Hip-Hop and Adolescence: The effects of popular culture media on adolescent identity development.

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ABSTRACT

This paper examines the effects of popular culture, specifically hip-hop media, on adolescent identity development. Hip-hop music has been targeted as a negative influence on people, particularly adolescents. The global popularity of hip-hop music has provoked research into the messages and interpretations of rap music by youth. Critical review of the literature reveals the pervasive presence of mass media in adolescent lives coupled with negative messages in rap music and videos that impact youth, perpetuate stereotypes, and affect ethnic/racial identity in both Black and White youth. Understanding the developmental stage of adolescence coupled with the prevalence of mass media communications of popular culture, specifically hip-hop, educators can employ media literacy as a means of enabling students to make informed media consumption choices and relationships to identities in popular culture.
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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to critically review literature of adolescent media use, identity development, rap lyrical content, and rap used in curriculum to draw conclusions about the effects of popular culture, specifically hip-hop media, on adolescent identity development.

Developmentally, adolescence is a time to try on new identities gained from role models most often outside the youth's norms, i.e. parents and family. Through the commodification of hip-hop culture, the role models most often portrayed in popular media from the hip-hop scene are predominantly ultra-rich artists who can use lyrics imbedded with violence and degradation of women. Media coverage of rap artists has added fuel for those in favor of censorship by focusing on the crimes, arrests, and tragic deaths of hip-hoppers. Incidents like the shooting of rap artist 2Pac and the Notorious B.I.G., both of whom claimed the other was conspiring to kill him, have become attached to the hip-hop community as common occurrences, when in reality they are isolated incidents. As music historian Garaffalo (2002) noted, "Such instances, cannot be used legitimately as the occasion for indicting a whole genre of music" (p. 362).

Popular music has been targeted as a negative influence on people, particularly adolescents. An example of this can be seen in the widely publicized coverage of Columbine High school shootings where the music preferences of the boys responsible was magnified and music artist Marilyn Manson was targeted as partially responsible for the boys actions because they found his compact discs in the boys' rooms (Manson,
In the realm of hip-hop, concern has been constant due to rap lyrics that describe violence, misogyny and drug use. Efforts to censor media, such as ratings systems, V-chips, and CD warnings, confirm the strong appeal of some in society to limit popular media rather than understand it (Ryan & John, 1999).

Still, hip-hop has widespread appeal among adolescents in urban areas and continues to grow in popularity among the White, middle class demographic. Figures from the hip-hop magazine *The Source* suggest that more than 70% of rap music buyers are White (Rose, 2001). The popularity of hip-hop, moreover, the globalization of hip-hop proves its staying power. As hip-hop expands and branches off into other popular media formats, its prevalence in our everyday lives becomes inescapable. Therefore, this paper examines research that questions how adolescent consumers of hip-hop, and more generally popular culture, interpret hip-hop media and act based on their interpretations.

**Rationale**

The time between the dependence of childhood and the responsibility of adulthood is a unique life stage in which youth attempt to gain autonomy and at the same time belong to a group. As adolescents struggle to find identity, popular music saturates mass media and "helps to cement a larger social constellation linking media images of stars and celebrities and particular musical genres to specific peer groups, cliques, or gangs" (McCarthy, Hudak, Allegretto, Miklaucic & Saukko, 1999, p.7). Youth find expression through their group identification and their popular culture choices. Popular music culture, in every genre, offers a set of dress, speech and social behavior
patterns of which to emulate. As adolescents choose which parts of popular music culture they want to emulate, they form individual identities.

Hip-hop’s history is short, but filled with turbulent times lead by young disenfranchised youth from the South Bronx area of New York. Coming from a history of promoting unity and neighborhood pride, now mainstream rap artists are only about making money, “the big hits from artists such as Jay-Z, Nelly, Juvenile and Snoop Dogg celebrate ‘getting paid at all costs’ and the sexual domination and humiliation of Black women; they also equate a good time with being drunk or high (Rose, 2001).” At least this is the impression from watching mainstream media. The televised, radio aired and MTV aired rap songs are violent, misogynistic and promote drug use.

This fact becomes alarming when one considers that in the average American home contains three TVs, three tape players, three radios, two VCRs, two CD players, a video game player and a computer, plus newspapers, magazines and comic books (Kaiser Family Foundation, 1999). On top of this, half of the children in homes overflowing with electronic media are not supervised or monitored during their media use. In schools, more restrictions are placed on the media resources allowed for lessons, and teachers are afraid to bring thought provoking media because they must first, “be careful in choosing movie clips to show the classroom... we did not want to violate district policy on movie ratings and use in the classroom”(Stevens, 2001).

Although not all rap lyrics and music videos are negative, the majority of research available, and that which is presented in this paper, focuses on the affects of negative rap lyrics and video images. The messages and images of hip-hop most widely
promoted in mainstream media do not expose the diversity of hip-hop. Marketing of hip-hop creates a chasm between big label artists and those who are not because the majority of rap music sold is only produced by one or two percent of hip-hop artists (Quickley, 2003). Yet, looking to mainstream media, this is not evident. Koza (1999) outlined the problem with general media coverage of rap by stating:

Like it or not, however, the general media are educating all of us, and television, newspaper, and magazines may be the sole sources of information about rap for a large portion of the population. Learning about rap from second-hand sources such as the general news media, given the prevalence of the myth that news reporting is objective, presents a special array of problems for educators... current goals and conventions of news reporting appear to result in media representations that may bolster narrow beliefs about what constitutes legitimate school knowledge and fuel suspicion of popular culture (p.90).

The appeal of hip-hop is found not only in its lyrics, but in the beat as well. McLaren (1999) explained, "the aesthetic power of the music creates a pleasure among listeners which may even be against the values of the progressive listeners" (p. 45). As concerned adults and censors denounce the lyrics of rap music, it is possible that many rap listeners aren't listening to the lyrics. Although this does not excuse the negative messages and imagery in some rap, it does raise the question, how are adolescents affected by hip-hop media? What are the impacts of negative lyrical content? And how does popular music culture impact identity development? The research in this paper attempts to gain conclusions to this question by examining popular culture's
pervasiveness, lyrical and video content of popular music, adolescent identification with hip-hop culture, and the use of rap in classrooms.

Definition of Terms

Youth and adolescence:

In America, the idea of "youth" has had many meanings. Weinstein (1994) outlines three possible definitions: first, the biological category defined by age; second, a distinctive social group; third, a cultural construct (p.67). In this paper, youth is used synonymously with adolescence; therefore it refers to an age group. Specifically, this paper focuses on a majority of subjects in high school age range, which will be the primary age discussed as youth. For the purposes of including all adolescents and young adults who are struggling with identity development, and since some research presented in this paper was conducted with college age subjects, youth will be defined as the transitional period in which children are moving out of the dependency of childhood and into the responsibility of adulthood.

Popular culture:

The simple definition of popular culture is "the culture of the people" (Koza, 1999, p.65). This definition makes popular culture common and distinguishes it from the high arts. It implies massive consumption by a large group. The term culture as defined by Berger (2003) outlines what we consume including: "socially acquired behavior patterns found in humans that are typically communicated by means of symbols of one kind or another. Culture therefore involves language, the arts, science,
our legal systems, and the material objects we create such as tools, machines, houses and other kinds of buildings" (p. 9).

Taking these definitions together, this paper will look closely at the arts mass produced and consumed by the people.

*Hip-hop:*

A culture that was born of the South Bronx. Not to be confused with rap, which is an element of hip-hop. However in this paper, the two will be used interchangeably.

*Identity:*

Erikson (1980) defines ego identity as "the accrued confidence that one's ability to maintain inner sameness and continuity is matched by the sameness and continuity of one's meaning for others" (p.94). This can be coupled with the definition of identification as, "trying to become like someone in various ways, such as trying to think or act or look like the person" (Berger, 2003, p. 18). Together these two definitions describe the inner and outer evidence of seeking identity.

*Ethnicity:*

Socially defined group based on cultural criteria (Tatum, 1997)

*Cultural appropriation:*

"... the taking – from a culture that is not one’s own – of intellectual property, cultural expressions or artifacts, history and ways of knowledge" (Ziff & Rao, 1997, p.1).

*Mass media:*

Television, film, radio, newspaper, magazines, advertising that is owned and produced by major corporations or any media available to a mass audience.
Media literacy:

According to the National Leadership Conference on Media Literacy, “the ability to access, analyze, evaluate, and produce communication in a variety of forms” (Kaiser Family Foundation, 2003, p. 2)

Limitations

Hip-hop has only been in existence for little over twenty years. Its popularity in the mid 1990s produced a fair amount of studies to draw from, yet these primarily focus on the negative lyrical and video content of rap.

Marketing of popular culture impacts how youth consume media, but is outside the scope of this question. In addition, the politics of hip-hop production play a role in the widespread promotion of a limited amount of hip-hop artists, but this paper will focus on the media available to youth at the present time. Regardless of business practices, the available popular culture media is what parents and teachers must understand in regard to adolescent identity development.

Statement of Purpose

This paper examines the research literature on adolescent identity development, media consumption, rap lyrics and video content, and the use of rap in the classroom. Youth are exposed to popular music on a daily basis through radio, television, movies, newspaper and magazines. The rise of hip-hop culture has created widespread appeal for a music genre that has been criticized for negative lyrical content. From an adult perspective, whether parenting or teaching, understanding the developmental process of adolescent identity formation and the influence of popular culture on this formation,
can assist parents and educators in fostering healthy identity attachments and
ultimately, positive self-esteem. Therefore, this paper examines the effects of hip-hop
media on adolescent identity development.

Summary

As youth seek identity outside their families, popular culture plays a role in the
groups, celebrities and cultures they align themselves with. As one of the newest genres
added to popular culture, hip-hop has emerged as a controversial culture with
widespread appeal. Through understanding how youth consume popular culture
media, interpret hip-hop messages, and how both impact behaviors and attitudes of
adolescents, educators and parents can better understand youth identity formation and
develop methods of using popular culture to assist youth in forming positive identity
attachments. To understand the perspectives of hip-hop critics and fans today, it is
important to analyze its history. Chapter two outlines the history of adolescents,
popular music, adolescent media use, identity development theory, and media literacy
education to provide historical context for the review of research.
CHAPTER TWO: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Introduction

In chapter one, the rationale explained the relevance of investigating how youth consume popular culture media, interpret hip-hop messages, and how both impact behaviors and attitudes of adolescents as a means of understanding the effects of hip-hop on adolescent identity development. This chapter discusses the history of adolescence, popular music, adolescent media use, identity development theory, and media literacy education. The histories provided in this chapter provide a context in which to review the literature in chapter three.

Adolescence, Popular Music, and Media

As a social group in American society, adolescents first found recognition in the 19th century. Prior to this, the concept of childhood or adolescence was not established. Children were seen as "little adults" (Graff, 1995). The diversity of this group in terms of gender, socioeconomic status, ethnic identity and geographical location makes their individual experiences infinitely varied. What has remained the same for youth, adolescents or teenagers through history is the consistent struggle between dependence and autonomy. Added to this pressure are adults lamenting "the good old days" when life for adolescents was a time of innocence and compliance with adults, as well as a much harder time with fewer amenities.

In relation to popular music, the childhood myths imposed by the older generation have brought strong criticism of new music that pushes the boundaries of the past generation's values. Yet the history of adolescents, popular music, and media is a
repeated story of adolescents seeking identity through music that is different from that of the generation before. Each new generation had social and economic hardships or successes that made it distinctive. Growing up has never been easy, and to say that there is one generation in which adolescents did not have a difficult time only perpetuates the myths. Still adults fail to notice or admit that, "the order and discipline we usually associate with the good old days had more to do with a lack of opportunities and alternatives than it did with a shared culture of 'traditional' family values or teenage respect for adult authority" (Palladino, 1996, p.xxi). Although generational differences may be debated, in terms of popular music, two things have remained constant: popular music's appeal to youth, and the association of popular music with activities not entirely approved of by the older generation.

As technology, marketing and population increased, popular music was cast to a larger audience, groomed for specific demographics, and inspiring to social movements.

Overlapping in many areas of popular culture, popular music is mass produced for consumption by a mass audience. Encompassing many genres and appealing to all age groups, popular music is constantly changing. The history of popular music proves that, "music is never stable; there is no final elaboration; it is always open to suggestion" (Hudak, 1999, p. 449). Popular music emerged as a third category of music borrowing from the traditional folk culture and high culture categories first designated in European societies, as well as, drawing on African American genres. The form was designed to provide a popular, mainstream audience alternative to the dominant European art music (Garofalo, 2002). At the same time, popular music was commercially produced
with the purpose of selling it for profit. Although today it is hard to separate popular music from other forms of popular culture media such as radio, movies, television and advertising, in the beginning, popular music did not have these formats for promotion. Popular music developed through the blending and experimentation of traditional, folk, and cultural art forms that were present in America in the early 19th century. At that time, new genres were created regionally with promotion limited to sheet music sales and traveling artists playing for meager pay (DeFleur & Dennis, 1991). In contrast, through expansion of technology, transportation and mass media, 21st century popular music is accessible, pervasive, lucrative, and global.

Over time mass media in the average American home has expanded its consumption of media from a newspaper, singing lessons, or a home piano in the 1800s to three televisions, three tape players, three radios, two CD players, two VCRs, one video game player, and one computer in the late 1990s (Kaiser Family Foundation, 1999). The growth in adolescent media use evolved from the combination of "institution building, market expansion, racial desegregation and family restructuring" (Palladino, 1996, p. xxi). Development of new technologies increased the ability of popular music to spread across the nation. At the same time, music producers saw a market in young people and capitalized on their desire to hear, see and dance to music that was different from their parents. The influence of Black artists in popular music was more widely accepted by the mainstream audience as the battle for civil rights played out in America. Along with that, economic and industrial revolutions took work out of the home
changing family organization and provided an increase in disposable income that gave youth more time and money to consume media.

19th Century

In the early 19th century the market revolution redefined work and consumption. Work was no longer just a means of providing basic needs for the family, but labor was made a commodity from which wealth could be gained. Work was sought outside the home, and industrialization brought the mass production of many common household items and people spent less time on chores (Cayton, Perry, & Winkler, 1998). Although leisure time was not a new idea, the amount of leisure time for more families made for a larger number of youth with leisure time.

High school in the early 1800's was primarily attended by middle and upper class children. Schools provided not only education for future employment and enrichment, but also organized socialization through clubs, athletics, assemblies and other events (Spring, 2001). In rural communities, socialization was limited to school, if it was available, church, family or town events. In urban areas, adolescents had church, private social clubs, saloons, and for those who couldn't attend school, work in which to meet peers. Variables of life such as location, socioeconomic status, gender, and ethnicity made adolescent lives very different across the country (Graff, 1995). Still, with the emergence of adolescents as a recognized social group and the increased attendance of high schools, the space between dependency of childhood and responsibility of adulthood became more defined.
Music in the early 1800's was based on the lives of those who sang the songs. They were simple songs of hard work and little security often sung without musical instruments. The music eased the burden of work for laborers on railroads, mines and farms. Those who worked at sea sang "chantey" songs while pulling the rope lines. Slaves on plantations developed more rhythmic songs termed "field hollers" which are recognized as the early inspiration for the blues and rap genres. In the Southwest and the Great Plains common themes were cattle, outlaws and the limitless outdoors. These cowboy songs are the roots of the country-western genre. In addition, countless immigrants brought with them traditional ethnic music. The idea of popular music was just being formed and high society music entertainment was still dominated by Western European classical forms.

Adolescent's exposure to popular culture media forms was very limited. Printed material was available in the form of newspapers, books, and magazines. Often group singing meetings were provided. This was a socially acceptable place for adolescents to interact with the opposite sex and some youth took advantage of the meetings. One youth described the break from his daily toil in a letter to a friend:

*I have no inclination for anything for I am sick of the World and if it were not for the hopes of going to singing meeting tonight and engaging in some of the Carnal Delights of the Flesh, such as kissing and squeezing... I should willingly leave it now* (Lowens, 1964, as cited in DeFluer & Dennis, 1991).

In this case, as with other examples in history, youth utilized music as a means to socialize with peers.
Industrial expansion continued into the late 1800's. Post Civil War developments in transportation and communication continued to grow; railroads reached from coast to coast, newspapers were distributed to a wider audience, and telegraph lines were made possible through experimentation with electricity (Nash et al., 2001). High schools had greater attendance, but were still developing. Youth saw similar circumstances in socialization as earlier in the century. Added amusements included penny arcades, ice cream parlors, amusement parks, and gathering at the drugstore. Leading into the next industrial revolution, growing up included navigating the conflicts of growing social class stratification, gender role politics, and segregation based on race and ethnicity.

The gradual development of popular music continued in the second half of the 19th century with the surfacing of minstrel shows, increased production of sheet music, home piano use, and the emergence of the ragtime genre. Minstrel shows were variety acts in which White actors blackened their faces with burnt cork and imitated, usually mockingly, African American speech, mannerisms, and song. This element to American cultural heritage is argued, by some critics, to still be present throughout history when White artists started to perform traditionally Black music forms such as blues, jazz, R & B, and rap (Tate, 2003). Although popular music shows were growing in popularity, there was still an elitist bias toward the high culture art forms of Europe.

Popular songs written on sheet music became commercialized properties in the late 1800s as music publishers hired "song pluggers" and vaudeville singers to demonstrate their wares. At the same time for the middle and upper classes, one sign of affluence was a home piano. The convergence of piano production and music
publishers advertising efforts resulted in a mass dissemination of sheet music with sales reaching $25,000 a week in 1892 (Garofalo, 2002). Without radios or jukeboxes, restaurants and saloon patrons were entertained by piano players. In the South along the Mississippi River the first form of truly popular music was created on the piano mixing regional folk music and rhythms. Ragtime, named from the "rag" dances of poor Blacks, was a lively form of music primarily performed by African-American musicians. This new popular music genre retained only regional popularity through the 1880s and 1890s after which it quickly gained national appeal.

For adolescents, consumption of media in the late 1800s was made possible by the creation of the phonograph. Machines that played a pre-recorded cylinder were installed in saloons, ferry-boat waiting rooms, train stations and other popular gathering places. By the end of the century, phonograph cylinders were produced for thousands of songs but were not in mass production. It would take innovation and development of the phonograph and cylinders in the next century to improve its chances as home entertainment.

20th Century

Moving into the 20th century, the opportunity for more adolescents to participate in organized socialization became possible as high school attendance doubled from 1890 and continued to increase. By 1930, 47 percent of youth between the ages of fourteen and seventeen (4,399,422 students) were attending public high schools (Spring, 2001, p.326). As historian Spring (2001) explained, "high school truly became an institution serving the masses" (p.255). The growing number of youth obtaining diplomas,
vocational certificates and college degrees was rising and at the same time, extending the time between childhood and the time when youth take on the responsibility of the adult work world. Organizations such as Girl Scouts, Boy Scouts, YWCA and the YMCA also offered social activities that were meant to, "channel the sexual-social drives of the teenager for the good of society" (Spring, 2001, p.260). Less structured social situations emerged in the form of saloons, dance halls and movie houses. Concerns about the activities of youth were initiated by reformers of the time. Adults imposed moral standards for many of these activities including banning certain dance steps and editing music hall concert material (Peiss, 1986). For those youth who denied the moral values set forth by the reformers, the 1920s also produced "homes" for delinquent youth. As youth gained more time for school and extra-curricular activities, adults routinely found cause to compare them to former times and censored their content. This in turn continued the separation of adolescents from children and adults. Women improved their marginalized status in 1919 with the success of the suffrage movement. The equality of women was gaining strength and one of the strong women identities that some young girls emulated was the care-free flapper. Although the flapper created and image of women in the 1920s as gaining more freedom, in fact the number of female bankers, lawyers, doctors, and scientists dropped.

From the early 1900s through 1920 popular music gained much popularity. Artists were not only producing sheet music of their own ideas, but attempting to sell their skills as composers and write songs to order. The publishing houses that catered music to the public's taste were collectively known as Tin Pan Alley. Songwriters of Tin
Pan Alley wrote the songs that became familiar to everyone and covered many styles including ragtime, waltzes, marches, and blues. In these two decades the emergence of blues and jazz played by African-American artists struggled to take hold. There were also attempts by White artists to popularize these forms and music critics point to this as the beginning of a long line of appropriation of White artists on Black music forms (Garofalo, 2002). The 1920s was also the era of the Harlem Renaissance. This movement of Black artists, philosophers, and writers explored the role of Blacks in America and promoted Black pride. Jazz was a major element to the Harlem Renaissance and saw increased consumption by White Americans who would attend shows in great numbers.

Adolescents gained opportunities to consume popular music in the beginning of the 20th century with the increased production of phonograph records. As the records increased, sales of sheet music declined. By 1910, record sales were in the millions and dance halls were picking up new titles as fast as they could (Garofalo, 2002). Movies were one of the main forms of entertainment for all adolescents because they could be afforded by most. By 1914, 40 million patrons attended the movies each week (DeFleur & Dennis, 1991). The rise of movies with controversial content such as premarital sex, attacks on authority, and violence lead to a push by educators and public reformers to regulate the content of movies. A debate began over the moral and artistic standards of movies. Educators saw movies as a useful education tool that could help teach proper moral values. In the early 1900s through 1920s there were no movie rating systems, so patrons of all ages could view all movies. This soon changed in the 1930s with the regulation of movie content and media education in high schools.
Through the depression of the 1930s and WWII people struggled to make ends meet and ration goods during war time, but industry and technology were moving forward and provided time, communication, and enough money for youth to attend school and consume entertainment in many forms. High schools continued to grow in attendance and by 1940 served two-thirds of the population between the ages of fourteen and seventeen (Spring, 2001). Movies continued to be popular and the increase use of automobiles by the middle class meant youth had more ease to travel and meet friends.

Popular music of the 1930’s and 1940’s included jazz, blues, big band, and country western. Depending on the region, the popularity of these forms could be seen in the amount of record sales. The use of record players and radio allowed for more music styles to be heard by a larger number of people. Two popular dance beats that emerged from this era were the jitterbug and boogie-woogie. The fast and loud music continued to gain fans. African American artists played rhythm and blues, which eventually lead to one of the most popular forms of music in American history, rock-and-roll.

The communications revolution of the 1930s brought the middle class electronic amenities previously reserved for the rich. Network radio broadcasts gained popularity and in the 1930s radios could be heard in 27.5 million homes and 60 to 90 million Americans went to the movies every week (Nash, et al., 2001). Youth gathered around radios for their favorite programs which included mysteries, drama, and news broadcasts. During WWII radio listening rose to four and a half hours a day for the
average family (Nash, et al., 2001). Youth media consumption still included newspapers and magazines, but the content of these media forms progressed with the times and youth had to make meaning of war propaganda and pin-up girls. Popular culture was quickly gaining ground on the high arts, and postwar growth and societal changes of the 1950s and 1960s boosted popular culture media into high gear and rapid change.

By the 1950s adolescents were consistently referred to as teenagers. Postwar life for youth gave rise to the concern of youth delinquency. As rock-and-roll music permeated popular culture, youth who listened to it were chastised for being overtly sexual and disrespectful to authority. The complication for many reformers was the number of White, middle-class youth seeking rock-and-roll identities. Adults could no longer blame delinquency with the same frequency when they observed behaviors they didn't like because the stereotype of lower class Black or White youth no longer applied. Youth found a format to express their individuality from the former generation, but it first belonged to the lower-class and this threatened the middle and upper class values that were still held in high regard by most adults (Palladino, 1996). Just as with ragtime, jazz, and blues, rock-and-roll provided a space for those who felt disenfranchised to express themselves. Social movements such as the Civil Rights movement, Vietnam War protests, Native American protests, United Farm Workers, and the Women’s movement led more youth to speak out against injustices. Student activism was at an all time high and many chose music identity to express their distaste with American society.
Popular music blurred the line of Black and White in the 1950s. Music industry executives sought ways to bring the new craze of rock-and-roll into greater acceptance and greater sales. The music producers achieved their goal through promoting White artists who sang rock-and-roll. In the 1960s more branching genres of rock-and-roll developed. "British invasion" bands combined American and British musical forms. Motown record producers supported primarily Black artists and focused their sales in R & B. The protest songs of the Vietnam War along with psychedelic music from the West coast combined to support the political and social movements of the counterculture.

Televisions gained mass appeal in this era. In 1950, nine percent of homes had televisions, in 1960, 87 percent of homes had televisions and near the end of the decade in 1968, 94 percent of homes were equipped (DeFleur & Dennis, 1991, p. 209) and the U.S. became a nation of television viewers. Now youth could gain access to popular culture media through sound and image on a daily basis.

Social movements of the 1960s carried over in to the 1970s with protests for gay and lesbian rights, concern over nuclear proliferation, and environmental degradation. High drug use and acceptance of casual sex made the transition to adulthood shorter in some ways. A growing attitude of adults emerged in which the child is seen as smart and the teenager dumb (Graff, 1995). This contradiction fueled youth's animosity toward adult values and created greater separation of adolescents from children and adults.
Disco music was widely popular in the 1970s and the punk genre emerged at the end of the decade. The 1980s brought popularity to more off-shoots of rock-and-roll that incorporated the new synthesizer technology and forms that utilized louder, harsher sounds like funk and heavy metal. Hip-hop culture originated from working class African Americans and Puerto Ricans in the South Bronx area of New York during the early 1970's. It was a youth movement driven by the need to be heard. The voices of young people were being expressed as new “hip-hoppers” who demanded change and opposed “white” mainstream views. They used new sounds and new clothes and new dancing to express their discontent with the Eurocentric values that put them down (Alejandro, 2002). There are four elements to hip-hop culture: emcee – the rapper, lyrical style of rhyming over beats; DJ – the disk jockey who plays the beats and mixes sounds for the emcee; b-boy – break dancing; graffitti – “tagging” subway cars or buildings with spray paint art. Hip-hop was a lifestyle (Alejandro, 2002). The success of hip-hop has lead to its globalization, and the emergence of hip-hop artists from all over the world who emulate the well known rappers in the U.S.

The popularity of so many new genres can be attributed to the growing media technology and music industry practices that allowed youth to gain access to media faster and cheaper. Cable television increased the number of available channels, including specialty channels such as Music Television (MTV). Watching this station provided in home concerts for youth. Cassette tapes were mass produced and were popular because of their portable and durable style. Portable radios were more affordable as well. Teenagers could now carry their music with them. Along with
music media, video game technology provided an arcade of games for home use. Youth could consume mass media and popular culture without leaving the couch.

Teenagers in the 1990s and into the new millennium found identity as the transitional generation leaving Generation X and entering a multi-named generation of which the list includes, Generation Why, Hey Kids, and Millennials. The many names of this generation speak to the pervasiveness of mass media at the end of the millennium and numerous identities from which youth can associate.

Alternative music was popular in the early 1990s giving voice, again, to the angry, sad, socially conscious and sometimes political youth. MTV's promotion of music led to great success for bands that could get air time. Country music gained popularity with pop-crossover acts that appealed to the regular country listener, but also to suburban and urban listeners. Rap music was highly controversial in the 1990s and many attempts at censorship singled out this genre as the worst. Hip-hop suffered its hits in the early 1990s, but ultimately came out successful and reaping the benefits of global appeal.

Adolescents' media choices remained similar to that of the 1980s. The cassette was replaced by the CD and then the MP3. Home computers are common in almost every middle and upper class home and by 1999, 69% of homes had Internet access (Kaiser Family Foundation, 1999). E-mail, improved video game systems, cable and satellite television, and DVD players are some of the newest additions to youth media choices and will most likely see improvements or replacement by advanced technology as time continues.
As youth struggled for identity the culture wars of America have fought battles over popular music and popular culture media. With each new genre or technology, the trend of history shows an attempt to find a new style or improve on existing technology. This has monetary motivation on the part of the music and media industry, but it also speaks the need for change from one generation to the next. Youth sought change to distance themselves from the sameness of their parents and in return, mass media answered the call.

Identity Development

Roger Brown said, "Identity is a concept no one has defined with precision, but it seems we can move ahead anyway, because everyone roughly understands what is meant" (Arney, 2000, p.70). The word 'identity' entered the lexicon around 1560, derived from the Latin idem meaning "repeatedly, again and again", which evolved into, "the condition of being oneself or itself, and not another" (Random House Webster's College Dictionary, 1995, p.668). Therefore, identity or having an identity means developing one. Contemporary identity theory began with Freud at the end of the 19th century who termed the ego, id, and superego. Or in other words the, "I am", the "I want it now!", and the voice of moral principal. At the start of the 20th century, Freud introduced his five stages of phychosexual development: oral (0-1), anal (2-3), phallic (4-5), latency (6-12), and genital (from pueberty on). As a child moves through developmental periods, she struggles with a sexual force, if she overcomes the crisis, on to the next stage. If not, the inner conflict could carry over into adulthood.
The NeoFreudeian school was led by Adler and Jung who both believed Freud over emphasized sexuality. Adler's individual psychology theory hypothesized, similar to Freud, that overcompensation or underdeveloped social needs would result in either an inferiority complex (too little attention) or superiority complex (too much attention) that would affect the person in adulthood. Moving into the 1930s, Jung introduced the terms introvert, a person more likely to be preoccupied in her own thoughts; and extrovert, a person who tends to be interested in things outside herself, such as people and things (Weiten & Lloyd, 2002). Around the same time as Jung was discussing introverts and extroverts, Erikson introduced his eight-stage process of ego development. The focus of this paper, and the theoretical background given for all of the identity experiments detailed in the next chapter, is the fifth stage in Erikson's model, "identity vs. identity diffusion." This is the adolescent stage. Erikson describes the stage:

"The growing and developing young people faced with this physiological revolution within them, are now primarily concerned with attempts at consolidating their social roles. They are sometimes morbidly, often curiously, preoccupied with what they appear to be in the eyes of others as compared with what they feel they are..." (Erikson, 1959, p.94)

Here he describes adolescents' desires to belong and be accepted among peers, yet at the same time, a likeness to their former self is lost because of physical changes. In this state, is when youth are overwhelmed with media, and therefore, various identities they can try-on and take-off.
In searching for an identity, youth can be seeking to belong to groups they don't understand in either a historical or current context. The marketing of hip-hop has broadened the appeal to White America. Currently, European Americans, the majority of them adolescents, buy 60% of hip-hop records (Hughes, 2002).

The appeal to hip-hop by White youth is an interesting phenomenon. It's in no way new; White Americans have been appropriating Black culture since the late 19th century when minstrelsy was popular entertainment. With hip-hop culture, the appropriation stems from appreciation and lack of identity. White youth who appropriate words, dress and mannerisms from hip-hop culture are trying to belong.

Media Literacy

Media literacy gained momentum from the film, TV, and visual communications movement in the 1970s. Taking a cue from the global community, educators in the U.S. began to recognize the unique visual and aural “text” (Ferrington, n.d.) available from film, advertising, and television. European countries grasped the idea of media literacy and created extensive curriculum for students to examine the roles of mass media within society focusing on issues of media ownership and the need for personal empowerment. In the U.S., student empowerment is part of the goal of media literacy, but historically, media literacy programs have been primarily concerned with media regulation. An example of this is the movie appreciation curriculum used by some high schools in the 1930s. The public relations of educators with the motion picture industry in creating movie appreciation guides ultimately lead to increased pressure by educators and public reformers to create a movie code regulating the content of movies (Spring, 2001).
Currently, the U.S. does not have a national policy on media education. Critics believe teaching popular culture in schools will weaken the quality of instruction and undermine teacher authority. Advocates of media literacy identify the importance of critical media literacy as a way to lessen the potential negative effects of mass media and give students the power to make informed choices (Kaiser Family Foundation, 2003). With regards to popular music there is potential for media literacy to assist students in understanding the social, economic, and political influences on popular music. This, in turn can increase students' understanding of the affects of popular music on society.

Summary

This chapter provided historical background on the history of adolescence, popular music, adolescent media use, identity development theory, and media literacy education. Throughout history youth have struggled to find identity and place between childhood and adult life. Mass media development increased popular culture access and provided generally cheap entertainment and opportunities for adolescents to interact with peers. Overtime, youth aligned themselves with different forms of popular music as expression of their identities. Hip-hop grew out of the 1980s and has now received global popularity. With popularity has also come scrutiny regarding the effects of its negative lyrics on listeners. Media literacy has developed in the U.S. and offers a means of lessening the impact of negative media and helping adolescents become thoughtful media consumers. The next chapter critically reviews research examining media and identity, rap music's promotion of negative messages, the affect of hip-hop media on ethnic identity, and hip-hop in school.
CHAPTER THREE: CRITICAL REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Introduction

Chapter one provided the rationale and importance of understanding the role of popular culture in adolescent identity development. As a recent and prevalent addition to popular culture, hip-hop research is necessary to gain insight and relate to youths' choices of language, role models, and expressions of emotion. The last chapter reviewed the history of adolescence, popular music, adolescent media use, identity development theory, and media literacy education to set forth the context from which the current research is emerging.

Adolescence, popular music and media overlap through history as all three emerged at a similar rate gaining approval and disapproval concurrently. Adolescents as a group have always struggled to find identity. Popular music offered adolescents a gathering place in society where they could express their identities both as a group and individually. Youth's growth in consumption of media and advertiser's recognition of this group's buying power led to the eventual saturation of popular culture throughout media forms. Popular culture, which once was limited by technology and general acceptance, now has endless possibilities from which youth acquire role models, lifestyle choices, and ideals.

Identity theory addressed in this research is grounded in Erikson's (1959) fifth developmental stage of identity development in which adolescents are examining their social roles and trying on new identities. The advances in media technology have made communication of popular culture a global affair. In addition, popular culture media
and technology has become almost unavoidable in day to day activities. Mass media's prevalence provides many popular culture personalities and group identities for youth to experiment with during this time of identity development.

Hip-hop is a genre originally created by disenfranchised youth in New York. This explains much of hip-hop's appeal to youth. The messages conveyed through lyrics attract some youth who are feeling at odds with the adult world or other possible identities. More appealing or influential is the massive saturation of hip-hop in the popular culture market. Youth are exposed to hip-hop culture through many mediums including music, television, film, advertising and the internet. The overwhelming frequency in which hip-hop culture is presented to youth has made it a common aspect of adolescent lives and one which must be understood by educators and discussed with youth to increase media literacy.

This chapter critically reviews the research literature related to popular culture and hip-hop media's effects on adolescent identity development and the use of hip-hop in the classroom. The purpose of this chapter is to examine the findings and limitations of the reviewed research available. Research targeted specifically to hip-hop media is emerging, although not very extensive at this time. Because the rap music genre is relatively new, the research examined has only a 20 year time range. This chapter draws on specific mass media data collection, content analysis of music and images in music videos, experiments measuring ethnic identity, case studies of individual youth focusing on identity, and school and class case studies where hip-hop was used as a teaching tool. Studies discussed in the chapter magnify the prevalence of mass media in adolescent
lives and their interpretation of popular culture, the negative impact of hip-hop conveyed through lyrics and video images, the positive connection between self-esteem and ethnic identity and the negative impact of cultural appropriation, as well as, the positive impact of hip-hop when incorporated in lessons for students from preschool to college. The research presented emphasizes the messages represented in hip-hop, the importance of popular culture to adolescents in forming identity and the value of using popular culture as a means of connecting with youth in education.

Media and Identity

Media use is prevalent in adolescence. This consumption is concurrent with youths' search for identity. The two often collide and adolescents develop identities as observed through media.

Roberts, Foehr, Rideout, and Brodie (1999) surveyed a total of 3,155, children, ranging in age from 2-18 years, about their daily media use. The goal was to find patterns of media routines. The data was collected from several sources including 2,065 adolescents (3-12 grade) who answered questionnaires through their randomly selected schools and 1,090 parents of 2-7 year olds who were interviewed regarding their children's media use. These questionnaires assessed demographics, social and psychological assessments, and extensive media habits. Weeklong media diaries were collected from 621 participants and used to establish personal contexts for media use. The overall significance level for the data was $p<.05$.

Roberts et al. (1999) found that on average, "the typical American child enters the 21st century living in a household with three television sets, two VCRs, three radios,
three tape players, two CD players, a video game player, and a computer" (p. 9).

Researchers found Caucasian youth to be more likely to own multiple media technologies, especially computers with Internet access, than both African-American and Hispanic youth. The data indicated that private media access was high, with over half of the respondents housing radios (70%), tape players (64%), TVs (53%), CD players (51%), video games (33%), VCRs (29%), and computers (16%) in their bedrooms. Ethnicity and socio-economic status played a role in the number of media outlets available to the child.

In regard to media use, the data indicated "the average child...consumes 6 hours and 32 minutes of media per day" (Roberts et al., 1999, p. 18). The time spent using media rose steadily into the teenage years and then leveled off as they reached graduation from high school. It is interesting to note, "on average, Caucasian youngsters consume over an hour a day less media than do Hispanic youngsters and almost two hours per day less than African-American youngsters" (Roberts et al., 1999, p. 18). This was also true of socio-economic status as those with less money were likely to spend more time with media. These results emphasize adolescents' accessibility of mass media and the time spent consuming all forms of media.

Considering how and why adolescents interact with media, ethnographic research by Steele and Brown (1995) examined the "room culture" of adolescents as a space where identity is explored and displayed. Their fieldwork, started in 1987 examined a range of rooms, from predominantly middle-class youth ages 11 to college age, males (18) and females (31) (Black -7, White -38, Hispanic-2, and Native American -
2). They utilized one-on-one interviews, "auto-driving" in which the subject has a tape recorder and gives a room tour, and subjects recording each other talking about their rooms (when they were away from home).

Steel and Brown (1995) concluded three main points about adolescents use of media. First, adolescents are active in much of their use of media. They choose which media to attend to, and they choose favorite characters and models to emulate and lust after. They debate and consider the meaning and significance of portrayals, images, and symbols; and they apply those meanings in their everyday lives either actively or unconsciously. Second, basic sociocultural factors such as gender and race, as well as, the various conditions of their own lives (for example religion, family life, neighborhood influences, success or failure in school, friendships and peer culture), influence what is attended to and how media content is interpreted and applied. Lastly, adolescents' sense of who they are and who they may someday want to become, plays a central role in their use of media.

The researchers attempted to get a wide range of demographics, but the sample is clearly biased to middle-class, White youth. There is possibility for research to continue by looking at how youth who share a room, or don't have a room express their identity in comparison to the subjects in this study. Overall, this study outlines how youth are aware of different media, make conscious choices about what they want to consume, as well as, indicate their personal desires and personality through their choices.
The study by Bomnick and Swallow (1999) investigated adolescents' choices of heroes and heroines to explore identity development and the socio-cultural factors that shape identity. The sample was comprised of 244 (111 girls, 133 boys) predominantly white youth, from a large school in the North of England. The subjects were split into four gender/age groups: younger boys (ages 11-13, n = 79), younger girls (ages 11-13, n = 64), older boys (ages 14-16, n = 79), and older girls (ages 14-16, n = 47). Participants filled out a questionnaire indicating their ideals in terms of persons and concepts, their hopes and fears and personal philosophies, as well as, one adult known to them and one famous person and describe why they most admire these heroes and/or heroines.

Classroom teachers administered the questionnaire in their usual tutorial groups, with instructions that emphasized pupils should work independently and be given enough time to complete the questionnaire.

Heroes named were predominantly male (63%, p < 0.05) and either sports figures (30.5%) or pop stars (20.1%, p < 0.05). Boys tended to choose the sports figures and girls, the pop stars. Interesting results include the 20% of students that chose no hero and 12.3% who actually would choose themselves as both ideal and personal hero. The social nature of school classrooms makes this design questionable. Student conversations or desire for attention may have influenced responses. Anonymity and confidentiality was only assured through the envelope the teacher was instructed to show the class, in which the questionnaires would be returned to the researchers. Teacher resentment or business teachers deemed more important may have limited the time students spent on the questionnaire. Still, over half of the responses gave named
personalities (i.e. famous people) as ideals, which indicated the influence of mass media on adolescents' choice of role models. The choices of sports figures for boys and pop stars for girls indicate a socio-cultural influence of gender roles, in that sports stars are known for strength and stamina, and pop stars are generally known for being good looking and dressing well. The gender of heroes chosen also indicates the lack of female role models in popular culture.

Subjects for Boon and Lomare's (2001) survey were taken from a screening survey conducted at a large university in western Canada. Two hundred thirteen undergraduates (72 males and 141 females) filled out a questionnaire intended to identify young adults with celebrity idols. From the screening survey, 79 individuals (40 females, 39 males) were selected based on two criteria: one, an attraction strength score of 3 (medium) or greater; and two, 10 years difference or less between the respondent's age at the time of the study and his or her age when feelings of attraction first began. From this group three participants (2 males, 1 female) were dropped because they identified non-celebrities (i.e. teachers) and one male who identified three celebrity idols. The remaining 75 participants were administered a questionnaire via telephone which assessed their investment in time, money and seriousness of their relationship to their idol. Other questionnaire items tapped participants' efforts to emulate their idols, the extent to which they shared an intimate connection with their favorite idol, and the extent to which their relationship with their idol had influenced their sense of identity and feelings of self-worth. Attraction was explained to participants as "physical, emotional, romantic, spiritual or any other type of attraction -- admiration or respect. In
other words, the word "attraction" is not intended to be restricted in meaning to physical attraction (Boon & Lomore, 2001, p.440).

Results showed that the majority of respondents' idols were male (85%) and the majority of idols came from the field of music (33.9%). Idol occupations varied greatly with representatives from film, music, sports, dance, literature, big-business, royalty, television, religion, science, philanthropy, and photography. It is interesting to note that some of the idols mentioned were either dead or had their time of notoriety well before the respondents' youth. The assessment of the idols' effect on sense of self and feelings of self worth revealed that young adults in this sample did not believe that their celebrity idol influenced these aspects of their lives in especially powerful and enduring ways. This is based on the mean score of 3.04 out of 13 on the total change index that respondents answered regarding the idols' influencing or motivating change in the subject's lives (mdn - 3.00, SD = 3.08). For self concept, respondents returned a mean of 2.27 on a 5 point scale. A quarter (25.3%) of the sample indicated they had engaged in efforts to change aspects of their personality to bring it in line with their idol and almost 60% (58.7%) reported their idols had influenced their attitudes or values. In addition, nearly half (46.7%) of the respondents reported an attempt to change their lifestyle to include activities or pastimes that their idol took part in (i.e. acting, music, sports, community work, further study in the expertise area of the idol, becoming a vegetarian, or smoking marijuana). Overall, participants in this study did not report that their celebrity idol greatly influenced their lives in a "powerful and influential" way; however,
there is evidence that celebrity idols influenced the participants to take steps in shaping their identity to their idols.

Similar to other studies mentioned in this paper, the survey sample was conveniently taken from undergraduates at the university where the researchers work. Due to the elapsed time between when respondents were attracted to their idol and the time of the study (up to 10 years), there is high possibility that the participants did not remember the extent to which they were influenced by their favorite celebrity idol. Further study should explore a younger demographic. Also, responses should take into account the access respondents have to make life changes and determine if idols change if there is (or is not) opportunity to emulate them.

The studies of Roberts et al (1999), Steele and Brown (1995), Bromnick and Swallow (1999), and Boon and Lomore (2001) emphasize the prevalence of media in adolescent lives. They also speak to the globalization of popular culture which presents youth with a variety of role models. The studies by Bomnick and Swallow (1999) and Boon and Lomore (2001) both indicate adolescents choose to idolize or model celebrities (from music, film or sports) that are, or were at one time, part of popular culture transmitted through mass media.

Popular culture in the classroom

The following three studies examine the use of popular culture in the classroom. These ethnographic studies show the benefit of relating to students through popular culture to promote literacy and critical thinking. Dyson (2003) conducted an ethnographic study of African American first graders manipulation of popular culture
material as processes that shaped the way they began to participate in school literacy. She observed in a school in San Francisco comprised of approximately half African American, one-third European American and the rest were Latino and Asian. Roughly 40 percent of the students qualified for free and reduced lunch. Her observations were made over the course of one academic year in which she spent four to six hours per week in the classroom and playground interacting with the students. Many of her observations point out how students interpret school assignments and literacy events the same way that they casually talk about popular culture on the playground. Telling and retelling, summarizing, interpreting character motivation, reporting results, composing and recalling songs are all shared processes between the two.

Dyson (2003) reported three main project findings. First, children's use of media material was linked to their memberships in families and neighborhoods and to the forms of pleasure, power and companionship they found there. Second, children engaged in complex processes when borrowing, translating, and refraining media. Lastly, these processes shaped the children's entry into school literacy. The observations presented by Dyson (2003) outline the benefits of incorporating popular culture in the classroom to help children become more skillful and engaged in critical thinking. She pointed to the disparities between children from middle-class homes who receive "official" literacy materials before they enter school, but lower income households are not always equipped with such things. If some students have limited access to "educational materials", but can access mass media and are gaining skills such as her
findings suggest, then it would benefit teachers to utilize popular culture in their curriculum and draw out those media interpreting skills for "official" school work.

The next study, conducted by Alvermann and Hagood (2000) also promoted popular culture in the classroom. This ethnographic research involves two individual case studies of adolescents who were "fans" of music and used their appreciation as part of classroom assignments. Two subjects (a high school girl from Ontario, Canada and a high school boy from Athens, Georgia), were recommended to the researchers by colleagues. The girl submitted an assignment to Alvermann and Hagood (2000) via email and the boy met them for an interview and then followed up with emails.

The focus of their study was musical fandom, or loyalty and attachment to a musical group or genre. Their investigation of fan culture in the classroom was very limited and resulted in two anecdotes about their interactions with the subjects. Both students provided examples of assignments they completed (both for English teachers) involving music sharing and interpretation. Yet, the researchers failed to provide the evidence of these students' fandom. The female participant wrote about her favorite song since she was 12 (her age is not given, but she was in grade 13 at the time of the email), but she does not speak fondly about the band who performs the song or any other music. The male who was interviewed was against labeling himself as a fan from the start. Alvermann and Hagood (2000) interpret his enjoyment of playing the guitar and his appreciation of musicians such as Jimi Hendrix and Led Zeppelin as, "not necessarily tied to being a fan of a particular artist or band. . . Max, therefore, is a fan of music. . ." (2000, p.440). Although the rationale is agreeable, it seems there are other
subjects that fall under the common sense definition of fandom, who are clearly
dedicated to a singer or group that the researchers could have sought out. This article
does point to the potential (and provided two examples) of using popular culture in the
classroom, but does little to investigate how fandom plays into critical media literacy.

A better example of using popular culture to promote critical thinking comes
from the case studies reported by Stevens (2001). She worked at a large, urban middle
school, with a predominantly middle-class student population and faculty. For the
study, she solicited teachers to organize and conduct a lesson that would incorporate
popular culture media with the intent of promoting critical media literacy.

The first lesson was in a physical science class where the teacher designed a
lesson to incorporate clips of movie action sequences and then asked students to use the
laws of physics to explain if such a sequence could occur in the natural (free from special
effects) world. After the clips were shown, discussion with the students was about
whether, when watching the movie for enjoyment, they thought about the likelihood of
the special effects scenes. As a class they agreed that you couldn't watch a movie
without thinking about how realistic the story and action was. Although the discussion
didn't delve very far into media literacy, this example confirms the information from
Steele and Brown (1995) that adolescents are not passive media consumers.

The second lesson was in a language arts classroom, where the teacher designed
a lesson in which students brought in a song, a movie, a book, and then another song all
identifying the same universal theme of the students' choice. Students shared their
resources and as the unit went on, struggled to identify themes across the texts. This example challenged students to synthesize ideas across multiple media forms.

The third lesson occurred in a social studies classroom, where the teacher modeled the assignment by examining popular culture from the 1960s, 70s, and 80s, after which students would spend a week collecting information for reports on one aspect of 90s popular culture. Guiding questions lead students' inquiry focused on intended audience, benefits from the artifact, and what message does the artifact carry about society at large. Although students' reports varied in depth and seriousness, the assignment achieved the overall goal of the study to incorporate critical media literacy into the content area classroom.

Stevens' (2001) case studies reported on the benefits of utilizing popular culture for one lesson during the school year. In all cases, the teachers did not indicate that they had used any popular culture media prior to the lesson they organized with Stevens (2001). An implication of the students' high engagement levels was due to the new, and in some cases familiar, material. Extended use of popular culture in the classroom should be studied further to measure the effectiveness of such resources if they are no longer new.

Observations from the ethnographic research reviewed in this section indicate that using popular culture as a teaching tool engages students and provides a medium from which teachers can introduce language, science or social studies lessons.
Rap Lyrics and Video Images Promote Violence, Drug Use, and Misogyny

One of the most common complaints of hip-hop critics is the lyrical content of rap music. Soon after the introduction of gangsta rap, a strong anti-rap movement began by politicians and parents that went so far as to introduce a bill to Congress calling for the censorship and labeling of records that used crude and unsanctioned language (Davis, 1996). Although rap would not be the only musical genre affected by this law, it was most commonly referenced in committee hearings and public statements by anti-rap advocates. The following research focuses on the lyrical and video content of music aired on the popular music television stations Music Television (MTV), Video Hits One (VH-1), Black Entertainment Television (BET) and The Nashville Network (TNN). These stations all broadcast a range of popular music genres including rap. Although all music genres are analyzed in these studies, all of the research names rap as containing the most negative messages of violence, drug abuse and misogyny and indicate that rap music evokes feelings of anger and violence in adolescents.

Negative messages

The content analysis conducted by Ostlund and Kinnier (1997) reviewed the messages in the most popular songs from the 1950s, 1960s, 1970s and 1980s. Two raters were trained to recognize value themes in the songs which were the top 25 of the decade on the Billboard annual listings. Intercoder reliability ranged from .64 to .98 using the Kappa coefficient, with only three of the nine value themes under .82 reliability. Nine value themes were determined with romantic love being the most frequently occurring (73% of the top 25 songs across the four decades). Many of the songs reviewed in this
study do not apply to other research in this paper, but Ostlund and Kinnier (1997) found a growing trend in messages extolling the pleasure of sexual intercourse outnumbering the songs about long-term commitment in the 60s (joy of sex - 16%, commitment - 8%), 70s (joy of sex - 28%, commitment - 20%) and 80s (joy of sex - 28%, commitment - 16%). This trend may be indicative of music, as a social reflection, turning towards a more casual view of sex.

A study conducted by Trapper (1994) compared music videos on the four major music television stations Music Television (MTV), Video-Hits One (VH-1), Black Entertainment Television (BET), and The Nashville Network (TNN) to examine difference of image by music genre. One hundred and fifty four music videos from April-May 1992 were coded for ten video variables (genre of video, race of lead performer, gender of lead performer, sexual appeal of video, violence, slow motion, digital video effects, logical ordering of scenes, atmosphere of ambiguity, and idea-associative montage) and for relationship of channel to genre. Undergraduate coders (one male one female) watched each video three times and coded one third of the variables with each viewing. Intercoder reliability using Scott's pi method varied ranging from .65 for slow motion, .71 for sexual appeal, .77 for musical genre, .90 for lead race and .97 for lead gender.

The genres were coded as rap, soul, country, heavy metal, pop, classic rock, and alternative rock. There was strong relation of genre to channel with rap and soul videos occupying 70% of BET programming, country videos were 98% of TNN’s programming, VH-1 was 65% pop genre and MTV was the most diverse with 29% alternative rock, 23%
rap, 21% heavy metal, and 16% pop ($p < .01$). Lead performer gender and race showed dominance of males in all genres: rap lead performers were 88% Black males, country performers were 79% white males, heavy metal performers were 92% white males, and classic rock was 100% lead by white males ($p < .01$). Race of non-lead characters was recognized as presence or no presence of non-white characters. Minorities were present in all rap and soul videos, in 73% of pop videos, 33% of heavy metal, 23% of alternative rock videos, only 14% of country videos and not present in any classic rock videos ($p < .01$). Sexual appeal was recorded as present if the coders perceived sexual innuendo, symbolism, or explicit sexual references. Music genres with the most sexual appeal were soul (50%), rap (46%), and pop (45%) ($p < .01$). Violence was described as "physically aggressive behavior toward specific people or objects, verbal aggression toward people, or presence of weapons" (Trapper, 1994, Coded Variables section, ¶ 4) and was found to be non specific to one genre (rap 29%, soul 6%, country 14%, heavy metal 17%, pop 15%, classic rock 0%, alternative rock 8%).

Although the sample could have been more extensive, Trapper's (1994) study points out that violence is not exclusive to one musical genre, yet was still most common in rap lyrics. In addition, the variance of images and characters in the genre videos emphasizes the difference across the span of popular music. Therefore, viewers are receiving different messages from different genres and music television channels. Understanding the high occurrence images in hip-hop and rap videos leads to understanding the use of such images in identity formation of youth.
Anthony's (1995) content analysis examined lyrical content of popular music that was censored from 1986 through April 1995 to determine objectionable themes and frequency within genre. Anthony (1995) collected articles from Billboard and Rolling Stone magazines that cited censored music and then analyzed 77 popular music recordings mentioned. Rap (48%, n=37) and rock (44%, n=34) music had the largest number of censored recordings. Lyrical content was censored for being labeled "explicit" (containing references to suicide, violence, drugs, sex, and alcohol), profane, obscene, or vulgar.

Rap song censorship tended to increase from 1989(n=1), 1990 (n=6), 1991 (n=0), 1992 (n= 16), 1993 (n=4), through 1994 (n=10). Anthony's (1995) discussion pointed out that some censors may have targeted specific genres. This study is simple, but the collection of data points to the public's focus on rap lyrics in the past decade as negative.

Aldridge and Carlin (1993) examined the lyrics of activist rapper KRS-One, to discover how he presented his message. This rhetorical study looked closely at an artist who was known for a positive message. KRS-One (an acronym for Knowledge Reigns Supreme), was born in the South Bronx in New York City, was homeless for seven years as a teenager and emerged in the late 80s a successful rapper in the group Boogie Down Productions. Attaining international success in a short time, KRS-One was soon giving lectures at Harvard and Yale on topics he was rapping about: teen parenthood, religion, AIDS, police brutality, and the high homicide rate among young Black and Latino males. Self-proclaimed, "The Teacher", early on in his career KRS-One set out to use hip-hop as a "revolutionary tool for changing the structure of racist America" (Aaron, 1999, p.151).
Using Afrocentric "tools" of criticism (i.e. understanding African-American culture, history, language use, and purpose of discourse) in conjunction with available theoretical constructs developed within "traditional" rhetorical theory, Aldridge and Carlin (1993) identified multiple themes in the artist's words. Hope is an overarching theme that emerges in all of KRS-One's music where, "he acts as a teacher to inform the audience of a better life and then invites them to join him in his struggle to acquire that life for all African-Americans" (1993, p.113). Most importantly was KRS-One's message of non-violence. In the songs examined KRS-One argued that the cause of violence was the desire for material goods rather than personal integrity and the only legitimate wealth was self-respect. In addition, he challenged the idea that being Black and living in the ghetto is bad or wrong. KRS-One sought to motivate action. This study by Aldridge and Carlin (1993) magnifies the other end of the spectrum of rap music that can be studied. Rap lyrics by artists such as KRS-One have not been used in studies examining the impact of rap lyrics. Little research has examined the positive messages in rap music, for that reason, further study should investigate the impacts on group unity, or group identity after exposure to positive lyrics.

Gender role stereotyping in rap videos

Seidman (1992) analyzed 60 hours of recorded videos from Music Television (MTV) coding for sex-role stereotyping of occupational roles and behaviors of music-video characters. The sample was taken from videos played in February 1987. Three one hour segments were recorded each day then "performance video" (excluding live performances or concerts, all videos had characters doing more than playing to an
audience) content was extracted. The videos were coded based on gender typed
occupations and behaviors, as well as racial demographics. Occupations were generally
coded as "male" (examples given: manual labor, physician, mechanic, firefighter),
"female" (secretary, librarian, telephone operator, cheerleader), or "neutral" (artist, singer,
actor, office worker, lab assistant). Descriptors for the findings for occupation included:
"blue-collar", "white-collar", "entertainers" and "dancers." Behaviors were coded into 14
categories (i.e. adventuresomeness, aggression, dependence, nurturance, revealing
clothing and violence). Two coders viewed the videos with the sound on and were
allowed to replay each music video. Intercoder reliability coefficients ranged between
.77 and .93 using Scott's pi method. A third coder assigned a final rating for any
disagreement that occurred.

One hundred eighty-two music videos were analyzed in which 1,942 characters
appeared. Males comprised 64% of the characters, while 36% were female.
Occupational roles thought of as "male" were almost always played by males (94.2%),
"female" roles were played by females a majority of the time (87.7%) and "neutral" roles
were played two-thirds of the time by males (62.7%). All gender type coding had
significance of .001. The racial distribution was 89% White and 11% non-White. Overall
male characters were more adventuresome (m - 10.7%, f - 3.3%, p < .001), domineering (m
- 8.2%, f - 3.5%, p < .001), aggressive (m - 19.6%, f - 7.9%, p < .001), violent (m - 11.7%, f
- 2.6%, p < .001) and victimized (m - 13.5%, f - 6.1%, p < .001) than female characters.
Female characters were more affectionate (f - 17.6%, m - 8.3%, p < .001), dependent (f
- 3.2%, m - 1%, p < .001), nurturing (f - 3.6%, m - 2.2%, p < .01), and fearful (f - 10.2%, m
-
6.3%, \( p < .01 \) than males. Other noticeable results were that women initiated (f - 11.4%, m - 6.6%, \( p < .001 \)) and were pursued (f - 14.3%, m - 2.6%, \( p < .001 \)) sexually more than men and that more than one-third (36.7%, \( p < .001 \)) of women wore revealing clothing.

Using studies in prime-time television, Seidman (1992) supported his findings as consistent with television sex-typed job representations. He expressed concern that "male" occupations were presented as more prestigious and therefore sex-typing done on MTV and on television in general can be adding to negative self-image of young women or men (if males have traditionally "female" jobs). He conceded that MTV is not responsible for the second-class status of women, but his study indicated Music Television is a "force in the continuation of these stereotypes" (1992, p.215).

Gow (1996) conducted a similar study that examined gender roles in MTV's "Top 100 of the '90s, So Far...", a compilation of the top videos from 1990, 1991, and 1992. In addition to comparing his findings to the many studies of gender roles in general television programming, his inquiry would show change, if any, in MTV's programming since the executive changes made in the late 80s. Gow noted that these changes may have been due to the many studies of early 80s programming, such as Seidman's (1992), that revealed gender roles in MTV content were stereotyped, underrepresented women and depicted women as little more than sexual targets or objects designed to please men.

To examine the videos, Gow (1996) employed two trained coders who recorded the gender (male, female and mixed) of the lead and supporting roles in the videos, as well as, the type of the lead (artists, poser, comic, actress/actor, superhuman, dancer, crowd pleaser) and supporting (model, backing performer, companion, victim,
aggressor, worker, parent) role. Intercoder reliability, calculated by Scott's $\pi$ method, for gender type of lead roles was .97 and .94, while for supporting roles it was .84 and .86. In Gow's study, performance and conceptual videos were used and the lead role is defined as the "person or group of persons whose music was being promoted in the video" (1996, Method section ¶ 2). Siedman (1992, 1999) used only conceptual videos and did not denote lead roles, but recorded all characters using stereotypical male, female or neutral roles.

Considering that Gow (1996) defined lead role as the person or persons whose music was being promoted in the video, his study therefore did not focus on "depictions" of lead gender roles, but rather who the popular artists were at the beginning of the 1990s. Since the lead roles in videos were primarily held by men (80%), looking to the supporting roles showed how popular male artists were choosing to depict women (and men) in music videos of the time. Mixed gender backing performer characters were the most frequent supporting role (22 out of 95 supporting roles) followed by female dancers (15 out of 95). Only two women were depicted as victims in supporting roles, in comparison to five men. Compared to Siedman's 1992 study, the number of women depicted as victims or victimized is down to two percent from 6.1% in Siedman's study. This change may be due to the programming changes implemented by MTV. Although there were fewer depictions of violence against or victimization of, women were still underrepresented as lead roles (17 out of 100) and mainly placed in roles that emphasize appearance (lead roles: poser 6/100, dancer 5/100; supporting roles: model 15/95). Gow's study shows MTV accomplished the task of eliminating violence
against women in videos, but did little to promote more positive images of women the first 4 years of its programming changes from 1989.

Seidman (1999) replicated his own study from 6 years earlier to analyze sex-role stereotyping in Music Television (MTV) videos. Sixty hours of recorded videos were examined based on sex-role stereotyping of occupational roles and behaviors of music-video characters to find if any changes had occurred since the original study.

Following the same procedures as in 1992, Siedman (1999) concluded that overall, stratification of male to female ratio sex-typed jobs was similar to the first study with "male" jobs played 90.8% by males in 1993 and 94.2% in 1987, "female" jobs played 100% of the time by females in 1993 and 87.7% in 1987, "neutral" jobs were played 56% by males in 1993 and 62.7% in 1987. Males were still more adventuresome (m - 2%, f - 0.6%, p < .01) and violent (m - 2.5%, f - 0.7%, p < .01), but no longer more aggressive (m - 2.9%, f - 2%), domineering (m - 0.4%, f - 0.0%), and victimized (m - 2.3%, f - 2.2%) than females. Female characters were still more affectionate (f - 5.6%, m - 1.9%, p < .001), nurturing (f - 0.8%, m - 0.2%, p < .05), and sexually pursued (f - 1.6%, m - 0.5%, p < .01) than males, but were no longer found to be more dependent (f - 0.1%, m - 0.5%), fearful (f - 1.5%, m - 1.4%) and in pursuit of others sexually (f - 1.8%, m - 0.9%) than were males. As with the first study, a large percentage of females wore revealing clothing (33.4% in 1993, 36.7% in 1987).

Citing other studies regarding television viewing and sex-role stereotyping, the author expressed concern about adolescent audiences' consumption and interpretation of viewing television programming that reinforces sex-typed stereotypes. In addition,
he was concerned that the mass media can affect self-image and influence attitudes towards others, with a likely result of increased discrimination. Finally, he concluded that continuation of sex-typed occupation and behavior portrayals may perpetuate stereotypes and thus contribute to the continued low status and pay of women in the workforce. In addition, the less positive behavioral traits of women portrayed on MTV may contribute to women being "considered less seriously in society" (1999, Discussion section, ¶ 7).

The conclusions are interesting and give insight into the changes of MTV programming between the first and second study. What Seidman (1999) did not mention in his discussion was the drop in frequency of all targeted behaviors. The behaviors by gender all decreased in frequency, sometimes by more than 10% (ex. Aggression in males dropped 16.7% from 1987-1993). Through Seidman's (1992 and1999) and Gow's (1996) articles it is evident that the MTV programming changes censored blatant violence and victimization concerning women, but the display of women in revealing clothing and as sexual objects remained the same.

The studies of popular music video content by Siedman (1992, 1999) and Gow (1996) indicate the use of gender role stereotyping and women displayed wearing revealing clothing in music videos was common.

**Substance use in rap lyrics and videos**

The content analysis conducted by Roberts, Henriksen, and Christenson (1999), funded by the Office of Drug Control Policy, focused on substance use in popular movies and music. This study examined 1,000 of the most popular songs from 1996 and
The songs were evenly representative of five major genre categories: country-western, alternative rock, hot-100 (or Top 40), rap and heavy metal. Coders read lyrics recording mention of alcohol, tobacco, illicit drugs, over-the-counter medicines, prescription medication, inhalants and unidentified pills. The comprehensive study analyzed figurative language (including slang), locations (i.e. "bar-hopping"), and literal references to substance abuse. In addition, they recorded contextual issues (trafficking, pro-use, anti-drug messages) for each of the substances identified.

Slightly more than one-fourth of the songs surveyed contained direct references to alcohol, tobacco, or illicit drugs. Rap music stood out as having the most references to substance use (75% -- 63% illicit drugs, 47% alcohol references). Brand names were most often mentioned in rap songs (48% of songs which mention alcohol) and wealth and luxury were associated with substance abuse (20% of songs mentioning illicit drugs, 24% of songs with reference to alcohol). Considering the prevalence of popular music in adolescent lives, anti-use messages in songs could make popular music a positive force in the development of youth identities. Unfortunately, this study (with the largest sample available in such studies) reveals that anti-use statements occurred in 6% (across all genres) of songs with illicit drug references and 3% (across all genres) of the songs with alcohol references. Compared to the overall 27% (of 1,000) of mentioned substance use, the anti-use statements are lost to messages of drug use and alcohol consumption associated with wealth or luxury (mentioned above), crime or violence (20% associated with illicit drugs, 24% with alcohol), and sexual activity (30% of songs with illicit drugs, 34% of songs with alcohol). Overall this study examines a large sample giving detailed
record of drug use in music lyrics, as well as contextual information. This study is limited to the written lyrics of songs and further studies should consider the video images associated with the lyrics, including implied drug use with songs that have no reference to drugs or alcohol.

As a follow up to the 1999 study for the Office of National Drug Control Policy, Roberts, Christenson, Henriksen, and Bandy (2002) expanded the study on music lyrics to include music video images. The sample included 258 videos that appeared on BET, MTV and VH-1 during October and November of 2000. The categories changed slightly for music (hot-100, rap/hip-hop, mainstream rock, modern or alternative rock, and other) and drugs (illicit drugs, alcohol, tobacco, over-the-counter and prescription drugs, and smoke of an unknown origin). Teams of coders examined both visual and verbal content of videos, using printed lyrics for direct verbal reference and video for visual reference.

This study found similar results to the 1999 study for direct reference to illicit drugs and alcohol. Overall, substances (including smoke of an unknown origin) appeared in 45% of the sample (N=116) and referred to verbally in 33% (N=85). Illicit drugs were more likely to be referred to verbally, while alcohol and tobacco were more likely to be visually represented than mentioned in the lyrics. Rap/hip-hop videos had the largest percentage of videos with alcohol use (49%) and smoke of an unknown origin (8%), the second most videos with tobacco use (23%), and the least amount of illicit drug use (2%). Substance use occurred most often on BET (57%), although MTV (44%) and
VH-1 (44%) had occurrences in nearly half of the videos as well. There is no mention of reliability tests conducted for this study.

Since more rap/hip-hop videos appeared on BET, which primarily shows rap/hip-hop genre videos, a viewer who prefers this genre will have a greater chance of seeing drug use portrayed. Also, the context of substance use in rap/hip-hop videos was often portrayed as a status symbol (with brand name liquor often being named in videos), associated with sex (25% of alcohol references and 23% of tobacco references were associated with sex), or a positive activity (partying is associated with 67% of alcohol references). Most appearances of substance use were portrayed as a regular activity. The researchers note "substances are simply there" (Roberts, Christenson, Henriksen and Bandy, 2002, p.40). Such normalized substance use in videos, with idolized music artists participating, could lead youth who identify with the artist or the culture to greater acceptance (or use) of drugs, alcohol and tobacco use.

**Impacts of lyrics and video images**

McLeod, Eveland and Nathanson (1997) examined the third-person effect in a study of 202 college students at the University of Delaware. They surveyed two introductory mass media classes where the mean age was just over 20 years old to test their four hypotheses regarding students' perceptions of the effects of rap lyrics on themselves and on other populations. The third-person effect hypotheses, as described by Davison, is the perception that mass media influence is less for the self than on others and the impact they expect the communication to have on others may cause them to take action (as cited in McLeod, Eveland, and Nathanson, 1997, p. 154). In the case of this
study, the survey focused on how students perceived the effects of violent and misogynic rap lyrics on four groups: self, students at the University of Delaware, youth in Los Angeles and New York of similar age, and the average person. The survey was a series of questions regarding music preferences and knowledge of different types of music. In addition, the survey included one of two copies of rap lyrics of which questions were targeted regarding the effects of such lyrics on the four groups listed above.

The mean scores supported the researchers' hypothesis that perceived effects of rap lyrics would be less on the individual than the effects on others. With that, third-person perceptions increased when comparisons were made to groups more socially distant from the individual. For the total population, the effects of rap lyrics on self mean score was 4.43 ($p < .01$). In comparison, for perceived effects of rap lyrics on University of Delaware students the mean score was 8.58, for youth in New York and Los Angeles it rose to 13.95 (the greatest perceived difference), and for the average person the mean score was 8.10 (all mean scores $p < .01$). The researchers hypothesized that the greatest difference would come between individual and average person. Although, if students believed that they were "average" as were their peers, it is not surprising that this mean score was not as high. There is no background information on the participants', therefore knowing where the students had lived prior to attending the University of Delaware could be a variable in this perceived social distance from youth in New York or Los Angeles.
This study confirms that young adults understand that mass media affects viewers. What stands out in this research is the perceived difference of effects on self versus others. Students in this study were asked to read one page of lyrics of violent or misogynist rap lyrics, but the underlying effects of hearing such words may not be perceived by the students during the survey because of their awareness of the study's intent. If the third-person effect hypothesis holds true for the majority of youth consuming hip-hop, increased media literacy and awareness of media consumption would be necessary to assist students in understanding the in-direct effects of hip-hop.

The Kaiser Family Foundation (2002) surveyed 503 teens, ages 15-17 in April of 2002 about the role of television in influencing the sexual decision-making of teens. The results show similar third person effect occurring when teens were asked how much the sexual behaviors on television influence the sexual behaviors of teens. Nearly three out of four (72%) teens thought sex on TV influenced teens their age. Although when asked about TV's influence on themselves, only one in four (22%) thought their own behavior was influenced by TV. Details for the Kaiser Family Foundation's (2002) survey were limited, therefore there was no evidence of reliability in the responses or how the sample was chosen (termed "national random sample"). Since the survey was conducted over the phone, there were likely responses made in haste or resentment towards the field researchers due to the non-personal nature of the call. Yet, this survey information agrees with the results from McLeod, Evenson and Nathanson's (1997) study that teens understand that mass media can impact youth, but often times do not believe it influences them individually.
McKee and Pardum (1999) used focus groups to gain qualitative data regarding the interpretation of religious symbols in secular videos by college undergraduates. Volunteers for this study included 36 women and 20 men who were split into seven focus groups, three at a large, public Midwestern university and four at a small, private southeastern college. After completing a questionnaire about their media use, participants watched two music videos ("Zombies" by the Cranberries and "Murder Was the Case" by Snoop Doggy Dogg) without the audio. The religious images in the videos included a golden woman on a cross surrounded by golden cherubs in the "Zombie" video and the rap video included an image of Christ with a crown of thorns turning into a satanic figure draped in black. After viewing, the group was asked to engage in "rapid-writing" for ten minutes. The discussions that followed were directed by a leader that kept notes as the session was audio-taped. Participants were not asked to watch the videos for religious imagery, but the discussion was focused on the visual images. Then the videos were watched with the audio and discussion turned to congruency of visuals and images. Participants were asked if the meaning of the images changed with the audio added.

From the recorded discussions, McKee and Pardum (1999) found that the majority of participants used the visual elements of videos to develop meaning whether respondents had been exposed to lyrics or not. One respondent explained this habit as, "Just like I hear, and I hear the music, and I hear the beat, but I don't pay attention to what's being said. So ultimately the message you are going to get is from the visual part. I mean, you have to, like, think and listen and pay attention to understand what's being
said" (1999, Method section ¶ 11). The findings of McKee and Pardum (1999) mean
greater impact of video content analysis regarding gender roles, violence and drug use
because the negative images are used as the primary meaning making device for music
watched on music television stations. These findings coupled with those of McLeod et
al (1997) and the Kaiser Family Foundation (2002) show that adolescents think critically
about media, but may not be fully aware of its impacts on the self.

Violent response to rap lyrics

Researchers from Spelman College, Wade and Thomas-Gunnar (1993),
investigated the effects of rap lyrics in relation to rape-prone behavior. They
interviewed 59 students (64% female, n=38) from traditionally Black colleges
(Morehouse, Spelman, Morris Brown) about their musical preferences and perceptions
of gangsta rap lyrics impact on behaviors toward women. Wade and Thomas-Gunnar
(1993) found a positive correlation between those who preferred explicit rap lyrics and
attitudes that were rape-prone. The mean rape-prone score was 19.16 out of 20 ($p < .01$)
for those students who preferred explicit rap lyrics, and 16.00 for those who disliked the
lyrics. The interviews regarding rap and the impact of explicit rap lyrics were open­
ended, yet "rape-prone" attitudes were measured by a Likert-type scale that was found
to have only six reliable questions (ex. "under certain circumstances, date rape is
understandable", "When a man takes a woman out and spends a lot of money, she owes
him something", "I think women enjoy being mistreated") that offered four possible
responses from strongly agree to strongly disagree. The researchers did not explain how
and when the interviews and Likert-type test was given, therefore, it is difficult to gauge
the repose for accuracy due to unknown variable such as lack of anonymity whereby some students' responses may have been affected by possible classmate reaction to answers. Lack of detail in the studies report and small sample size make this study unreliable.

Barongan and Nagayama (1995) used 54 male undergraduate psychology students to test hypotheses about sexual or aggressive behavior towards women after the participants listened to misogynic and violent rap lyrics. This pseudo-experiment involved two experimenters, one male, and one female. Participants were divided into two groups of 27 in which one group heard neutral rap lyrics and the other heard lyrics with frequent references to sex and violence. The participants were then asked to choose one of three video clips (neutral, sexual-violent, or assaultive) to show to a female. A female undergraduate, instructed to express no reaction to the clips, was then shown the clip by the participant. After viewing the clip a 5-point Likert scale survey (1 = very uncomfortable, 5 = extremely comfortable) was given to participants that measured their own comfort with the rap lyrics, as well as, how they perceived the female's comfort level when viewing the clip.

Results revealed a significant number of participants (30%) who listened to misogynous music showed the assaultive vignette, in comparison to the neutral listeners who chose the assaultive and sexually violent vignettes fewer times (7%). Another important result showed that those who chose the assaultive or sexually violent vignette perceived the female reaction to be significantly more upset ($M = 2.20, SD = 0.92$) than those who showed the neutral vignette ($M = 3.82, SD = 1.04$). Showing the assultive or
sexually-violent vignette was interpreted as a sexually aggressive act because the material was perceived as harmful to the female viewer. Barongan and Nagayama (1995) supported this claim with previous research in sexual aggression. Yet, their experiment is limited in its claims due to a small (54) and rather homogeneous sample (of the 54 participants, only 6 were African American, and 2 were Asian American). In addition, the psychology students were conveniently assembled through sign up sheet in classes which required participation in a study. Considering the results are from college students, further research with younger participants, who may perceive the artists as role models and therefore more easily influenced, could show if the impact of sexually-violent lyrics is greater during adolescence.

Johnson, Adams and Ashburn (1995) conducted a study to assess the effects of non-violent rap music on African American adolescents' acceptance of teen dating violence. The quasi-experiment used 60 (30 males, 30 females) youth (age 11-16) from the "Community Boys Club" in Wilmington, North Carolina. Participants involved were from lower income families. Four experiment groups were formed by separating the genders in two rooms where they counted off by twos. Male group A and female group A, watched music videos and answered a question regarding a dating violence scenario. Male group B and female group B did not watch videos, but did complete the question regarding dating violence. Videos shown had no violent imagery, violent acts or reference to violence in lyrics. The videos chosen could be viewed on music television stations (MTV and BET) and contained images of male artists with provocatively dressed women dancing and admiring the lead male (e.g. "Whoomp there it is" by Tag
Team and "I get around" by Tupac Shakur). Both groups were read a scenario regarding a boyfriend who "grabbed and pushed" his girlfriend. Subjects were given a nine point Likert type scale to answer ("Should John have pushed and shoved his girlfriend? 1-definitely no, 9-definitely yes).

Results indicated that exposure to rap videos had significant effect on acceptance of violence against women. Those who were exposed to rap videos ($M = 3.6$) showed greater acceptance than those who were not ($M = 2.0$, $p < .001$). Comparison of gender for those exposed showed relatively the same acceptance for males ($M = 3.6$) and females ($M = 3.7$, $p < .05$). For those not exposed significant difference in violence acceptance occurred between males ($M = 3.0$) and females ($M = 1.3$, $p < .01$). Overall, male acceptance was similar for exposed and not exposed, yet females in the exposed group showed much greater acceptance of dating violence.

The design of the study was basically sound. Creating a control group allowed for direct comparison of genders and those exposed to treatment. Randomization occurred within the group to break up "buddies" and age difference. Yet, the design did not account for prior attitudes about dating violence. Data collected points to the negative impact of sex-role stereotyping and subordination of women in rap video imagery and rap lyrics. Further studies should examine factors such as race and prior attitudes towards dating and violence against women.

Took and Weiss (1994) surveyed adolescents and their parents regarding musical preference, listening habits and psychosocial functioning. They took their sample from outpatients and inpatients at military or private adolescent psychiatric or substance
abuse clinics. Adolescents between the ages of 12 and 18 and their parents filled out questionnaires separately and sealed their questionnaires in envelopes when finished. Questionnaires were returned from 87 sets (adolescent plus parent). There were 41 males, 38 females and 8 unknown (due to inadvertent omission). Racial backgrounds were 62% Caucasian, 10% Asian, 8% black, 7% Hispanic, and 9% other (mostly mixed). Living situations varied with 40% living with both biological parents, 43% living with one biological parent and one step parent, 9% lived with a single parent and 4% other (adopted by or living with another family member).

Results indicated 48 subjects had preferences for heavy metal or rap music (26 heavy metal, 22 rap) the other 39 subjects (35% male, 65% female) had a wide range of music preferences. Those subjects chosen as heavy metal or rap music listeners had to name at least two artists/bands when asked for his or her favorite three artists/bands. For those with preferences for heavy metal and rap music (HM/R), 64% of the group were males (p=.01) and racial demographics were representative of the larger group. The results showed that gender plays a role in the findings. In the first set of calculations, five significant (p >.05) variables showed more turmoil for HM/R group. Because there were so many males in the initial HM/R group, the researchers balanced the groups by random removal of female subjects from the 'Other' group and compared them again. The HM/R group still had 48 subjects (64% male, 36% female), and the 'Other' group then contained 25 subjects (60% male, 40% female). Comparison of the balanced groups revealed fewer differences. On the adolescents' questionnaire, there was only one significant (p </.05) variable, below average current grades (46% HM/R,
21%, other). The same was true for the parents' questionnaire, with the balanced groups the number of significant variables went from seven to three: below average elementary school grades (19% HM/R, 0% Other), counseling in elementary school for school problems (94% HM/R, 25% Other), and below average current grades (59% HM/R, 32% Other).

Given that the entire sample was recruited from psychiatric or substance abuse clinics, the sample subjects were prone to more turmoil. Balancing the two groups showed that there is less association with heavy metal and rap music with adolescent turmoil than was hypothesized. Moreover, the balanced comparisons suggest that adolescent turmoil is more likely caused in elementary school years, as shown in the parents' responses. Because of the biased sample and lack of information regarding outside variables in the subjects' lives, this study is not reliable. The effects of music lyrics on adolescents' emotional responses should be studied further with controls for causes of turmoil, such as: home life (considering how recent a parent's divorce, or loss of family member), learning disability (in the case of low grades at school) and parents' work schedule (do subjects have supervision or simply companionship when not in school).

Ballard and Coates (1995) conducted a detailed sample survey of the immediate effects of homicidal, suicidal, and nonviolent heavy metal and rap music on the moods of college students. One hundred sixty-four subjects (77 male, 87 female) were randomly assigned to listen to one of six songs (3 heavy metal, 3 rap) previously chosen from a pilot study. The subjects listened to a song twice and were then given a memory
test. Assistants who administered the memory test were not informed of the hypotheses of this study. Subjects were lead to believe the study measured memory. They were then asked if they would like to participate in another study on personality. The second study occurred immediately following the memory test and gave them a full hour of extra credit for their college psychology course. The second study consisted of five more tests: State-Trait Anger Expression Inventory (STAXI, which yielded scores for anger-in, anger-out, anger expression, state-anger, trait-anger, and anger control); Beck Depression Inventory (BDI, measured subject's levels of depression after exposure to the song); Self-Esteem Scale (SES, Likert-type test in which subjects responded to self-statements); State-Trait Anxiety Inventory (STAI, measured state- and trait-anxiety); and the Adult Suicidal Ideation Questionnaire (ASIQ, which measured how often they had suicidal ideas in the past month).

Results showed rap music elicited more anger than heavy metal music. Those who listened to rap lyrics scored higher than those listening to heavy metal on the STAXI-trait anger subscale (rap $M = 51.13$ SD = 10.69, heavy metal $M = 47.95$ SD = 9.50, p <.05), STAXI-trait anger reserve (rap $M = 52.41$ SD = 10.57, heavy metal $M = 46.81$ SD = 8.74, p <.001), and STAXI-anger in subscale (rap $M = 54.55$ SD = 11.15, heavy metal $M = 50.60$ SD = 8.48, p <.05).

There was no evidence that lyrical content or music type had an immediate effect on either suicidal ideation or state anxiety. Data collected on music preferences revealed the majority of subjects preferred rock music ($N = 90$). The remainder of the participants had preferences for heavy metal ($N = 39$), country ($N = 22$), and rap ($N = 22$). Therefore,
some subjects may have responded negatively to rap lyrics simply because they did not like it.

This study attempted to control possible confounding variables. The double blind design kept the intention of the study secret from both test administrators and subjects and therefore, administrators were less likely to lead subjects during questioning, and subjects were less likely to give answers biased to the intentions of the study. The songs chosen for the study were pre-determined by a pilot study that measured their fit into categories of interest, familiarity (the researchers sought songs low in familiarity), and coherence (the researchers sought songs high in coherence). They used 16 volunteers to test 18 songs, from which they selected the six for the study. All of the personality tests (STAXI, BDI, SES, STAI, and AXIQ) were subjected to 2 (music type) x 3 (song content) ANOVAs (or MANOVA where appropriate) to examine the impact of the experimental variables on responding to the mood inventories. In addition, the authors provided evidence of the personality tests' reliability from past studies. Still, the convenient sample from college psychology courses and extra credit "payment" to participants makes the sample limited in demographics (all participants were white with mean socioeconomic status of upper-middle class).

This study was conducted in a sterile classroom environment and the songs were played at a moderate level. In addition, the memory test may have affected the subjects' mood from the time the song was played to the time of the personality tests. Overall this study shows evidence that rap lyrics cause anger in white, upper-middle class males and females. These results could be due to more than just the lyrical content, such as
covert racism (since rap is considered an African American music style), dismay over sociopolitical issues present in the lyrics, or plain dislike of the genre or song. Further study should be conducted with a larger demographic and age base, more natural setting (with possibly louder music), and more consideration and background study of individuals views of race, class and gender.

Anderson, Carnagey, and Eubanks (2003) designed an experiment to measure effective response of trait aggression and state aggression to violent rap lyrics. The sample consisted of 75 female and 70 male undergraduates at a large Midwestern university who received class credit for volunteering. Participants were pre-selected based on a previous screening at which the potential subjects completed the Caprara Irritability Scale. Those who scored in the upper and lower quartiles were chosen for this study. Subjects completed questionnaires on irritability, state hostility, perceived arousal (after listening), and familiarity/coherence of lyrics (after listening). Following the state hostility questionnaire, subjects listened to one of eight pre-selected songs (rap and heavy metal, 4 violent, 4 non-violent), after which they were asked to speak a series of word pairs (24 aggressive, 24 escape, 24 anxiety, and 24 control words).

A no-song control group was used in comparisons with the violent and non-violent exposed groups. The only significant effect reported was that violent songs increased the relative accessibility of aggressive words (violent $M = 11.1$, non-violent $M = 4.3, p < .05$). There were many variables to isolate; therefore, most of the results were inconclusive. This design attempted to control for possible interpretational difficulties,
yet was unsuccessful. The findings, although not significant, support the findings of Ballard and Coats (1995) that violent rap lyrics elicited more aggressive affect.

The violent lyrical and video content of rap videos has an impact on adolescents. Research by Wade and Thomas-Gunnar (1993), Barongan and Nagayama (1995), Johnson et al (1995), and Ballard and Coates (1995) and Anderson et al (2003) all indicated that when exposed to violent or misogynist rap lyrics, respondents displayed a higher level of violence, anger or acceptance of dating violence. What all of these studies lack are controls for outside variables that could make participants prone to violence or anger, such as a history of family violence, feelings of mistreatment from women and plain dislike of rap music.

**Hip-Hop and Race**

Arguments espousing the detrimental effects of rap lyrics are often based on stereotypes that those unfamiliar with hip-hop music rely on to make judgments about rap music. An example comes from former Vice President Dan Quayle, in 1992 who attacked rapper Tupac Shakur's music for its violent lyrics without listening to the album and in addition mispronounced the rapper's name (Sullivan, 2003). The disconnect between White, upper and middle-class suburbia and Black inner-city life can lead to strong stereotypes based on superficial information. The following articles discuss the correlation between positive and negative stereotypes, ethnic/racial interface in high school, cultural appropriation of hip-hop culture by White adolescents and Black and White adolescents' (the primary consumers) attitudes towards rap music.
Stereotypes and ethnic identity

Levine, Carmines, & Sniderman (1999) conducted a factor analysis of dimensions of stereotypes using data from the 1991 Race and Politics Survey, a nationwide random-digit telephone survey of adults (survey conducted by the Survey Research Center of the University of California Berkeley). The survey had 14 items, each presented as a 10 point scale, and designed to elicit respondents' beliefs about the extent to which "most Blacks" possess various attributes. Levine, Carmines, & Sniderman (1999) utilized the data from the 1,841 White respondents.

After accounting for nonrandom measurement error, the results indicated correlating (-.74) between positive and negative stereotypes. The findings suggested that White negative stereotypes of Blacks increase when positive stereotypes of Blacks decrease. Although the sample was comprised of adults, the correlation of positive and negative stereotypes is important to consider in the context of negative media regarding rap music. Like Dan Quayle, many people may only learn about Black culture and rap artists through media coverage that has historically been negative (Rose, 1994). The data from Levine, Carmines and Sniderman (1999), indicates that for those who consume the negative media about hip-hop/rap without question, then positive stereotypes will decrease for this demographic. This in turn could create more tension in racial/ethnic relations.

Alejandro (2002) conducted an experiment to examine three effects: how mass media, in the case of hip-hop films, can prime and activate racial stereotypes and schemas; the effect of ethnic identity on self-esteem; and how ethnic identity mediates
the effect of stereotypic information presented via the media. Participants included 171 students (139 women and 32 men, 50 African Americans and 121 European Americans) from a Southeastern University community. The range of ages was 20-64 years. Participants were offered extra credit for volunteering and the chance to win $50.00 for participation in the study. Subjects completed measures of ethnic identity, self-esteem, and racial attitudes. The experimental procedure consisted of two phases. The first, participants were exposed to a 15-minute segment of a hip-hop film (The Wash) or a neutral film (Dr. Doolittle 2). Both films had African American lead characters but the hip-hop film portrayed the lead in a manner consistent with the 'Black' stereotype. In the second phase, subjects were exposed to 20 words on a projector screen (10 stereotypes, 10 neutral). After viewing the words they were given a 'pleasantness ratings' questionnaire containing 40 words, including the 20 words displayed by the projector. They were then instructed to complete the questionnaire rating all the words from -5 (very unpleasant) to +5 (very pleasant). Finally, the subjects were instructed to circle all the words they remember being projected on the screen.

The results indicated that African Americans with high ethnic identity had higher self esteem ($M = 88.73, p < .05$) than African Americans with low ethnic identity ($M = 77.89, p < .05$). The same effect was indicated for European Americans (high identity self-esteem $M = 86.76, p < .05$ low identity $M = .81.84, p < .05$). No significant difference was found between African Americans and European Americans 'pleasantness ratings' of stereotypic words. Also, participants who were exposed to the hip-hop film recalled more stereotypic words ($M = 9.62, p<.05$) that those who viewed the neutral film.
segment \((M = 8.52, p<.05)\). Another significant finding was that high ethnic identifiers rated stereotypical words less pleasantly \((M = -57.53, p<.05)\) than low ethnic identifiers \((M = -46.52, p<.05)\).

This study was limited by a racially skewed sample that was conveniently recruited by baiting \($50\). The direction correlational effect of ethnic identity on self-esteem cannot be determined by this study. Yet, the information regarding high ethnic identity and low pleasantness rating of stereotypic words suggests that appreciation of identity may cause appreciation of other ethnic groups (since European Americans with high ethnic identity also rated the Black stereotype words low). This could also be an effect of the liberal arts university student sample. Overall, this study is example of the fledgling cannon of hip-hop research. Further study should include a broader sample in age, ethnicity and socioeconomic status.

Managing stereotypes is a complex and difficult element of high school. In this article, French, Seidman, Allen, and Aber (2000) examined racial/ethnic identity (group-esteem and exploration) and perceived transactions with school (academic hassles, participation, and social support). They conducted the evaluations at the end of both the year prior to the transition and the transition year. Schools chosen for the study were predominantly Black or Latino schools in which a minimum of 80% of the student body was eligible for free/reduced lunch. The sample population came from six junior highs and was transitioning to 35 senior high schools during the 1988-89 or 1989-90 school years. It was comprised of 144 students (102 girls and 42 boys, 33 Blacks, 61 European Americans, and 50 Latinos, mean age 13.97). Students of mixed race with one Black or
Latino parent and one European American parent were counted in the Black or Latino group. Students with one Black and one Latino parent were not included in the study.

Results showed change in peer racial/ethnic congruence was related to exploration only for European American youth \((p < .05)\). As congruence with peers decreased, exploration increased. Since the high school transition sent students to schools where European Americans were at most 32% of the population and as low as 6% in some schools, African American and Latino students were surrounded by students of color and therefore felt more congruence with peers. The measures for staff racial/ethnic congruence were negatively related to group esteem for African American students, with fewer Black staff members at the high school, group esteem of Black students increased. However the opposite relationship was found for European Americans, whereas, group esteem increased as staff racial/ethnic congruence increased. This is put into perspective when you consider the changes in staff racial/ethnic makeup. European American teachers comprised 81% of the staff population at the junior high and dropped 9% with the transition to high school, in contrast to African American staff members who comprised only 28.4% of the junior high staff and at the high school it dropped to 8.8%, thereby increasing the likelihood of consciousness-raising events for African American students. European students' group esteem was related to hassles at school. As daily hassles increased, their group esteem increased \((p < .05)\).

This study provided ample evidence of test reliability (none under .71) and achieved diverse sample demographics. Still, the size of the sample was small and no
The measures were significant for the Latino population, which indicates there are other variables that affect group esteem and exploration that were not considered in this study.


The results showed a significant effect of ethnicity ($p < .001$) and gender ($p < .01$) on self-esteem. African Americans scored significantly higher in self-esteem than the other two groups; Latino and White adolescents did not differ. In all groups, males scored higher than females. Ethnic identity, assessed as a broad construct including sense of belonging, positive attitudes, commitment, and involvement with one's group was a significant predictor of self-esteem for African American, Latino, and White adolescents in predominantly non-White schools. American identity, assessed simply as a sense of being American, strongly predicted self-esteem for the White adolescents but not for the other two groups.

It is important to note the low scores for self esteem in Latina and White females in the high school setting. These results indicate both groups could benefit from effort to enhance their sense of worth. Similar to Alejandro (2002), the study is correlational, the
direction of effect for ethnic identity to self-esteem cannot be predicted. Yet, the study
does point out that ethnic identity is clearly an important contributor to adolescents' sense of self.

The complexity of identity development includes not just finding an identity group, but also navigating cross-ethnic interactions. Hamm and Coleman (2001) examined three strategies that African American and White participants (9-12 grade) used to manage cultural diversity: multicultural, separation, and assimilation/acculturation strategies. Subjects were from two high schools in a midsized Midwestern city. Both schools had predominantly White student populations (74% and 83.5%). African American students were the next most populous group, followed by Latino, Asian and other nationalities. 215 respondents (African American n = 77, White n= 138) completed evaluations on coping with cultural diversity, cross-ethnic relations, ethnic identity, and demographic variables.

African American adolescents endorsed separation (M = 2.45, p<.01) and multicultural (M = 3.45, p<.01) strategies more strongly than White (separation M = 1.91, p <.001, multicultural M = 3.09, p <.01) youth. The mean scores for both strategies do not differ by one whole step in either case, so the evidence is weak. Reliability coefficients reported for the four questionnaires also reveal that the separation scale has the lowest reliability at 0.69. Although the results do not provide strong statistical data, an important point that this research highlights are the many ways adolescents can interact in culturally diverse populations.
The research of Carmines and Sniderman (1999) regarding stereotypes showed that an increase of White negative Black stereotypes is correlational to a decrease in positive Black stereotypes. Alejandro’s (2002) studies pointed to the decrease in pleasantness of stereotypic words with an increase in self-esteem and a high ethnic identity. These results indicate that fostering self-esteem and ethnic identity in adolescents will decrease negative stereotypes.

French et al (2000) and Phinney et al (1997) looked at ethnic identity in school and both showed a positive correlation between group-esteem and peer/faculty ethnic congruence. Hamm and Coleman (2001) analyzed the coping strategies for cross-ethnic interactions in high school; although the data is unreliable their study reveals multiple coping strategies. Overall, theses studies suggest that ethnic identity plays a role in self-esteem.

Cultural Appropriation

Cutler (1998) focused her case study on a New York City teenager of a White, upper-middle class family, who used features of African American Vernacular English (AAVE) as identification with hip-hop culture. She was friends with the teen’s parent and had known the subject since he was 6 (he was 16 at the time of the study). The study was based on approximately six hours of material including one-on-one interviews, group discussions with ‘Mike’ and his friends, and observations of the subject from 1992-1998. Rap music, films portraying Black inner-city life, and a White friend from a poor neighborhood comprised the main sources of exposure to AAVE for ‘Mike’.
In her discussion, Cutler (1998) noted "the adolescent construction of 'style' can involve tense negotiations between self and other" (1998, Conclusion section, ¶ 1). This was demonstrated in the conversations between 'Mike' and his friends when addressing anti-White skits on television and Black friends that called him "White-boy". As other White teens that appropriate hip-hop culture, there was a feeling of entitlement among the group. They felt it was their right to participate without boundaries in hip-hop culture and Black youth who were against them were racist. Due to the varied backgrounds of White youth who appropriate hip-hop culture, this data can only detail one adolescents' identity journey. This is one of three case studies representing this side of White youth. Further study should be directed toward the youth of color to investigate the emotional effects of witnessing the actions and/or interacting with these White youth.

Bucholtz's (1999) case study focused on a White male that used aspects of AAVE as a means of expressing masculinity. In 1995-96 Bucholtz recorded narratives of "racialized" (1999, p.445) conflict told by European American boys at Bay City High School. She argued that the use of AAVE by White youth was a "semiotic resource for the construction of identity" (1999, p.444) that served to project the speaker's urban youth identity, affiliation with hip-hop and highlight racial and gendered dimensions of self and 'other'. She termed the appropriated use of AAVE, Cross-Racial AAVE or CRAAVE. Although she conceded that CRAAVE is not a unified speech style, and there are White youth using AAVE who are fully integrated into the African American speech community. Still CRAAVE is understood as "emblematic use of AAVE" (2002, p.446).
From examination of one boy's narrative she concluded that when socially desired, the young man used CRAAVE to invoke a Black masculinity. In this case, he used it to save himself from a conflict with another Black youth on a bus by calling over some school acquaintances to give him support. Review of the narrative showed the subject aligned himself first with non-AAVE language while he described the antagonist as a "big Black dude" and reconstructed the story as the antagonist who was Black and intimidating, and protagonist was White and non-threatening. As the narrative continues, the young man notices his Black friends (the rescuers) and the narrative begins to include more AAVE aspects, concluding finally with complete cross-over. This data showed a young man who maintained racist ideologies through either separating himself (when not using AAVE) or fully appropriating AAVE, and Black masculinity, in his narrative. Bucholtz (1999) concluded that this maintenance of "social order" for the sake of self preservation of the subject also maintained racial barriers because the ideologies of race, gender and language were not questioned by this boy. Bucholtz (1999) brought to light the changes in speech that middle-class youth who appropriate Black culture may employ, but more study is needed on the effects of such appropriation on the Black youth who witness such appropriation.

The final case study about White use of Black culture followed a 23 year old White female who consistently used language crossing to AAVE. In January of 1997 Sweetland (2002) visited Cincinnati to record conversations and interactions of the female subject. Sweetland (2002) had known the subject for 6 years prior and grew up in a nearby neighborhood, although she did not mention how they first met, it was implied
that access was easy to obtain. The subject had many aspects of her life that centered on African American culture including growing up in a predominantly Black neighborhood, dating Black men and consequently giving birth to a biracial child, and working in a Black beauty shop, and dressing in fashions identified with Black femininity.

Different from the last two case studies, this case examined a white female who was fully immersed in Black culture. She did not fit the "cultural prototype" (Sweetland, 1999, p. 528), therefore, she was accepted as an 'ingroup' member of Black culture despite her race. Sweetland concluded that the subject's repertoires were, "on one level, simply examples of language acquisition due to constant contact with the variety, remarkable only in the context of the racial segregation and cultural separation of the United States" (2002, p.533). More importantly, she discussed the convergence of race, class and place in determining race. She explained, "Individuals who don't quite fit the cultural script get ideologically erased -- or in this instance, re-raced" (1999, p.528).

Sweetland (1999) took the research a step further by asking 'Delilah's' African American friend what he thought of her use of AAVE and other actions consistent with Black culture. He reacted with, "That's just how she is." Although, his thoughts on White, middle-class youth or 'wiggas', was that those who had limited access to interact with African American people, and still use AAVE exaggerate or "try to sound too ghetto"(1999, p.525).

This study and the previous one with 'Mike' (Cutler, 1998), suggest that stereotypes can be helpful and hurtful in constructing identity. Because 'Delilah'
(Sweetland, 1999) was so different from the White stereotype she was accepted into Black culture, whereas 'Mike', who was stereotypically White, made a point of appropriating Black stereotypical behavior, that he was then rejected by African Americans and worried about being labeled a 'wannabe' (a stereotype in itself) by White groups (Cutler, 1998). This relates as well to the evidence that group identity is related to self-esteem (Phinney, Cantu, & Kurtz, 1997), cultural appropriation of hip-hop culture and the use of AAVE by White, middle-class adolescents should be examined from the standpoint of African American and Latino youth to evaluate the impacts on cultural identity and self-esteem.

**Black and White attitudes toward rap music**

Sullivan (2003) surveyed 51 adolescents at a mall in a Midwestern city regarding their attitudes toward rap music. She focused her study on racial differences in Black and White adolescents' perceptions of rap. Sample respondents were comprised of 21 Blacks, 17 Whites, 7 Latinos, and 6 who marked other categories (19 girls 32 boys, mean age = 16). The questionnaire included 10 questions that assessed frequency of rap listening, familiarity of rap artists, influence of rap on the individual, and an open ended response section for respondents to explain why they listened to rap.

Results indicated that racial differences in the popularity of rap music were limited. Overall, participants rated rap 7.98 on the 10-point scale (mean scores for Black = 8.57, White = 7.18, and Latino = 8.29, p= ns). Response to the statement "Rap is a truthful reflection of society," showed no strong racial differences. African Americans mean score was 3.3 and White had a mean of 3.1 (on a 5 point scale, 5 = strongly agree).
African American respondents were more likely to agree with the statement, "I find myself wearing clothes similar to rappers" and "I find myself using words and phrases similar to rappers". Only one White participant reported wearing clothes similar to rappers; however, 8 Whites reported that they used words or phrases similar to rappers. A popular explanation for listening to rap, the majority of which came from White respondents was "I like the beat." White respondents, regardless of whether or not they were fans, were more likely to say that rap had affected their opinion about racism than Black fans. Although there was racial difference in agreement, overall the participants moderately disagreed; they did not believe rap had much of an effect on their opinions about racism.

The findings are weak due to the location, recruitment and size of the sample. Still, the responses give an impression of Midwestern adolescents' attitudes regarding rap. Further study should be conducted with a broader sample measuring location (urban, suburban or rural) and socio-economic status.

Hip-Hop in School

Despite negative press and emphasis on negative lyrics, teachers have used rap in the classroom with positive results in regard to memory retention, encouraging reading for pleasure, literacy development, as a therapy tool for at-risk youth, and teacher education. The results of the following studies point to the literary value of rap when investigated, analyzed, composed and discussed. As shown here, rap is an effective method to engage students, encourage literacy development, and promote critical thinking.
Hicks (1987) explored the effectiveness of ‘rap music’ as a method of instruction for urban preschool children in learning 10 new body part names. The study utilized a pre-/post-test design.

The students consisted of 40 three and four year old Black and Hispanic children selected randomly from four preschools. Students were randomly assigned to a control group and an experimental group.

The intervention consisted of two audio tapes that presented the same instructional content however; one used rap music rhythms and the other used conversational speech. The tapes featured a Black male educator. The pre- and post-tests used a game format and asked the students individually to name body parts pointed to on their body and simultaneously on a poster of a child. In addition, in the post-test, the students were asked whether they remembered what they saw and heard in the audio visual.

The pretest results indicated no significance at the .05 level between the four groups: experimental group A (xA - M = 2.5, SD = 1.8), B (xB - M = 1.8, SD = 1.2), control group A (cA - M = 1.9, SD = 1.5) and B (cB - M = 1.2, SD = 0.4). The post-test results did indicate significance at the .05 level for the mean differences (xA - M = 5.2, SD = 1.7; xB - M = 4.7, SD = 1.7; cA - M = 1.9, SD = 1.7; cB - M = 1.9, SD = 1.5). This indicated a difference in the number of body parts the two groups remembered in favor of the experimental group.
The researcher concluded that for students at this age and from this demographic group, the rap rhythm attracted and engaged the students’ motivating them to learn. The rhythm created a sense of familiarity and fun that the students wanted to practice.

This study was well thought out and implemented. It seems that the variables were effectively controlled for prior knowledge. The use of the same form for the pre- and post-test data allowed for consistency. The researchers also included the lyrics and instruction for the lesson.

The ethnographic case study completed by Morrow-Pretlow (1994) was developed to encourage at-risk urban elementary school students to read for pleasure daily. Fifteen students from grades two through six were identified as at-risk and targeted for the program because they were at least two grade levels below national norms. The study took place at an urban community recreation center. Participants listened to their favorite rap songs, wrote lyrics for their own rap songs, and then read the lyrics as a text. The aim of 'Rap to Read' was to initiate reading interest by having the students read rap lyrics from artists they liked. In addition to the on site activities, students were also required to read 10 minutes a day, outside of school, for a minimum of three weeks.

Due to attrition and unexpected circumstance over the eight month program, only six of the 15 students completed the program. Still, results for the remaining six students were favorable. End of the year report cards reflected reading improvement for five of the six participants. All remaining participants exceeded requirements and read for at least thirty minutes, outside of school, for eight weeks or more. Self-directed,
the six participants also visited the library and check out no less than five books in a three month period. The participants also answered yes to all of the *Student Literacy Interest Survey* items (e.g. "I own at least one book that is not a text book" and "I want to be a fluent reader").

Morrow-Pretlow's (1994) study was well organized and implemented, which is evidenced in the positive results of the students who completed the study.

Rap is used to promote writing in a study conducted by Mahiri (1996) who examined whether the familiarity and competence that many African American students have with elements of rap music and culture could be used as a bridge to the production of other literate texts. The study followed a yearlong ethnographic design. The schools selected represented sites whose student population was predominately African American. One site was in Oakland and the other in Berkeley. The majority demographics of the students in both locations consisted of 40% – 42% African Americans, with Chicano/Latino and White students the next highest representation. The teacher demographic mirrored the students. However, in both schools the African American and Latino students had a high incompletion rate of finishing high school. Due to the nature of the study, the researchers interviewed only English teachers and chose two. Each of the teachers taught two junior English classes.

The researchers collected curriculum material with a positive emphasis, associated with rap music and culture. The material included a mini-library of multimedia, music videos, newspapers, short stories, posters, CDs, text of songs, and TV specials. Several themes emerged from the materials including identity and self-
definition, values and beliefs, and the role and influence of the media in cultural production. Instruction was presented 2 days a week for 12 weeks. Instruction began with writing prompts that connected the students to their personal experiences, then moved them into discussions and writing of analytical/persuasive pieces. The researchers observed, audio taped, interviewed teachers and selected students, and utilized pretest/post-test writing prompts for data. The writing prompts were given orally and in writing and all students had the same amount of time to respond to the essay. The scorers assessed for coherency of argument, development of argument and persuasiveness of argument. The two scorers of the writing prompt were not aware of which prompt they were scoring.

Results of the analysis of the writing prompts were inconclusive. However, in general the researchers found that students were highly motivated by the content of the intervention and did show improvement in their writing. Five other major results evidence, (1) many students exhibited significant competence in both oral and written production of rap texts; (2) teachers reported students with a history of apathy and minimal participation were highly engaged; (3) many of the most successful rap artists were proficient in edited English; (4) one of the teachers felt that her students did not accept her teaching rap; and (5) the curriculum material had an ephemeral shelf life.

Although this study concluded that the writing prompt analysis was inconclusive, the observational and interview data provided a richer picture of the effects of utilizing rap music and culture to bridge to other literary texts. For example, the teachers continually noticed that the students who usually were apathetic and
minimally participated were highly engaged and that many of the students showed proficiency in both oral and written production of rap texts. It is also interesting to note that the data revealed a connection between literary elements of the rap text and other literary text. The researchers and teachers concluded that curriculum material could incorporate students' authentic life experiences into the classroom, which increased the engagement and bridging of school and personal life.

Duncan-Andrade and Morrell (2000) argued that hip-hop music is an effective way to reach marginalized urban youth and to teach critical and analytical skills necessary for success in school. This study utilized an intervention/observational model. There was no control group. There was no mention of the age or demographic make up of the students involved. Data collected included observations, field notes, interviews, and copies of written work.

The intervention consisted of a poetry unit that combined the expected poetry curriculum with hip-hop literary connections. The authors focused on the development of issues and ideas presented in poetry and song as a vehicle to expository writing. The expected curriculum covered poetry from the Elizabethan Age, the Puritan Revolution, and the Romantics. It also involved the development of oral and written debating skills, the ability to work in groups, how to critique a poem/song, developing note taking skills, and giving a formal presentation. The unit incorporated an overview of poetry, its elements and functions in relation to history, an anthology of ten poems, including six original poems, and a critical essay of a chosen song. The final presentation involved creating a justifiable interpretation of an assigned poem and a hip-hop song with
relation to its history: in addition, to provide an analytical link of literary elements between the poem and song.

All the data held consistent with the stated objectives of exposing students to poetry facilitated through hip-hop. One student responded, “I appreciate hip-hop like already. And so now, I can appreciate poetry as well, ya’ll did a great job of relating both of them” (p.28). For example, one group of students related Grand Master Flash to T. S. Eliot and their respective social commentary about their respective deteriorating societies. Through the interviews and the projects, the students gave evidence of a transfer of critical analysis skills from hip-hop to the expected curriculum.

The authors concluded that utilizing hip-hop as a tool to engage students in critical literary analysis, is viable. In addition, students were highly capable of transferring their analytical skills of hip-hop to more traditional literary texts. The next step for this study is to analyze the written data, conversations, and presentations for literary events and proficiency elements.

Tyson (2002) conducted an exploratory study of the therapeutic potential of a rap music intervention in group work with youth. He aimed at improving the therapeutic experience through synergy of rap music, bibliotherapy, and music therapy. Data was collected for 11 teenagers (four males, two African-American, one White, one Hispanic, and one Hispanic female) in the experimental group (mean age = 15.4 years), and six (three males, two African American, one Hispanic, three females, two African Americans, and one Hispanic), in the comparison group (mean age = 16.2 years). The study utilized a pretest-posttest design with random assignment (based on the patient
number). The experiment was conducted at an in-patient youth shelter. Hip-Hop Therapy (HHT) group and control group sessions were scheduled for three times a week for four (nonconsecutive) weeks. All participants completed the Self-Concept Scale For Children (SC), a 22 item Likert scale used to measure self-concept in children (reliability range .73 to .91) and the Index of Peer Relations (IPR) which distinguishes between clients having or not having peer relationship problems (reliability .94). HHT sessions and comparison group sessions were conducted at the same time of the day. Hip-hop was incorporated by having the HHT group listen to a song, and then discuss it in the group. All songs reviewed in the group had themes relevant to improved self-identity, peace, unity, cooperation, and individual and ethnic group progress.

Results, although not statistically significant, do point to improvement for the HHT group on the IPR. Qualitative data collected during debriefing sessions indicated that participants had been excited and enthusiastic about sessions. Youth also commented that they appreciated the group leaders respecting "their" music. The study was limited by a small sample. Yet, the results, particularly individual participants' comments, do indicate that HHT could be a viable tool to assist practitioners working with at-risk or delinquent youth.

In the final case study, Paul (2000) recounted his efforts to incorporate rap in a teacher education workshop. He had previously decided to use hip-hop in his classroom with students, but wanted to expose more teachers to this tool that promotes cultural synchronization. The school staff was comprised of 80% middle-class, European American descent and 70% female. At the same time, the student population
was predominantly from urban, lower-income areas. The controversial lyrics, resistance to discussing the controversial lyrics, and a lack of knowledge made the majority of the teachers resistant to incorporating rap into curriculum. To demonstrate the positive aspects of rap in the classroom, Paul lead the teachers through a group exercise that analyzed rap videos and music. Half of the groups watched videos (e.g. Jay Z's "Hard Knock Life" which samples audio from the Broadway musical Annie), and half listened to audio cassettes (e.g. Public Enemy's "Fight the Power", which samples Martin Luther King Jr.).

Through the exercise, participants were exposed to a variety of rap genres and discussed the aspects of songs on many levels; they inquired into social, political, musical, and romantic aspects of the songs. Most importantly, they inquired into the cultural implications of using rap's violence, misogyny, and homophobia (all major reasons why they would not use rap in the classroom) for instruction. Even if it is just to, "teach students about the evils of rap from the teacher's vantage point," (Paul, 2002, Rap and critical media literacy section, ¶ 10) it is still a culturally synchronizing effort, and therefore likely more engaging for students.

All of the research in this section indicates that hip-hop can be used as a tool for teaching. Both negative and positive message rap was used, age levels ranged from preschool to adult, and hip-hop was used in a variety of content areas. As mentioned in Paul's (2002) study, the most reluctant to use hip-hop in the classroom are those most unfamiliar with hip-hop and possibly popular culture in general. This research suggests
that for hip-hop to be an effective teaching tool, educators must be open to learning about it on their own and from their students.

Summary

To fully understand the effects of hip-hop on adolescent identity development further research is needed. This chapter reviewed research that identified the many elements of media, identity and race that require investigation. Findings in this chapter underscored the availability of opportunities to consume mass media in adolescents' lives. It also indicated that youth made conscious decisions about the media that they consumed, and often it was indicative of the identity they seek. The variety of messages present in popular culture includes rap lyrics which have been analyzed and found to promote violence, drug use, and misogyny.

Hip-hop must be investigated in the context of ethnic identity. Youth want to belong, and the findings linking self-esteem to ethnic identity point to the emotional satisfaction of identifying with a group. Yet, when White youth appropriate a culture that is not theirs the negative impacts may fall on the group from which the culture was appropriated (Ziff & Rao, 1997, p.17). High school students are navigating these impacts by utilizing separation or multicultural strategies to manage cross-ethnic relations, while at the same time combating stereotypes. Rather than criticize the negative messages of rap, the lyrics should be utilized to discuss these socio-cultural tensions and investigate media. Promoting critical media literacy will engage students and inform teachers of popular media. Chapter four provides a discussion of the research findings, classroom implications and implications for further research.
CHAPTER FOUR: CONCLUSION

Introduction

This chapter summarizes the research findings in chapter three, identifies classroom implications and suggestions for further research into the effects of hip-hop on adolescent identity development. Chapter one detailed the importance of understanding the role of popular culture in adolescent identity development. As a recent and prevalent addition to popular culture, hip-hop research is necessary to gain insight and relate to youths' choices of language, role models, and expressions of emotion. Chapter two reviewed the history of adolescence, popular music, adolescent media use, identity development theory, and media literacy education as preparation for the relatively new findings outlined in chapter three.

The research detailed in chapter three found that media is ever present in adolescents' lives and they are conscious consumers. This is supported by examples of using popular culture in schools, which has proven effective in engaging students with the material. Yet, popular culture has in it a variety of messages and rap lyrics that have been analyzed are predominantly negative and promote violence, drug use, and misogyny. By investigating the effects of hip-hop, a culture rooted in Black America, ethnic identity must be addressed. The findings linking self-esteem to ethnic identity point to the importance of youth finding a place to belong. Still, there may be implications if White youth appropriate a culture that is not theirs. These implications play out in high school as students utilize separation or multicultural strategies to manage cross-ethnic relations, while at the same time combating stereotypes. The
messages in rap music can be utilized to discuss these socio-cultural tensions and investigate media. Promoting cultural synchronization of school culture and adolescent culture will engage students, inform teachers of popular media and provide a forum for critical thinking. Instead of tearing down rap for negative messages, educators should utilize hip-hop culture as a point of access to discuss the meaning behind the messages.

Summary of Findings

Research investigating the impact of hip-hop culture and rap music on adolescent identity development is still emerging. Information offered in chapter three connects the dots of popular culture and hip-hop research to draw out an argument for increased media literacy in schools. These connections begin with understanding the prevalence of media in youth's lives. The ever present nature of popular culture media led to an examination of how youth interpret and incorporate popular culture identities into their lives. In order to understand the impact of youth's popular culture media use, the content of popular culture media was examined and revealed many negative messages present in lyrics and video images of popular music. Concurrent with the content analysis were studies conducted to determine the impact of these negative messages on youth behavior and attitudes. The line of dots then leads to the issue of race and ethnic identity in relation to popular culture and school culture. This area requires more research, but those studies available indicated that stereotypes in hip-hop culture are viewed as negative. Linking these findings to group identity research and cultural appropriation case studies, research suggested that self-esteem is impacted positively by group ethnic identity congruence and negatively by the perpetuation of
stereotypes. The final connection completes the review of research by examining the success of using hip-hop in schools. Incorporating rap in the classroom promotes literacy and critical thinking whether it is about the textual components of rap and poetry or addressing the socio-cultural implications of rap's negative and positive lyrics.

Media and Identity

The research studies reviewed in chapter three revealed the pervasive nature of mass media and adolescents' ability to actively construct meaning from popular culture. Boon and Lomore's (2001) findings indicated that adolescents choose role models from popular media more than half the time.

Critical media literacy was identified in two case studies, Dyson (2003) and Steven's (2001) as promoting student literacy and engagement with class content. These results are also supported in the Hip-Hop in school section where all case studies reported positive results after incorporating popular media (i.e. rap) into the curriculum.

Rap promotes violence, drug use, and misogyny

Focusing on rap, as a form of popular culture, the content analysis of rap lyrics by Gow (1996) and Seidman (1992, 1999) identified the prevalence of sex-typed gender-roles on MTV. Messages in lyrics and video images promoting violence, drug use and misogyny were found in four studies. The most comprehensive study came from Roberts, Christenson, Henriksen, and Bandy (2002) who used the largest sample of videos. As these messages permeate the media consumed daily by youth, research has been directed to examining the impact of rap's negative messages. In the research reviewed here, the findings indicated that violent and misogynist lyrics and video
images impacted youth in negative ways. Data on increased aggression and acceptance of violence toward women after exposure to rap lyrics, as was found to be reliable in three of six studies (Ballard & Coates, 1995; Barongan & Nagayama, 1995; Johnson, Adams & Ashburn, 1995). Only one content analysis study (Aldridge & Carlin, 1993) indicated rap had a positive effect.

**Hip-Hop and Race**

With its roots in Black culture, hip-hop cannot be analyzed without investigating ethnic identity. Studies presented by Levine, Carmines and Sniderman (1999), identified the dimensional aspect of stereotypes and the connection between positive and negative stereotypes. Stereotypes were investigated within the context of hip-hop media by Alejandro (2002). Results emerged that indicated low appreciation for hip-hop's use of Black stereotypes. In high school, where hip-hop is a highly consumed media, the navigation of ethnic group identity is linked to self-esteem and congruence with the ethnicity of the student population and staff (French, Seidman, Allen, and Aber, 2000; Hamm and Coleman, 2001; Phinney, Canto, and Kurtz, 1997). Case studies by Bucholtz (1999) and Cutler (1998), explored White youth's exploration and appropriation of Black culture. Due to the superficial investigation of their appropriated identity, it is suggested that the racial barriers these youth attempt to cross are, in fact, fortified by their appropriation and assist in perpetuating stereotypes. This information is compounded by the final study in the section by Sweetland (2002), that indicated White's consumption of rap is primarily superficial ("I like the beat") in nature and does not cause either Black or White youth to question racism.
Hip-Hop in School

Although evidence presented paints a negative picture of rap, case studies indicate rap has value in the classroom (Duncan-Andrade & Morrell, 2000; Hicks, 1987; Mahiri, 1996; Morrow-Pretlow, 1994; Tyson, 2002). All studies reported positive results when incorporating rap into their lessons. In addition, Paul (2002) showed increased media literacy among teachers who were introduced to hip-hop songs through a professional development workshop.

Classroom Implications

Media and Identity

Understanding the massive amounts of media that youth are exposed to can help teachers design lessons that promote media literacy skills and create curriculum relevant to adolescent lives. It can also develop students' skills in becoming smart consumers of media. Popular culture can be used to make all subjects relevant to youth. Class lessons could include investigations of economics in television or music production, literary forms in music and film, history through protest songs, the science of special effects, and statistics of students' favorite sports stars.

The research conducted by Bomnick and Swallow (1999), and Boon and Lomore (2001) found adolescents predominantly choose male role models and heroes from popular culture. Recognizing the under representation of women in popular culture, educators should provide more positive female role models. Teachers can incorporate lesser known women in popular culture and promote women who work in fields of studies associated with class content.
Using popular culture in the classroom requires teachers to look beyond the basic textbooks and consume some of the same media forms of youth. Denying the impact of popular culture in the classroom could, in effect, deny adolescents' identities as Koza (1999) explained, "Ignoring or denouncing popular culture -- the culture of the people -- sends elitist messages about whose understandings of the world do or do not count, both in schools and in the dominant culture" (p. 65). Acceptance of popular culture media in schools promotes positive identity development and self-esteem by validating students' choices of entertainment and role models, while offering a forum from which to lead discussion and promote critical thinking among adolescents regarding their media consumption.

**Rap Lyrics Promote Violence, Drugs, and Misogyny**

This data outlines the detrimental messages present in rap lyrics. Rap songs with negative messages should be utilized in the classroom to facilitate a discussion about societal issues. In addition, educators should incorporate rap music with positive messages to first demonstrate acceptance of popular culture forms in the classroom and second, to expose students to a wider range of rap artists than are currently represented through popular culture media.

Research presented gives sufficient evidence that negative messages in rap music promote violence, misogyny and substance abuse. Youth exposed to these lyrics and images may adopt identities desensitized to these issues and perpetuate them. The research presented regarding violent response to rap lyrics (Ballard & Coates, 1995; Barongan & Nagayama, 1995; Johnson, Adams & Ashburn, 1995) supports this.
Negative rap lyrics should not be ignored in the classroom. Songs can be investigated from a historical or sociological standpoint to promote critical thinking among students about the societal, political and emotional circumstances that inspired the lyrics, as well as discussions about the impact of these lyrics on society.

Hip-hop artists with positive messages are under represented in mainstream media. Exposing students to positive rap lyrics in classrooms will work to change stereotypical views of hip-hop artists and raise awareness of adolescents to the wide range of popular music available. Introducing youth to positive popular culture role models will increase the likelihood that adolescents will choose positive identity attachments and in turn, could increase self-esteem.

**Hip-Hop, Race, and Identity**

The literature indicated that White adolescents' consumption of hip-hop media is often superficial in nature. As with the negative messages of violence, misogyny, and drug abuse, hip-hop has messages of racial, political, and economic tension. If White consumers are listening to hip-hop "for the beat" (Sullivan, 2003) or as identification with Black male masculinity (Bucholtz, 1999), then teachers and parents should promote critical media literacy of the lyrics and history behind them. In this, White youth can gain insight into why rap is so popular to the Black audience and why White rap fans are not always accepted by hip-hop culture.

Research presented suggests that self-esteem is connected to strong ethnic or group identity (Alejandro, 2002; Phinney, Cantu, & Kurtz 1997). In addition, students utilize many strategies for cross-ethnic interactions (Hamm & Coleman, 2001). Hip-hop
can be used as a teaching tool to investigate stereotypes in school, community, and national culture. Dispelling stereotypes in school culture may improve ethnic and group identity as well as cross ethnic relations among adolescents.

**Hip-Hop in School**

Research on the use of hip-hop in school support the previous three sections of classroom implications. All of the studies inquiring about the affects of hip-hop in the classroom (Duncan-Andrade & Morrell, 2000; Hicks, 1987; Mahiri, 1996; Morrow-Pretlow, 1994; Paul, 2000; Tyson, 2002) reported positive results in student engagement and motivation. These results suggest hip-hop can affect positive identity development by increasing self-confidence in school work. Relating popular culture to "traditional" content provides relevance for students and may increase academic perseverance through high interest in the subject matter.

**Implications for Further Research**

**Media and Identity**

The research studies reviewed in chapter three reveal the pervasive nature of mass media and adolescents ability to actively construct meaning from popular culture. Many quantitative studies have been conducted on mass media's messages and effects on adolescents. With the growing acceptance of media literacy in the U.S., further research should inquire about how adolescent media choices are affected by critical media literacy education. This investigation should include qualitative assessment about how adolescents' attitudes toward mass media and media consumption habits are changed by media literacy. Studies presented (Steele & Brown, 1995; Stevens, 2001)
suggest that youth are not passive consumers and think about the media choices they make. Further study could compare pre/post consumer attitudes and buying habits of youth who have been taught about media marketing such as, advertising techniques, industry hierarchy, and propaganda.

**Rap Lyrics and Video Images Promote Violence, Drug Use, and Misogyny**

Analysis of rap lyrics has been focused on the negative genres of rap, but this has ignored whole sectors of the hip-hop community who produce and promote positive messages in rap music. To discover the true impacts of hip-hop on adolescent identity development, more research must be pursued that investigates all elements of rap. As research has evidenced, negative rap lyrics have produced negative responses in some subjects (Ballard & Coates, 1995; Barongan & Nagayama, 1995; Johnson, Adams & Ashburn, 1995). Research should examine how positive rap lyrics affect responses in a similar way.

To understand hip-hop’s affect on identity development, experiments should include a younger demographic and account for music preferences, socio-economic status, and ethnic identity. Outlying factors in adolescent lives should be considered to clarify how rap lyrics are interpreted. Observation and analysis of younger participants' interpretation of lyrics would give details about what age youth attach identities to hip-hop and what aspects they imitate with or without understanding its meaning. Many of the studies reviewed did not account for music preference. Participants who already have a strong aversion or appeal to hip-hop must be accounted for in further research to distinguish between responses to lyrics or responses to an attitude they have previously
formed about hip-hop. By accounting for socio-economic status and ethnic/racial identity of participants, further research can provide a more comprehensive data bank of how youth who have been affected by the same situations discussed in rap lyrics respond versus responses from youth who do not have real-life experiences to relate. Considering these factors will account for those who have a superficial appreciation for the beat or cultural style as opposed to those who understand the messages and actively participate in hip-hop culture.

**Hip-Hop, Race, and Identity**

This is an emerging field of research with many variables to consider. As research continues, studies should strive for larger sample sizes and more diverse demographics. In this area cultural appropriation plays a role in the self-esteem of youth hip-hop fans. Research should be pursued that investigates the self-esteem of Black, and Latino youth who experience White middle class youth appropriation of hip-hop culture. Further research should also be conducted to examine the attitudes of White hip-hop fans once they are made aware of political, societal, historical and economic elements of rap music.

**Hip-Hop in School**

Evidence suggests that hip-hop is a useful teaching tool (Duncan-Andrade & Morrell, 2000; Hicks, 1987; Mahiri, 1996; Morrow-Pretlow, 1994; Tyson, 2002). Students who participated in lessons that incorporated hip-hop were more engaged and motivated. Further case studies should be conducted over longer time periods, consider how race and socioeconomic status impact success in hip-hop lessons, and the timeliness
of curriculum materials. Some of the research examined was limited by time. Lessons were presented once and the excitement of non-traditional curriculum may have biased the students' response. Lengthening studies will eliminate the novelty of non-traditional instruction. Along with lengthening studies, understanding the effectiveness of hip-hop as a teaching tool can be further clarified by examining the school participants' demographics. Using popular culture in the classroom may only be effective if teachers understand what aspects of popular culture are desired by different student demographics. In addition, the fast changing music industry provides a challenge for using rap in the classroom. High profile artists may be different from week to week. Further research should consider the timeliness of a curriculum that incorporates hip-hop and techniques that can keep the curriculum up to date and engaging for students.

Conclusion

This paper examined the effects of popular culture, specifically hip-hop media, on adolescent identity development. Caught between childhood and adulthood, adolescents search for ways to express themselves through language, dress, and choice of idols in popular music. Hip-hop music has been targeted as a negative influence on people, particularly adolescents. The global popularity of hip-hop music has provoked research into the messages and interpretations of rap music by youth.

In contrast to the focus on negative impacts of lyrics and images, a small canon of research exists that shows hip-hop has been successful as a teaching tool in classrooms. Teachers connect traditional content to popular culture subjects that are prevalent in adolescent lives. Using media literacy in classrooms promotes critical thinking and aids
students' awareness of how mass media affects them. Understanding the developmental stage of adolescence coupled with the prevalence of mass media communications of popular culture, specifically hip-hop, educators can employ media literacy as a means of enabling students to make informed media consumption choices and relationships to identities in popular culture.
REFERENCES


