

1.46 Participants:	It's true...that is true.
1.47 Interviewer:	Anyone else who has an experience, sort of like it, about something else stereotyped, that wants to share?
1.48 Participant (M):	I think stereotyping is kind of good, because you focus on one thing and you get determined and you get passion in that something.
1.49 Interviewer:	Ok....you are very quiet on this side...uhmmm...Now do you think that the situations that you were stereotyped in...Do you think that impacted who you are? Does it impact your identity development? Hum? Must I ask again? Uhmm do you think the situations where you were stereotyped in, if someone stereotypes you, does it influence who you become?
1.50 Participant (M):	Sometimes.
1.51 Interviewer:	Sometimes?
1.52 Participant (M):	Yes...
1.53 Interviewer:	Why do you say that?
1.54 Participant (M):	Uhmm…Because sometimes, like someone will say something bad to you, then you will give up doing something that you want to do.
1.55 Interviewer:	Ok...Anyone else?
1.56 Participant (M):	Sorry, what was the question again?
1.57 Interviewer:	If you are stereotyped do you think it influences your identity development?
1.58 Participant (F):	Yes, it does if your identity is in development , due to hum… like they do come to me saying all those bad stuff, so at the end of the day I will ask myself, who am I? Are these people right? Am I wrong in what I am doing? So at the end of the day, it gives me, like I start to not have the freedom to be who I am. To like, speak the language that I am free with ..to communicate with.
1.59 Interviewer:	Ok...anyone else? Do you all agree that it influences you? ...Is there someone who disagrees? Uhmm if someone stereotypes you does it influence who you become?
1.60 Participant (M):	Yes, it does, if it comes in a negative way, you get low self-esteem, and you don't want to do that anymore.
1.61 Interviewer:	Do you all feel that way?

1.62 Participants(M):   No.

1.63 Interviewer: Who said no? Ok..let me hear why do you say no?

1.64 Participant (M):   Well, I think that if people kind of like say negative things about you, it kind of like builds you up you know. You know what you are better at than them because like they are not going to come up to you and say that you did this wrong, whilst you know yourself. So I think it's a good thing sometimes, because it kind of like builds you up not to have low self-esteem.

1.65 Interviewer: Ok...

1.66 Participant (M):   I say no, because sometimes when somebody talks bad things about you, it makes you feel better, because you want to prove right to them that it is not like that. So it gives you confidence and to have more self-esteem and to show them that the things that they are saying about you are not right. And you are going to make sure that they are going to see that, it is good it gives you self-esteem.

1.67 Interviewer: Ok...so it can either then break you down and you become what they believe, or give you self-esteem so that you can prove them wrong. So who of you believe that it will break you down? Put up your hands. Two people. Three people, ok who thinks it will build you up.. 13 people ok... and then I just want to ask, are there any examples that you can still give me, from your own lives, where you experienced someone stereotyping you, that you think it either brought you down and you changed as a person or, it gave you the self-esteem to show this is not who I am. Any examples?

1.68 Participant (F):   Like people who speak English here at school, they kind of call them snobs, so I kind of like find it awesome because I find myself unique.

1.69 Interviewer: Ok...so again language

1.70 Participants: (Giggling)...

1.71 Participant (F):   Well in this kind of situation it actually built me up, it's in the positive side, where by last year. ..I think it was last year, I was living by myself, so according to the family that I was living in, I was very uhmm... They used to say bad things to me, like you so stupid , you don't know anything, I don't know how you pass at school and what not. So like at the end of the day I tend to ask myself, are these people right? But then whilst I was still doing good at school, it actually helped me to improve more, to actually show them that I am able to do all the things they say I cannot do. So in that way it helped me.

1.72 Interviewer: Someone else with an example?
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1.73 Participant (F):	Uhm another stereotype that I have experienced in my life, is where by at home where you find that girls are the ones that are supposed to do all the chores, the cooking, and what not, and the guys would just chill, the majority of days. The most time they chill and us girls we do most of the things that should be done.
1.74 Interviewer:	Ok, gender stereotypes...uhmm how do you think stereotypes develop? Why did it become that way that women have to work at home and men don't? How did this happen?
1.75 Participant (F):	I think that it started back then, when black people were still practising the tradition rituals, where they started to believe that women are meant for work, for the household chores, and then men are used to go out there, come up with bread and what not to provide for the family.
1.76 Interviewer:	Ok, traditional. Now if you look at the language stereotype you spoke about, how did this happen? How did it start do you think?
1.77 Participant (M):	Can you repeat the question?
1.78 Interviewer:	Everyone said the language stereotype, if you speak English they think you are a snob, neh, that is what they said. How do you think that started?
1.79 Participant (M):	I think it started because of, to tell you the truth it started because of, maybe they think they annoy them with English. Sometimes they think they are better than the other people, or sometimes when somebody speaks English they will be like, correcting them even though we know that there is no master for pronunciation. So that is why we call them snobs. Because they like to correct whenever there is something wrong, they like to act like other people and they are not.
1.80 Participant (M):	Participant: They like to think that we are not like others, we are this cool and they call us the "ghettos" and we want to all look like "ghettos" like she said. She likes to say this school is "Yizo-Yizo"
1.81 Participants:	(Laughter)
1.82 Participant (F):	Yes, we are "Yizo-Yizo" do you know that story? It's something like gangs in schools, so it's not like that, we call her a snob because she thinks that we are " ghetto" and we are not " ghetto's", it's just that we live in a township that acts like " ghetto". So she acts like she lives in some suburbs where people act normal, and she lives in that "ghetto" and she does not understand us. It is not that we are stereotyping her, but the things that she does, does not suit what we do at this school

1.83 Interviewer:	So she feels that, stereotypes happen because people do things that do not fit in with what other people, most of the people, do.
1.84 Participants:	Yes.
1.85 Participant (F):	And I also think that it stared out whereby they do not understand what type of people we are, whereby they are confused, they do not actually understand us, who we are, so at the end of the day they start to manipulate us due to the personality that we have, while they are confused. They do not actually understand there is the problem.
1.86 Interviewer:	Ok.
1.87 Participant:(M)	Sometimes I think that, uhm, there are people like us...I can say that I like beautiful things, I wish I was living in the suburbs you know, and get a school in town and be a snob. So I would say that let me start that life where I am now, still in primary you know. Tswana is cool, but you know, I would hope English is the thing that I value. I want that life, like I want to speak English. So other children, maybe they think that I am better than them, I am always seeking for attention and I take it like it is not like that. I am just being myself.
1.88 Participant (F):	Yes Ma'am, they don't understand the uniqueness of us. They do not understand the uniqueness that we have.
1.89 Participant (F):	Ma'am, I think that is where underestimation takes place, because the snobs think they are better than us , they act so superior and they treat us like we are inferior , so that is where underestimation takes place.
1.90 Participant (M):	To be honest, nobody said that, those things are all based on opinions and it is not that way, they say that way, whist it is not that way, they are just exaggerating Ma'am.
1.91 Participant: (M)	Ma'am, I think that when you are a snob, you don't have to be like… you don't have to act like you are directly poor if you are a snob. Let me not say snob. If you are, like your parents can afford anything, you don't have to be like, you know, you don't always have to be like live that township life, you know. If they say you are a snob, you have to live that way, because God gave your mother and your father the living, you know, they can afford, so you can still…
1.92 Participant (M):	That's how it is Ma'am, you find yourself in that kind of situation, some of the people do not understand that we grow up knowing English, interested in English until here, so at the end of the day they do not understand. They just do not understand.
1.93 Interviewer:	Did you have your hand up? Anyone this side?

1.94 Participant (F):	Ma'am, like Retabile said, they think that they are trying to intimidate them, but they are actually intimidated themselves. Because I think that being a snob, there is nothing wrong with being a snob, it is just that you grow up in a different way. We all grow up in different ways, like for an example some kids listen to house, and the others listen to RnB, so immediately you listen to international music, you start to want to learn how they speak, and like trying to find out a way to communicate with others. It is not like we are better that them or something like that, it is just that we are used to how to grow up in that kind of manner.
1.95 Interviewer:	Ok, now how do you think we can change these stereotypes? How can we get people not to stereotype us?
1.96 Participant:(M)	I think we should all stay away from the negativity, and we must all be positive.
1.97 Interviewer:	Ok, being positive.
1.98 Participant (F):	You know, I think if we work together we can do more, because like if the snobs and the "ghettos" combine, we could learn more. We could actually teach them this and they could teach us something, so if we work together everything would be alright.
1.99 Participant (M):	And Ma'am, starting to accept each other the way they are.
1.100 Interviewer:	Ok, so you all agree that we should try not to stereotype because it influences people and that we should try and accept who they are?
1.101 Participants:	Yes Ma'am.
1.102 Interviewer:	And learn more about them. Ok any opinions about that? We still have a few minutes, so if you have anything else…
1.103 Participant:(M)	And another thing is that we should accept their feelings, because it is the way they feel on how to do things.
1.104 Interviewer:	Ok, their feelings about things.
1.105 Participant:(M)	We should not judge or discriminate; we should accept them the way they are.
1.106 Interviewer:	Okay, why do you think… like when I walked in here, it's the first time you have ever seen me right?
1.107 Participants:	Yes
1.108 Interviewer:	Ok, so stereotypes happen like that, the moment I walked in you had a thought about me, right? Neh? What do you think it says about you as a person? Say if I have a stereotype about someone, what does it

	say about me that I hold that stereotype?
1.109 Participant(M):	Ma'am could you please repeat question.
1.110 Interviewer:	When I walked in, neh? Say you had a stereotype about me, when I walked in, what does it say about you that you judged me so quickly?
1.111 Participant(M):	I actually think that it says that you are this kind of person, whereby you believe what you believe in, you are in one place , you stand on one place if ever you say this is good, then it is good and it stays that way.
1.112 Interviewer:	Ok, now do you think holding a stereotype can be part of someone's identity? Can it be part of who I am to just stereotype people?
1.113 Participant(M):	I think it can, because at the end of the day you start stereotyping other people and you start believing in those kinds of things. At the end of the day you go out being that kind of a person.
1.114 Interviewer:	Ok, so do you think we can say that stereotyping other people sort of come naturally to us? It just happens; you do not decide to stereotype someone it just happens?
1.115 Participant(M):	I think it does not happen; sometimes it comes up with jealousy. You might discover that the person is actually jealous, or he has a little "beef" with that other person, so at the end of the day they stereotype them.
1.116 Interviewer:	Ok
1.117 Participant(M):	I think it does, because that is who you are, it's one of your characteristics, and it is building you. So it runs in your genes, so that's who you are.
1.118 Interviewer:	Ok.
1.119 Participant:(M)	I think it is natural, because sometimes it happens that it is the first time I see you, I don't know you, but then I start to believe that, like I do not like you.
1.120 Participant (F):	It is not about jealousy, like he said when you see someone for the first time you do not know that person, so you think something that is different from what he or she thinks or what she does so it is not about jealousy it is about how you …. like it is called ...you see someone for the first time, and you are going to give him or her your first opinion that comes out of your mind. So it is not about jealousy, it is about giving what you see in him or her, yes.
1.121 Interviewer:	Ok, so do you think the things that you see from a person the first time is always correct or do you sometimes make mistakes?

1.122 Participant (F):	Sometimes you make mistakes, sometimes you are correct, it depends on how that person acts the first time, and then later on he shows you, or she shows you, how he does things or he acts because sometimes people are always "lovers" the first time, they are not going to act the way they are.
1.123 Interviewer:	Who they actually are?
1.124 Participant:(M)	Well for me as well, because you cannot judge everybody's cover.
1.125 Interviewer:	Ok.
1.126 Participant:(M)	I can say sometimes it is jealousy because of, let me make an example, it is the first year and then we are in the same class. I do not even know you, then you pass maths more than me, then sometimes I will say; who is this? He passes all the time and I am getting jealous because I cannot get the marks he gets.
1.127 Participant(M):	Ma'am, in the past if you used to pass and someone just pops out of nowhere and pass; you get kind of jealous, like why is she or he better than me?
1.128 Interviewer:	Ok, so in the beginning we said stereotypes happen because we only look at one thing about a person, now if you get to know them and you learn about them, that what you thought was not true. Do you think it is easy to change or do you still sort of hold that perspective of that person?
1.130 Participant(M):	I think it is easy, because now you have learned to know them, you know who they are so the opinion kind of changes, you know. You now know the true them, not your opinion of them or towards them.
1.131 Interviewer:	Ok...
1.132 Participant (F):	So like, at the end of the day, it will give you the opportunity to actually know them more and to change your mind about what you thought that they were. So based on the actions that they would be doing, it would be easier for you to accept them and to change your mind.
1.133 Interviewer:	Ok.
1.134 Participant (F):	I do not think it is going to be easy, because the first time you see her or him you started being negative, so it will not be easy to change.
1.135 Interviewer:	Ok ...anything else? We have to finish now, so anything else you want to say to me about stereotypes and identity development? Having heard everything you heard and thinking about it, how do you feel about it now?

1.136 Participant (F):	Well in media what I heard is something that really gave me a torture, and that is based on stereotyping whereby there was a broadcasting that told us that there was some girls, I do not know whether it is in Nigeria or something, they were kidnapped, all of them, they were kidnapped at school due to they had the stereotyping that girls are not supposed to be educated at that specific age, they are supposed to get married so in that way…
1.137 Interviewer:	Ok, anyone else with the last opinion...Ok, so if you are sure there is nothing else you want to tell me that you feel or think about this, then thank you so much for participating. I really appreciate it, and then you can just hand in your papers ...thank you.

Focus group 2

2.1 Interviewer:	This is focus group 2. There is (counting) 23 learners. How many boys are you?
2.2 Participant: (M)	16 Boys.
2.3 Interviewer:	16 Boys, how many girls?
2.4 Participant: (F)	7 Girls.
2.5 Interviewer:	7 Girls. Ok, so I told you now I'm Nelani Lombaard. I can't speak that loud so you have to listen please... I'm doing my research at the university. My topic is; adolescence experience of stereotypes during identity development. So I want to ask you a few questions, and I want to hear your views and experiences on it, and what you think about it. And then I just want you to fill in your forms. The form in front of you says that what you tell me is confidential, so I won't go and tell anyone else what you said, and I can't link your information to specifically, because I don't know you.
2.6 Participant: (M)	Yes.
2.7 Interviewer:	What you say stays in the room. And then I just want you to respect each other's opinions. If someone says something you don't agree with you can put up your hand and tell me, I don't agree and this is why I don't agree, but I don't want you to attack each other. You just leave the person if you don't agree, let him believe whatever he wants. Okay, and then I'm recording our conversation because I have to write everything down, so this afternoon when I go home, I'm going to write everything down. Person 1 said this… and then I said this…
2.8 Interviewer:	Person 2 said this. Okay, so if it's fine, you can just sign your form,

that you are willing to participate. If you turn the page there are a few questions you can just full in for me, with a cross or a mark or whatever.

(inaudible sound from learners)

A teacher enters the class.

2.9 Teacher: (M)	Ma'am, where's Mevrou?
2.10 Interviewer:	I don't know she left me here for half an hour and then she's coming back.
2.11 Teacher: (M)	Oh okay. Thank you. (teacher leaves)
	(inaudible sounds of students)
2.12 Participant: (M)	So here I write my name?
2.13 Interviewer:	Ja, but I won't use it. It's just so I can see you agreed to participate.
	(inaudible sounds from students)
2.14 Interviewer:	Okay have you filled in your forms? (inaudible noise) If you feel that you do not want to participate, just give your form to someone who wants to. It is fine.
2.15 Participant (M):	Here I write my name?
2.16 Interviewer:	Yes, please write your name, it's just so I know you agreed. I won't use it for anything.
	(Inaudible noise from learners).
2.17 Interviewer:	Okay can we start?
2.18 Participant: (M)	Yes, we can start.
2.19 Interviewer:	Okay, so the first question I want to ask you, and I want you to really participate. Just tell me whatever you think. What do you know… (noise from leaners someone says shhhh). What do you know about identity development?
2.20 Participant: (M)	Participant male: Identity development…
	(inaudible noise. Only thing you can make out is a few boys repeating identity development)
2.21 Participant: (M)	Ma'am

2.22 Interviewer:	Yes?
2.23 Participant: (M)	Ah ma'am, I think, according to my perspective, it is like when you grow, then there are like changes that happens in your like physical appearance.
2.24 Interviewer:	Okay, so like physical changes?
2.25 Participant: (M)	Ah Ja… yes ma'am.
2.26 Interviewer:	Anyone else?
2.27 Participant: (M)	Is also developing who you are and where you come from ma'am. That is all I can say ma'am.
2.28 Interviewer:	If I ask you what your identity is, how will you answer me?
2.29 Participant: (M)	Identity is who I am.
2.30 Interviewer:	Who you are?
2.31 Participant: (M)	Ya…
2.32 Interviewer:	What does that mean?
2.33 Participant: (M)	Everything about you, even your physical appearance.
2.34 Interviewer:	Okay. Everything about you. What things does that include?
2.35 Participant: (M)	Come again.
2.36 Interviewer:	Identity, what does that include? Does it include the way you do things, the way you see things, how you feel about things?
2.37 Participant: (M)	No ma'am.
2.38 Interviewer:	Not?
2.39 Participant: (M)	I think the way I do things.
2.40 Participant: (M)	Identity is all about the vision, the age, the gender.
2.41 Interviewer:	Okay, yes?
2.42 Participant: (M)	It's all about me neh.
2.43 Interviewer:	What makes you different from someone else?
2.44 Participant: (M)	Yes unique.

2.45 Interviewer:	Unique. Okay, then what do you know about stereotypes?
2.46 Participant: (M)	According to my perspective, I think, like when you are focusing on one thing, like I'm always on my (unclear coughing in the background) then I'm stereotyping on (unclear due to background noise).
2.47 Interviewer:	Okay.
2.48 Participant: (M)	I hope stereotyping is when you try to focus on something, or somebody choose you for something, and then you don't co-operate or anything, but you want to go there, but you can't figure out what is happening.
2.49 Interviewer:	Okay.
2.50 Participant: (F)	It's also about someone who is biased.
2.51 Interviewer:	Someone who is biased. Okay.
2.52 Participant: (M)	You are looking at one point of view.
2.53 Interviewer:	Oka
2.54 Participant: (M)	A particular type of personal thing.
2.55 Interviewer:	Okay, anyone else think anything else about stereotyping? Then I want you to think quickly, do you think that you have ever been stereotyped?
2.56 Participant: (M)	Come again ma'am.
2.57 Interviewer:	Do you think you have ever been stereotyped in your own life? Has someone ever stereotyped you?
2.58 Participant: (M)	Never.
2.59 Participant: (M)	I'm not sure
2.60 Participant: (M)	I'm definitely sure.
2.61 Interviewer:	You're definitely sure, okay, is there someone who feels that they have been stereotyped?
2.62 Participant: (F)	Yes
2.63 Interviewer:	Do you feel that way? (silence) Did you say yes?
2.64 Participant: (F)	Yes.

2.65 Interviewer:		Okay. Would you like to share?
2.66 Participant: (M)		Just share.
2.67 Interviewer:		What did they stereotype you about?
2.68 Participant: (F)		About… Eish, I can't remember well ma'am.
2.69 Interviewer:		Okay, how did it make you feel?
2.70 Participant: (F)		Stupid.
2.71 Interviewer:		Stupid?
2.72 Participant: (F)		Yes.
2.73 Interviewer:		Why?
2.74 Participant: (F)		Because I was like, um, I was never focused again.
2.75 Interviewer:		Okay. Did you have your hand up?
2.76 Participant: (M)		Yes. Because it's not that you... Why you laughing guys? (coughing in background). Yes someone has stereotyped me.
2.77 Interviewer:		Okay.
2.78 Participant: (M)		Because they wanted me to do things that I didn't want to do.
2.79 Interviewer:		Okay.
2.80 Participant: (M)		Ja, I think.
2.81 Interviewer:		Okay someone else? Can I first ask you, maybe, what types of stereotypes do we get? What do people stereotype about?
2.82 Participant: (M)		Gender.
2.83 Interviewer:		Gender? Can you explain that to me?
2.84 Participant: (M)		For example when like males say that women should not drive, yes.
2.85 Interviewer:		Okay yes. Other types?
2.86 Participant: (M)		They also with work ma'am.
2.87 Interviewer:		With work?
2.88 Participant: (M)		They think that men can only do gardening, but women can't do the garden, yes ma'am.

2.89 Interviewer:	Okay.
2.90 Participant: (M)	Gender.
2.91 Interviewer:	Gender. Okay, why do you say that?
2.92 Participant: (M)	(unclear) Race ma'am. I meant to say race.
2.93 Interviewer:	Okay race.
2.94 Participant: (M)	Discrimination.
2.95 Interviewer:	Discrimination. Yes, for example?
2.96 Participant: (M)	For example, maybe like this place is for the coloureds, the other one is for the blacks. The coloureds only need to be on this side. When you say something like that.
2.97 Interviewer:	Okay, other examples?
2.98 Participant: (M)	That's all.
2.99 Interviewer:	The other class I was in mentioned language.
2.100 Participant:(M)	Language how?
2.101 Interviewer:	Do you also feel that way or not? Do you think so?
2.102 Participant:(M)	How? No ma'am.
2.103 Interviewer:	Not? Okay.
2.104 Participant:(M)	It also involves, um, the grouping of individuals, like skaters, goths (unclear) grouping of Goths, skaters, gangsters and so far.
2.105 Interviewer:	Okay, so grouping of certain types of people.
2.106 Participant:(M)	Yes.
2.107 Interviewer:	Okay, why do you think we do that? Why do we group people according to the language they speak or the way they look or because of their gender? Why do we stereotype people?
2.108 Participant:(M)	I think it's because we are jealous.
2.109 Interviewer:	Jealously? Why do you think it's that?
2.110 Participant:(M)	Because, eh, people are very jealous of each other. If they see you doing, eh, great things, they don't want you to be successful in life. They criticise you.

2.111 Interviewer:	Okay, do you think it's because we just don't know enough about people? Say a goth person walks in here and it's the first time we really see someone up close who looks like that, so we have heard a few things about them, but we've never really interacted with them. Do you think that could be a reason? We just don't know enough about them? Not? Okay now I want you to really think about this because I really want you to participate now. Could the experience of being stereotyped influence who you become? (silence) Must I ask again? Say someone gender stereotypes you, you can't do that job because you are male, does it influence who you become?
2.112 Participant:(M)	Yes ma'am it does.
2.113 Interviewer:	Why does it influence you?
2.114 Participant:(F)	Because maybe you can't do that job because it is for the certain people, maybe that job is for the males neh? You are a lady you can't do that job because of your gender.
2.115 Participant:(M)	It influences you ma'am, because sometimes it means it pulls my self-esteem down.
2.116 Interviewer:	It pulls your self-esteem down? And then you can't be who you are or what?
2.117 Participant:(M)	Yes, then I can't be who I am.
2.118 Interviewer:	Why does that happen? He says if someone stereotypes you it pulls your self-esteem down so you can't be who you are.
2.119 Participant:(M)	If you don't have self-respect you don't respect yourself and you can't do that job at work.
2.120 Interviewer:	Okay.
2.121 Participant:(M)	And you are also going to try and change yourself, just to impress the people that are surrounding you.
2.122 Interviewer:	Okay, so he says then you have to try and change yourself neh? If you are stereotyped you try to change yourself to be like whoever they want you to be, right? Do you agree?
2.123 Participant:(M)	Yes.
2.124 Interviewer:	Now have you ever experienced something like that where you thought, okay this is who I am, but people judge it so let me change this about myself?
2.125 Participant: (M)	I will never change myself because of what people say.

2.126 Interviewer:	Okay.
2.127 Participant: (M)	Yes I've been stereotyped before because of the way I speak and because of the way I dress. So they, like calling me nigga, you know, because they want me to be like them, ghetto, yes. But I'm not going to change for anyone.
2.128 Interviewer:	Okay, so being stereotyped sort of motivates you to say who you are?
2.129 Participant: (M)	Yes, yes
2.130 Interviewer:	Okay, so then would you say that being stereotyped is always negative or can it be positive?
	(Lots of background noise)
2.131 Interviewer:	Why don't you want to talk to me?
2.132 Participant: (M)	We are afraid to talk to you.
2.133 Interviewer:	Why? Are you afraid that I will stereotype you?
2.134 Participant: (M)	They are afraid, they don't have confidence.
2.135 Interviewer:	What is your opinion, tell me.
2.136 Participant: (M)	(unclear) Can you repeat the question again?
2.137 Interviewer:	I asked, do you think it will always be negative to be stereotyped or can it be positive sometimes?
2.138 Participant: (M)	Sometimes it will be negative because you feel like you are not (unclear) existing.
2.139 Interviewer:	Okay, has anyone ever been stereotyped and then it influenced you negatively? You answered all of them, I'm waiting for someone else actually, being stereotyped negatively how did it influence you? How did it make you feel then?
2.140 Participant: (M)	Its gives you a low self-esteem.
2.141 Interviewer:	Low self-esteem.
2.142 Participant: (M)	And you lose self-confidence.
2.143 Interviewer:	Losing self-confidence.
2.144 Participant: (M)	You don't believe in yourself, because you feel otherwise, because of other people.

2.145 Interviewer: Okay.

2.146 Participant: (M)   Because of that peer pressures.

2.147 Participant: (M)   And you also want to be alone, because you don't need to live up to others because they are going to judge you so.

2.148 Interviewer: Okay, so you isolate yourself because you are afraid of people judging you?

2.149 Interviewer: (Yes's from a few males)

2.150 Participant: (M)   Do you think it could make you angry?

2.151 Interviewer: Ja, you can even commit suicide.

2.152 Participant: (M)   Okay, so being stereotyped can have a big influence in your life then?

2.153 Interviewer: Yes.

2.154 Participant: (M)   I want you to talk to me, what do you think about stereotypes, how can we change stereotypes?

2.155 Interviewer: By not judging others.

2.156 Participant: (M)   Okay, how do we do that?

2.157 Interviewer: By treating others equally.

2.158 Participant (M):   As equals, yes…
By not following groups of gangsters (unclear) and the bullying.

2.159 Participant (M):   And ma'am, you have to respect each other.

2.160 Participant (M):   By getting to know a person first before you judge.

2.161 Interviewer: Okay, you said now we avoid stereotypes by getting to know a person first, neh, so do you think if someone walks in now and our first impression of them is a stereotype. Then we get to know them and we see we were wrong. Do you think it is easy to change how we thought about them? Because they say first impressions are important, so do you think it is easy to change?

2.162 Participant (M):   It is not easy.

2.163 Interviewer: Not easy, why not?

2.164 Participant (M):   Because you do the same to the other person again and again and again, we keep repeating the same thing.

2.165 Interviewer: Why would we keep repeating it?

2.166 Participant (M): Because there (unclear mumbling)

2.167 Interviewer: Are you struggling to find the English word?

2.168 Participant (M): No.

2.169 Participant (F): I think that maybe after we have seen or heard what he or she is saying, maybe we could change.

2.170 Interviewer: Okay, how would we change then?

2.171 Participant (F): By not judging them the way we used to.

2.172 Interviewer: Okay.

2.173 Participant (M): By not bullying them. By encouraging each other to do good things.

2.174 Interviewer: Okay, by encouraging each other to do good things. Do you think we can change stereotypes by encouraging people to be who they are? To be proud of their identity?

(Many male voices "Yes")

2.175 Participant (M): That is what I wanted to say.

2.176 Interviewer: Now we still have 5 minutes left, so about everything we spoke now, does anyone else have an opinion about stereotypes or identity development that they want to share with me? Anything? Are you satisfied? Did you say everything that you wanted to say?
(Yes is said by many male voices)

2.177 Interviewer: Okay, lastly, do you think the stereotypes people put on you influence the person you become or who you are?

2.178 Participant (M): Not anymore, because I don't take it into consideration I only listen to positive stuff about me.

2.179 Interviewer: Okay, you say not any more, did it influence you in the past?

2.180 Participant (M): Oh yes yes it did.

2.181 Interviewer: Do you want to share an experience?

2.182 Participant (M): Oh, okay, um… Well I was this boy who liked to listen to hip hop and all of that, and then I met a couple of friends who like listening to house, and so then they were like 'dude you should not listen to this type of music because we don't hang out to people who listen to music like that'. Yes so I decided to change myself, and then like

weeks and weeks and weeks ago, I decided to like join the group and get ghetto but now I don't do that anymore.

2.183 Interviewer: What changed?

2.184 Participant (M): Well I met a lot of positive friends, a lot of positive friends, and they encouraged me to be who I am, and then I also went for what I liked the most.

2.185 Interviewer: Okay, so you just decided not to follow the stereotype?

2.186 Participant (M): Yes, yes.

2.187 Interviewer: And just be who you are?

2.188 Participant (M): Yes, yes

2.189 Interviewer: Anyone else? Is there anyone else who has sort of the same experience, something you can relate to there that you want to share?

2.190 Participant (M): Yes, I would say Pansula guys (not sure if spelling is right)

2.191 Interviewer: What's that?

2.192 Participant (M): Pansula guys are the guys that wear these (unclear) and all stars and converse. So I came across that girls didn't like me, and many people didn't like me, so I decided to become an Italian male, and now I am a Gena (Not sure about the spelling) boy and now they like me.

2.193 Interviewer: Okay, so you have changed a little bit.

2.194 Participant (M): Yes, I have changed a lot.

2.195 Interviewer: You have changed a lot, and do you regret it?

2.196 Participant (M): No I don't regret it.

2.197 Interviewer: Not? Was it for the better?

2.198 Participant (M): Yes it was what I liked.

2.199 Interviewer: Okay, so through the stereotype you learnt what you like?

2.200 Participant (M): Yes.

2.201 Interviewer: Anyone else? Nothing else? Okay thank you so much for participating I really appreciate it.

3.1 Interviewer: Ok, Morning guys.

3.2 Participants: Morning Ma'am.

3.3 Interviewer: Ok, I am Nelani as your teacher told you now. I am doing research at the University of the Free State, and my topic is adolescent's experience of stereotype during identity development, right? So I want to ask you a few questions, and I want you to really talk to me , tell me how you experience it , how do you think it influences you, anything that comes to mind ok? So I'm going to give you forms that you can just read and sign. It is to say you are willing to participate and that you understand what my topic is about, and on the form they say that everything you tell me will be confidential. So it won't go out of this room, I won't tell anyone this is what you said, they will not be able to link what you said to you specifically. They will know it came from Khayalang School, but they will not know you said it, ok?

3.4 Participants: Yes.

3.5 Interviewer: And then I just want you to really respect each other, if someone says something that you don't agree with, just put up your hand and say, I don't agree with this, this is my opinion, but I do not want to fight about it. So just really respect each other and ja then just give me your opinions. Then I want you to fill in the form in the front and then if you turn the page there are a few questions. I want to make statistics about how many people were 15 and who were males and what languages did most of you speak, things like that, so just fill that in for me . And then I just need to tell you that I am going to record this conversation, because I have to go and write everything up that was said. So this afternoon I will go listen to it again to write everything, participant 1 said this, I said this, and then participant 2 said this..Ok?   Is it fine with you?

3.6 Participants: Yes.

3.7 Interviewer: So you can just quickly fill in your forms before we start.

3.8 Interviewer: This is my third focus group, there are 25 learners, and 16 are males and 9 females.

3.9 Interviewer: And also it is voluntary to participate, you do not have to participate, but I will appreciate it if you do. Ok can we start?

3.10 Participants: Yes.

3.11 Interviewer:	Ok thank you. My first question is, what do you know about identity development? Just speak loudly so that we can hear you.
3.12 Participant: (F)	I think, I'm not sure, I think identity development is your culture and where you come from.
3.13 Interviewer:	Ok yes, anyone else? Yes?
3.14 Participant: (F)	I think identity development is the person that is inside of you, like the person that you are, that you represent.
3.15 Interviewer:	Ok…
	(mumbling…)
3.16 Interviewer:	Ok, anyone else? Anything you know about identity development? Yes?
3.17 Participant: (F)	I also think identity development is about being the original you, the original person in you, and developing means just to dig more to know more about who you really are.
3.18 Interviewer:	Ok…Yes?
3.19 Participant: (M)	I think, ermm, identity management… identity development is, uhm, religion that you carry from back where you belong.
3.20 Interviewer:	Ok...So sort of like a traditional things coming in.
3.21 Participant: (M)	Like, err… your culture and spiritual beliefs.
3.22 Interviewer:	Ok.
3.23 Participant: (M)	I think identity development is about finding yourself and developing yourself, who are you, what you want to be and where you come from.
3.24 Interviewer:	Ok…Yes?
3.25 Participant: (M)	I think identity is all about the person inside and outside, for example, an identity number, it's all about age and everything about you, and identity, I think, as well is all about a person, a name a religion belief.
3.26 Interviewer:	Ok, anything else? Yes?
3.27 Participant: (M)	Identity, I can say it is a kind of person you are.
3.28 Interviewer:	Ok.

3.29 Participant: (F)	Ok, in general or like globally, I would say identity, it has to do with identifying you in every aspect, or whatever, is it spiritually, educationally in whatever area, it has to do with identifying who you are really.
3.30 Interviewer:	Yes?
3.31 Participant: (M)	I think identity development is when you try to find yourself, where you want to be, maybe the time you grow up, eventually when you try to find yourself is what I think.
3.32 Interviewer:	Are you satisfied with all the answers?
3.33 Participants:	Yes!
3.34 Interviewer:	Then the second question, what factors do you think can have an impact on identity development? So in your own life, what factors is there that impacted who you are today? What factors is there that impact identity development?
3.35 Participant (M):	Yes me, I would say the factors that impact my identity would be pressure from my community, alcohol, drugs abuse and factors such as lack of self- esteem.
3.36 Interviewer:	Ok, anyone else? Yes?
3.37 Participant: (F)	I would say factors, especially positively, I think my family. They have a very big impact on my life positively, in a way that they are standing with me in whatever the situations and circumstances, whereby I realise that that is how I get to develop my identity. But negatively it is those people who will be with me, but discriminate me and not give that thing that I can make it in life.
3.38 Interviewer:	Ok.
3.39 Participant: (F)	My culture.
3.40 Interviewer:	Your culture.
3.41 Participant: (F)	Yes.
3.42 Interviewer:	Ok.
3.43 Participant: (F)	My Identity, I am who I am today, because of my culture, the roots of my ancestors, where I come from, what do I believe in, yes my identity.
3.44 Interviewer:	Anything else you can think of? Yes?

3.45 Participant: (M)	In a way I think the inspiration that I get from my parents, or the inspiration that I see, the people who are successful in life, those are the things that inspire me, the things I want to be in life , I think the things that I am exposed to.
3.46 Interviewer:	Ok, are you fine with that answer as well?
3.47 Participants:	Yes!
3.48 Interviewer:	Are you? You have your hand up?
3.49 Participant: (F)	I was just trying to say that like the criticism friends and family or anyone judging you, yes.
3.50 Interviewer:	Ok, so that brings us to our next question, neh?
3.51 Participants:	Yes.
3.52 Interviewer:	So she just said criticism, so what do you know about stereotypes?
3.53 Participant: (F)	Treating a certain type of ideas.
3.54 Interviewer:	Ok.
3.55 Participant: (F)	Stereotypes, I think it is being against something.
3.56 Interviewer:	Ok…can you give me ideas about types of stereotypes.
3.57 Participant: (F)	Gender.
3.58 Interviewer:	Why do you say gender?
3.59 Participant: (F)	Because there are those who are gays and lesbian, so people will just criticise, and I would say that, for example when a women is pregnant, they will have a discussion at home and the lady will say, no I think it's a girl and the father will say no I think it's a boy, so whenever they go to the shop, they want to buy both girls and boys clothes so they are just comparing.
3.60 Interviewer:	Ok.
3.61 Participant: (M)	I believe stereotype is a, let me make an example, we are all equal. We have females and males, so there are those who become lesbians and gays, so other people do not like lesbians and gays. So they are discriminating those that are, I think it's a gender stereotyping. I think they do not feel comfortable with those lesbian and gays who are out, they always keep them away from them.
3.62 Interviewer:	Ok? So do you think stereotype come from those people who feel uncomfortable about something or someone else?

3.63 Participants:	Yes.
3.64 Interviewer:	Where else can it come from do you think?
3.65 Participants:	Aids, race, bullying (unclear).
3.66 Interviewer:	We cannot hear you?
3.67 Participant: (M)	I think stereotypes come from bullies, like some we bully because of not understanding of someone else's feelings. As I think Mathepelo explained, that stereotypes is someone who does not understand someone's feelings why he or she chose to be a lesbian or gay. So you found that in school bullies start being developed because of not understanding someone's feelings, not understanding to like that person's choices.
3.68 Interviewer:	Ok.
3.69 Participant: (F)	I have another example, the one that always appears on the media, the Boko Haram… (Laughing)…bring back our girls...(laughing)…I think it is similar to what we are talking about here, because those guys have kidnapped those girls because they feel like those girls are not good for education. Yes they are stereotyping, they think that men are the ones who should always work. Who are capable of getting educated and working.
3.70 Participant (F):	Yes, so they think those girls should always depend on men, so that is why they kidnapped them.
3.71 Interviewer:	Anything else you can think of?
3.72 Participant: (F)	I think it is religion. Sometimes other people, maybe I am a Christian, and I believe in Christianity, then that comes to a point whereby I will be discriminating other religions. That I do believe in Christianity and all these things are done whereby some religions believe in their own things, but because I do believe this is my own way, I see the world and everything in my own way and I am expecting everyone to see it that way, so I am being stereotype on my religion.
3.73 Interviewer:	Ok, and racism?
3.74 Participant: (M)	Racism it always happens when people, let me make an example, like this when we have someone from another country and she comes to our country, we discriminate him because of his language his appearance and his colour so that is how I can say racism.
3.75 Interviewer:	Ok.
3.76 Participant: (M)	And Xenophobia. (Laughing).

3.77 Participant: (F)	To include to what he was saying, I am saying racism is where by they really criticise, especially the Nigerians we do not want to be near them because we are so afraid of the...What do you call it? Ebola. So we really criticise them , we do not want to be near them we also think that as long as they are here they came here to our country to take our jobs .They come and exploit us.
	(Students: mumbling.)
3.78 Interviewer:	Anything else? What kind of stereotypes? Is there anything you where stereotyped on, ever, personally?
3.79 Participant: (M)	Yes.
3.80 Interviewer:	Can you tell me about it?
3.81 Participant: (M)	From home, I was expected to do the men chores only, not to do girls chores that are a kind of stereotype.
3.82 Interviewer:	Ok, I just asked if personally, you have been stereotyped for something about you.
3.83 Participants:	Yes!
3.84 Interviewer:	Ok, tell me about that. What where you stereotyped about?
3.85 Participant: (F)	My gender.
3.86 Interviewer:	Your gender? Ok.
3.87 Participant: (F)	Err… people in our community do not allow the lesbian; they are not comfortable with that. So if you are a lesbian they do not treat you normally.
3.88 Participant: (F)	They say something that you are not comfortable hearing.
3.89 Interviewer:	Ok? They say cruel things?
3.90 Participants:	Yes!
3.91 Interviewer:	Ok. Are there any experiences more that you can share with me? How does it make you feel when people stereotype you?
3.92 Participant: (M)	Very bad, because they do not really know what would be the reason that you would be going through something like that. They just judge from the outside, without knowing the main reason, so whenever you, yourself knowing why you are doing these kind of things and the reason of it. You don't get too comfortable because you cannot just share everything with anyone you see.

3.93 Interviewer:	Ok...Yes?

3.94 Participant: (M)	Err… the way I see it , hum.. I will say I feel happy when people stereotype me, because they do not like the lifestyle I live. I am a Christian, they do not like the way I live. I always go to church. I always sing, you know, and they lift me, when they judge me, that am why I'm saying.

3.95 Interviewer:	Why do you say that? How does it lift you?

3.96 Participant: (M)	I can say spiritually I feel happy.

3.97 Interviewer:	Ok.

3.98 Participant: (F)	It makes me feel so worthless, because the life that I am living is what I want to be and what I want to become in the future. So these people make me feel sad and awful.

3.99 Interviewer:	Yes?

3.100 Participant:(M)	To be stereotyped it makes a person feel depressed and unhappy most in life. Because sometimes, we as people we are living life so we sometimes expect you want support from the community so that we can be believe spiritually and emotionally in many things. Because when you have support from the community you have that belief that in life there are some people who are looking up to me as a leader, as a something, but if there tend to be a stereotype to you ,that thing can make a person's feelings be down.

3.101 Participant:(M)	And there are people who does not appreciate my teeth (laughing) they say they are brown, they discriminate me and make fun of me because of this. They think I do not wash my teeth, but I wash them, but its fine I will never give up on life because of this thing. (Laughing) I will just live with the people that appreciate the way I am, and forget about those who do not agree.

3.102 Participant:(M)	When people see that you do not do nasty things like drinking and smoking, they think that you are stupid person, you know, and me I don't do those things. They think I am the stupidist person in this world. I feel happy about that when people call me stupid boy.

3.103 Interviewer:	Ok so we have heard now that some people experience it as positive to be stereotyped and some people experience it as negative. Do you think it is mostly positive or mostly negative?

3.104 Participants:	Negative!

3.105 Interviewer:	Why?

3.106 Participant: (F)	Because sometimes the way that I feel, or the way that I do things, I have concluded in my mind that this is how I want to. And if someone comes and be stereotype about they are just discriminate me and that makes me feel small, like I do not belong to the people, or whatever decision that I take goes against everyone so it impacts negatively.
3.107 Participant:(M)	I think positively. Because every time they discriminate you they make you strong. They make you feel like you can, you are being discriminated but that thing of discrimination is also part of your lifestyle so you always make sure that you achieve what you want to achieve, so that you can impress people who you are close to.
3.108 Interviewer:	Ok, anyone else? Then my last question. Now I want to know, do you think stereotypes or being stereotyped can influence who you become?
3.109 Participants:	Yes!
3.110 Interviewer:	Why? And how?
3.111Participant:(M)	It firstly start with who are you and your inner being, and normally, not all people, but other people would be like, it will impact their lives completely in a bad way to an extent that they do not see their lives worth, their dreams or whatever and others will be stronger in what people think about them, and try to show them what exactly they are, to prove them wrong.
3.112 Interviewer:	Ok, anyone else?
3.113 Participant: (F)	I would say yes, it does have an impact on your life style sometimes. For example if all the girls in my class are wearing trousers and I am the only one who is wearing a dress, when I come every time, and if they are discriminating me, I will sometimes even try to prove that I can still wear trousers that means I will change who I am just to impress, or just try to fit on their group, that means I am compromising who I am and trying to fit what they are.
3.114 Interviewer:	Ok, anyone else?
3.115 Participant:(M)	Erm Ma'am, if I have a goal and people keep saying bad things about me, at the end I will give up because they let me down and I will not be able to reach my goal.
3.116 Interviewer:	Ok? Anyone else?
3.117 Participant:(M)	Stereotype influences who you are, for example let me say I want to be a mechanical engineer, and then my parents choose a certain career for me, let me say they want me to become a lawyer, and then I follow their dreams. I will not become happy because I

	wanted to become an electric engineer that is how it will influence me.
3.118 Participant:(M)	I will say yes, because it is not always correct when all these people when they say, if you think you are doing the good things and then they say you're doing a bad thing. They are not always correct, even the teachers, but if you know what you want in life, if you have that passion that you want to do this thing, you will get used to it and you will see, you will achieve what you want to achieve. Sometimes they make you strong they fulfil your spirit.
3.119 Participant:(F)	I really do agree, for example let us say I am a spiritual person and I am, whenever a person come to me and tells me you don't drink, you don't smoke, I want to change that because I would want to fit in a crew or in a group, so I would be like them smoke and drink so that is going to change my life style.
3.120 Interviewer:	Ok, anyone else? Or are you fine with that? You all agree?
3.121 Participants:	Yes!
3.122 Interviewer:	Ok, thank you so much for participating; I really appreciate it a lot.
3.123 Participants:	Thank you for coming.
3.124 Interviewer:	Thank you.

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