… Be yo' health …

About the meaning of a healthy lifestyle and sports within hip hop culture and about a comparison between Q- methodology and Likert scale questionnaires.

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List of Acronyms

B- boy/girl:	Break boy/girl or 'breakdancer'
BRAVO:	Bewegen, Roken, Alcohol, Voeding, Ontspanning (Exercise, Smoking, Nutrition, relaxation).
DJ:	Disc Jockey
MC:	Master of Ceremony or 'rapper'
MPQ:	Musical Preference Questionnaire
NNGB:	Nederlandse Norm Gezond Bewegen (Dutch norm for healthy exersize)
PCIQ:	Peer Crowd Identification Questionnaire
RSO:	Nationale Richtlijn Sportdeelname Onderzoek
VMBO:	Voorbereidend Middelbaar Beroeps Onderwijs
VMBO B:	VMBO Basis Beroepsgerichte Leerweg (BBL)
VMBO K:	Kader Beroepsgerichte Leerweg (KBL)
VMBO G:	Gemengde Leerweg
VMBO T:	Theoretische Leerweg (TL)
WUR:	Wageningen University and Research centre

Summary

The concern of many people is that children nowadays often do not live the healthy lifestyles they need in order to live a long and healthy live. This belief entails that health can be managed and it forms a part of the general 'healthism' discourse which is the dominant health discourse in Western countries. From an early age children appear to know what is healthy and what not, but as children get older there seems to be a gap between knowledge and behaviour. As children age, the influence of peers and youth cultures increases. The aim of the study was specifically focused on adolescents who felt affiliated with hip hop youth culture and the meaning that they attached to a healthy lifestyle and sports. Also a methodological aim was formulated in order to gain insight in the differences between the responses that are given by respondents in questionnaires compared to Q-sorts.

In this study, the health discourse of hip hoppers is viewed along with the dominant Western 'healthism' discourse which consists of a focus on individual effort and discipline, mainly aimed at managing the size and shape of the body which will than ultimately lead to a state of health. Physical activity and sport also are examined as well as behaviours of adolescents with regard to health and sports. The main focus is on the hip hop youth culture. A youth culture is described by the literature as social subgroups which are influenced by, but also differ from, wider societal culture by its habits, practices, beliefs, skills, symbols, norms and values and often style and musical preference, that are recognized, shared and adopted by a specific group of young people. Hip hop culture is the youth culture of interest in this thesis. Hip hop originated in the ghettos of New York city as a cultural force of creativity, unity and social protest, but has now become a global cultural phenomenon.

The methodological part of this thesis is about Likert scale questionnaires which were compared with a form of Q- methodology. In Likert scale questionnaires, respondents show their attitude towards a topic by responding to a statement on a continuum which often consists of five or seven points ranging between two extremes (e.g. "I strongly disagree" to "I strongly agree"). In Q-methodology, respondents give their opinion by placing cards with the statements on a continuum which also ranges from "I totally disagree" to "I totally agree". This placing of the statements is called the Q- sorting process.

Likert scale questionnaires were conducted among 190 adolescents between the ages of 14 and 18 who were attending education at a VMBO level on two Dutch schools. In order to gain information about the respondents' views on a healthy lifestyle and sports, Likert scale questionnaires, a form of Q- methodology and interviews were used. Q- methodology and the interviews were conducted on a selection of 14 respondents who felt highly affiliated with hip hop culture. The selection was made on the basis of the results from the first two items of the Likert scale questionnaire which were about youth cultures and musical preference.

In sum the first general research question can be answered by saying that hip hoppers in this research appeared to have a fairly mainstream view on a healthy lifestyle and sports. A healthy lifestyle was about managing dietary habits, substance use and exercise. Appearance can also be seen as an indicator for health since being too fat or too skinny is not healthy according to the respondents. Hip hoppers do appear to be slightly less extreme in this compared to non- hip hoppers. Hip hoppers do not always have a healthy lifestyle, but they know what is healthy and what not.

There appears to be a gap between knowledge and behaviour among hip hoppers. This shows in the fact that the odds of hip hoppers in the study to use cannabis, appeared to be almost seven times higher than for non- hip hoppers. Sports seemed to be of more importance for male hip hoppers than for girls as female hip hoppers emphasised more on being active. Generally being active appeared to be important for hip hoppers. Hip hoppers also appeared to be significantly more active than non- hip hoppers. There were no significant differences found for participation sports.

The answer for the second general research question can be summarised by saying that ten statements appeared to be difficult to answer reliably as the responses showed significant discrepancies across the two methods. The respondents preferred the Q- sorts over the questionnaire. The setting in which the questionnaires were conducted, differed from the setting in which the Q- sorts were conducted which might have contributed to the discrepancies between the responses of both methods. Related to the setting is the issue of social desirability as the Q- sorts were conducted in a more controlled environment under supervision of the researcher, while the questionnaire was in a more open environment which allowed interaction between respondents.

1. Introduction

"I let my tape rock 'till my tape popped
Smokin' weed and bamboo, sippin' on private stock
Way back when I had the red and black lumberjack,
With the hat to match.

Remember Rappin' Duke? Duh- ha, duh- ha,
You never thought that hip hop would take it this far
Now I'm in the limelight 'cause I rhyme tight
Time to get paid, blow up like the World Trade.

Born sinner, the opposite of a winner,
Remember when I used to eat sardines for dinner"
The notorious B.I.G – Juicy (www.metrolyrics.com)

This segment of the track 'Juicy' by legendary rapper The Notorious B.I.G. (Christopher Wallace) shows an image of the life of a young black male who deals with the struggles of everyday life in the ghettos of New York city. Many rappers with such a background have become famous by telling their story through rap music. This type of music is part of a greater hip hop (youth) culture which appeals to many (young) people across the globe.

The example of the above mentioned song by The Notorious B.I.G., there are many images of unhealthy practices in hip hop music which could be connected to hip hop culture. Hip hop culture for instance is infamous for its drug- and alcohol use, as there are numerous examples of rappers who drink alcohol or smoke cannabis in music videos. There also are rappers who are known for being overweight, but others appear to be very fit. B-boys (break dancers) also are part of the hip hop scene and they are known for being very athletic and fit. This shows that health in hip hop appears to be of mixed importance to hip hoppers. It is interesting to see if images and lyrics from iconic people in hip hop, coincide with the perceptions and behaviours of adolescents with regard to lifestyle. Or more specifically, is there a difference in the way that people who feel affiliated with hip hop culture and those who do not, view a healthy lifestyle and sports?

The literature shows next to age and youth culture, other variables that are of influence on behaviour regarding a healthy lifestyle and sports. Differences have been found in gender, ethnic background and educational level. The literature also showed marginalized adolescents appeared to be more often attracted to hip hop culture (Osumare, 2001).

Along with the aim of gaining knowledge about the meaning of a healthy lifestyle and sports according to VMBO students who feel affiliated to hip hop culture, this thesis also has a methodological aim. Questionnaires are often used as data collection method for research about perceptions and attitudes. In order to get an image of respondents' perceptions or attitudes, Likert scale questionnaires are often used in which respondents have to report if they agree or disagree with a certain statement by checking one of the given boxes. This method is often used but whether this method is preferable when studying adolescents who study at a VMBO level, could be debatable. Self-administered questionnaires are a fairly theoretical method in which the respondents have to

read and write. VMBO students (especially the lower levels, Kader and Basis) are more practically oriented which might cause disinterest in the questionnaire which might lead to non- response or response bias. Another, less often used but more practical, method is Q- methodology in which respondents have to respond to statements which are printed on cards. These cards should than be placed on a continuum like in the Likert scale questionnaires ('totally agree' to 'totally disagree').

In the thesis both of these methodologies were used in order to compare the responses on statements about topics regarding sports, and a healthy lifestyle. In depth semi- structured interviews were also conducted in combination with the Q- sorts. In these interviews respondents were more explicitly asked about their views on several aspects of sports and a healthy lifestyle. They were also asked about what they thought was the position of sports and a healthy lifestyle within hip hop culture.

The aim of this study is to gain knowledge about the meaning that is given to a healthy lifestyle and sports by adolescent "hip hoppers", who follow their education at a VMBO level. The methodological aim is to gain knowledge about differences between the data gathered by using Q- methodology and Likert scale questionnaires. These aims resulted in two general research questions which formed the starting point for this study.

1. What meaning is given to a healthy lifestyle and sports, by adolescents (14-18 years, who study at a VMBO level), who feel affiliated with hip hop youth culture?
    a) What type of children are drawn by this youth culture?
    b) What is the health discourse (including sports) of hip hoppers?
    c) What are the differences between the 'hip hop' health discourse and the dominant 'healthism' discourse?
    d) What are the differences in behaviour of hip hoppers regarding a healthy lifestyle and sports compared to non- hip hoppers?

2. Which differences can be identified when comparing the responses of Q- sorts with the responses from Likert scale questionnaires?
    a) What is the preferred method among respondents and why?
    b) Which statements appear to be problematic to answer reliably?

The second, third and fourth chapter of the thesis form the theoretical framework. In the second chapter an explanation of the terms health, a healthy lifestyle and sports are given. The chapter also contains information regarding the main discourse about health and the numbers on health related behaviours of adolescents. The third chapter is about youth cultures. It contains a definition of what youth cultures are, an overview of popular youth cultures in the Netherlands, health related behaviours of member of different youth cultures and an explanation of hip hop culture is given. In the fourth chapter the theory behind questionnaire design and answering questions is explained. The fifth chapter contains the methodology that has been used for this study. Chapter six consists of the results from the questionnaires and chapter seven is about the results from the interviews. Chapter eight consists of the comparison between the results from the Q- sorts and the questionnaire. This chapter is followed by the discussion and conclusion.

2. A healthy lifestyle and sport

A healthy lifestyle might have a different meaning to different people. People's general perceptions towards a healthy lifestyle can be seen as a part of the public health discourse. General information regarding health and sports is given in the first part of this chapter. The second part shows perceptions and behaviour of adolescents regarding a healthy lifestyle and sports. The information in this chapter forms the theoretical framework for research questions 1.b, 1.c and 1.d.

2.1 What is health(y)?

The concept of health is, according to the definition of the World Health Organisation (WHO), about physical, mental and social well- being and not just the absence of disease or disability (Larson, 1999; Lindström, 1992). This definition has been criticized for different reasons but it still is one of the most popular definitions to date (Larson, 1999; Lindström, 1992). For this research the definition is suitable as it covers the most vital elements of health.

Lifestyle is a concept which entails the way people live their lives. It concerns the way people make choices regarding consumptive habits, exercise, work, relaxation etcetera. In the Netherlands the term BRAVO (Bewegen (exercise), Roken (smoking), Alcohol, Voeding (nutrition), Ontspanning (relaxation)) is used to describe the activities that have to do with lifestyle (Proper et al, 2005).

When the two concepts are put together, a new concept is formed: a healthy lifestyle. A healthy lifestyle can be seen as a way of living in which a person makes choices regarding one's consumptive habits (nutrition, smoking and alcohol use), exercise, relaxation. These choices should be aimed at obtaining or maintaining a state of social, mental and physical well- being.

2.1.1 Healthism

There is a difference between the way health is defined and the way it is perceived by people. In order to get an image of the way health is perceived, one can look at the general public health discourses in a certain society. This study will focus on a dominant health discourse in Western societies. Discourse could be explained here as "*sets of meanings that are produced through written, spoken and/or visual representations (including media images, styles of dress, ways of moving, and patterns of consumption) and that circulate and constitute knowledge around the cultural and social practices of communities and institutions"* (Webb, Quennerstedt & Öhman, 2008 p. 354).

Various researchers believe that there are many different health discourses but the most dominant health discourse in Western Countries is the 'healthism' discourse (Lee & MacDonald, 2010). This discourse consists of a focus on individual effort and discipline, mainly aimed at managing the size and shape of the body which will than ultimately lead to a state of health (Lee & MacDonald, 2010). This discourse thus lays an emphasis on appearance (slim body) and on the way to achieve this. It is fairly limited in its scope as it does not take other lifestyle factors into account that might influence health. Linked with this shortcoming is the presupposition that a slim body is a healthy body. Another effect of the discourse is that it creates a distinction between 'good bodies' and 'bad bodies' (Wright, O'Flynn & MacDonald, 2006). If a person manages his or her body well, it will show in a slim, lean trained ('good') body. But if someone for instance is obese, he or she will have a fat, untrained (and thus 'bad') body. If a person has a bad body, this also is his or her own fault according to this discourse. It is said that this discourse puts pressure on people as it more or less forces them to live their life a certain way (Wright, O'Flynn & MacDonald, 2006). From an early age on children have been told, and thus 'know', that eating fruit and vegetables, regular physical activity and not

smoking are good for their health and they also can articulate that weight, shape and beauty are indicators for health (Burrows, Wright & Jungersen-Smith, 2002). There seems to be a gap between youngsters' knowledge about health and their behaviour as adolescents are often accused of engaging in risky and often unhealthy behaviours. Peer pressure, different media, the urge to push and/or cross boundaries and globalization often are blamed for creating this gap between behaviour and knowledge (Burrows & Wright, 2010).

2.1.2 Sports

Sports can be seen as specific types of physical activity. The RSO (Nationale Richtlijn Sportdeelname Onderzoek), which is an initiative aimed at creating an image of participation in sports, formulated a definition of sport. The definition entails that a sport is an activity which:

"- often takes place in a specifically organized fashion but also can be practiced in an unorganized fashion.
- generally needs usage of a specific spatial feature and/or environment.
- is related to regulations and practices that have been developed internationally for the purpose of achievements with game- or competition elements in the particular activity or in related activities." (Hoyng, Roques & Bottenburg, 2003, *Kerngegevens Sportdeelname*, p. 150).

The sports that are frequently practiced by 12-17 year old adolescents are football (38%), swimming (14%), gymnastics (5%), running (5%) and tennis (5%) (Tiessen- Raaphorst, 2010). Many young people play competitive sports in organized clubs at one of the approximately 27000 sport clubs in the Netherlands (Kalmthout & de Jong, 2010). Most traditional sport clubs have special youth teams which are organized by age and skill. These teams play in different leagues or divisions (regional or national) which are organized by national federations for the specific sports (Elling, De Knop & Knoppers, 2001). In total, 65% of the 12-17 year old adolescents in the Netherlands was a registered member of a sports club in 2007 (Lucassen et al., 2010). There are also people who prefer to practice their sport in an unorganized setting or with a commercial organization like in a wall climbing facility, indoor ski accommodations etcetera. About 17% of the 13-18 year old adolescents visits the gym to work out (Breedveld et al., 2010).

Earlier research has shown strong connections between health status and physical activity, not only for adults, but also during childhood and adolescence (Ferron et al., 1999). Adolescents with lower levels of involvement in a sports activity, have been linked to a tendency to adopt certain experimental behaviours. A lower frequency of sports activity among adolescents, has for instance been associated with a higher frequency of cigarette smoking or cannabis use (Ferron et al., 1999).

2.2. Adolescents' behaviour regarding a healthy lifestyle and sports

There are several differences between both adolescents' behaviour and their perception concerning health and a healthy lifestyle (Shae & Beausoleil, 2012; Lee & MacDonald, 2010; CBS, 2010; Burrows & Wright, 2010; Wright et al. 2006). In the following, an overview is shown of different behaviours that are described by the literature. Since these are often affected by factors like gender, ethnicity, age, and educational level, a division has been made in these categories.

2.2.1 Gender

The way women often are portrayed in the media, creates an image of an ideal (thin) female body, which is almost unachievable for the majority of women. But nowadays not only girls experience pressure to look thin. Boys and men are increasingly influenced by images of trained slender bodies in the media (Borrows et al., 2002). More and more boys engage in fitness activities in order to meet this ideal shape (Wright et al, 2006). Little research has been done on the perception of boys and girls regarding health and a healthy lifestyle in the Netherlands, but an Australian study among 45 girls between the ages of 12-19, shows that adolescent girls view fitness and healthy practices like eating and exercising as a way to maintain a 'healthy' weight and/or a slim figure. By comparing one's physical shape or weight with a certain ideal, one's health could be measured (Wright et al., 2006). The same study among 39 male Australian adolescents showed that the male respondents were far less focused on body shape. The boys mainly mentioned the desire of a fit body and being fit had to do with the capabilities of their bodies (Wright et al., 2006). The same study showed that only a few boys worked out in order to build mass. The ones who did, did not do so for aesthetic reasons but to improve performance.

When different lifestyle behaviours of adolescents are viewed, the literature shows that there are almost no differences in the total number of girls who smoke compared with boys. About 7% of the girls and 8% of the boys who attend high school, smokes on a daily bases (Ewalds & Van Der Mooren, 2011; CBS, 2010; Monshouwer et al., 2008). Boys tend to drink higher quantities and more frequently than girls, but the number of boys and girls that drink alcohol is fairly equal (Van Hasselt et al., 2010; Monshouwer et al, 2008). By the time adolescent girls in the Netherlands reach the age of 17-18 years, about one third of them has come into contact with cannabis. For boys this counts for about half of the 17-18 year olds. The monthly use of cannabis for girls stays stable at approximately 10% at age 15 and older (Monshouwer et al, 2008). As boys age, the monthly prevalence of cannabis use increases from 2% at age 13 to almost 30% at age 17-18 (Monshouwer et al, 2008). About 40% of the 15-19 year olds, manages to meet the NNGB (Nederlandse Norm Gezond Bewegen) norm (Ewalds & Van Der Mooren, 2011). Boys tend to be more physically active than girls in high school and they participate more in sports compared to girls (Ewalds & Van Der Mooren, 2011; De Roos & Bot, 2010). When looking at 12-17 year old children, 65% of the boys and 61% of the girls are frequently active in sport activities (Tiessen- Raaphorst, 2010). Boys are more active in sport clubs than girls (Lucassen et al, 2010). Both boys and girls in the study by Wright et al. (2006) spoke in terms of 'good' and 'bad' food. The 'good' food was healthy and consisted of fruit and vegetables whereas the 'bad' food consisted of junk- or fast food, fatty food and food that is high in sugar. A study among high school children between ages 12 and 16 showed that 79.1% of the girls and 84.5% of the boys eat breakfast during weekdays. The same study shows that 31% of the girls eat one or more pieces of fruit a day and 44.9% eat vegetables at least once a day, which is significantly more than boys their age of whom respectively 23.6% eats fruit, and 36.3% eats vegetables each day (De Roos & Bot, 2010). Candy is consumed by 35.3% of high school girls at least once each day according to the same study.

2.2.2 Ethnic background

Ethnic background is an influential factor when looking at the lifestyle of adolescents. When we look at the indicators of a healthy lifestyle, there are some differences between the lifestyle behaviours of Dutch adolescents and Dutch adolescents with other ethnic backgrounds. The numbers on smoking show that the percentage of girls who smoke daily is highest among girls with a Turkish background

(17%), which is significantly higher compared to Dutch girls (7%). Girls with a Moroccan background have the lowest percentage of daily smokers (2%). (Monshouwer et al, 2008). Alcohol consumption and ethnicity seem to be connected as the numbers show that 20% of Dutch adolescents were considered to be heavy drinkers, compared to 12% of the migrant Dutch population (Ewards & Van Der Mooren, 2011). Dutch adolescents with a non- Western background generally consume less alcoholic beverages, but the ones who do drink, do not differ from their Dutch/ Western peers in the quantity that is consumed (Van Dorsselaer, 2010; Van Hasselt, 2010; Monshouwer et al, 2008). The use of cannabis in the Netherlands does not show big differences between Dutch adolescents and Dutch adolescents with a foreign background (Van Dorsselaer, 2010; Van Hasselt, 2010; Monshouwer et al, 2008). Among migrant Dutch adolescents, there *are* big differences. Adolescents with a Moroccan background refrain from drug use more often and the prevalence of cannabis consumption among adolescents from the Antilles, Aruba and Surinam is higher than that of their Dutch peers (Ewalds & Van Der Mooren, 2011). Statistics concerning exercise among 15-24 year olds show that more than 61% of the Dutch migrant population did not meet the NNGB norm, but since this norm is different for people over 18, this number may not be accurate (Ewalds & Van Der Mooren, 2011). Other data supports the idea that Dutch migrant adolescents are less physically active compared to Dutch adolescents. The average number of days that Dutch adolescents are physically active for at least one hour a day (4.4 days) is significantly higher than for adolescents from a foreign background (3.7 days)(De Roos & Bot, 2010). Dutch adolescents from a non- Western background are less active in sports clubs, but more active than their Dutch peers in unorganized sports and exercise (Lucassen et al., 2010). Ethnicity also plays a role in participation in sports activities as Dutch migrants from a non-Western background tend to participate less in sports than their Dutch/ Western peers (Lucassen et al., 2010; Tiessen- Raaphorst, 2010). Some miss the motivation to play sports because they have other (more fun) things to do, or they believe that they are active enough (Lucassen et al., 2010). Dietary habits also seem to differ among ethnic backgrounds as Dutch adolescents from a foreign background eat breakfast significantly less often (65.3%) than Dutch adolescents (85.4%) and they consume vegetables less often compared to their Dutch peers (respectively 32.6% for migrant adolescents and 41.8% for Dutch adolescents) (De Roos & Bot, 2010).

2.2.3 Educational level

Educational level is another factor that affects some of the lifestyle elements. For this thesis, the emphasis is on students who follow VMBO education. Within this level of education there are different levels: VMBO-b (VMBO Basis Beroepsgerichte Leerweg (BBL)), VMBO-k (Kader Beroepsgerichte Leerweg (KBL)), VMBO-t (Theoretische Leerweg (TL)) and VMBO-g (Gemengde Leerweg) which is a mix of VMBO-t and VMBO-k.

Adolescents who follow a higher level of education are more likely to smoke less than the ones at a lower level. Of students who study at the VMBO-b educational level, about 11% can be counted as a daily smoker with very little difference between boys and girls. Research shows no significant relation between educational level and the prevalence of alcohol consumption among adolescents. There also are no indications for differences in frequency and the amount of alcohol consumed along the different educational levels. (Monshouwer et al, 2008). The motivation to do sport activities differs between educational levels as students in the more practical, lower levels of education do sports less because they think it is fun to do compared to the higher more theoretical levels. The lower levels participate in sports more often to control their weight and to look good

compared to the higher levels. Children with lower social economic status are less active in sports clubs but are more active in unorganized sports and exercise outdoors (Lucassen et al., 2010). Educational level seems to have no significant influence on the prevalence of the use of cannabis, but the frequency of consumption seems to show some differences for girls. In the higher levels of education, a lower frequency of cannabis use is seen compared to the lower levels.

2.2.4 Age

As adolescents get older, they appear to display different behaviour. The prevalence of smoking for instance increases with age. The increase is highest between ages 12-15. In the study by Monshouwer et al. (2008) less than 2% of the children who had just entered high school, reported to be a daily smoker. Children who were two years older showed a prevalence of 7%. At age 12 almost half of the children has had experience with alcohol consumption. This increases with age as at age 15, 89% of the children has had an alcoholic consumption at least once in their lives. The majority starts drinking between the ages of 11-15. The frequency with which alcohol is consumed also increases with age (Monshouwer et al, 2008). The same pattern is detected for cannabis use. Among 13 year old children, the monthly prevalence of cannabis use is 2%. This increases with age as 34% of the boys and 27% of the girls has used cannabis at age 16 (Monshouwer et al, 2008). Age also shows to be an influential factor with regard to physical activity and sport. About 90% of the children between 6-15 years has been active in sports at least 12 times in the past 12 months. This number drops to 80% between the ages 16-18 (Tiessen- Raaphorst, 2010; Van Leest & Verschuren, 2005). Lastly dietary habits also show differences for different age groups. As adolescents age, they become less likely to have breakfast and this is also true for the consumption of fruit. In primary school 92% of the children reported to have breakfast every working day. Among 16 year olds this percentage has dropped to 73%. For boys the consumption of vegetables also declines with age but for girls it appears to stay stable. The snacking behaviour of adolescents also appears to remain stable between the ages of 12 and 16 (De Roos & Bot, 2010).

3. Youth cultures

Alto's, skaters, hip hoppers, fashionista's. These are just a few of the youth cultures that have become popular among adolescents in the Netherlands nowadays. Parents often think that their kids dress and talk strangely and the music that their children listen to sounds terrible. The children might say the same things about their parents. Parents of today's children also were young once and their parents probably thought that their kids' style and music preference were terrible too. This illustrates that youth cultures are of all times. This chapter forms the theoretical framework for the first general research question and specifically research questions 1.a, and 1.d.

3.1 What are youth cultures

Next to the term 'youth cultures', there are other terms that are being used such as: 'sub- cultures' and 'youth (cultural) styles' or 'youth crowds'. There is some debate about the term 'youth culture' and '(youth) subculture'. It has been said that these terms are unable to describe the fluidity and flexibility of these groups (Bennett, 1999). Bennett therefore (1999) offers the alternative term 'neo-tribes'. Due to the (limited) scope of this study, this terminological debate will not be discussed in more detail here and 'youth cultures' and 'youth crowds' will be the terms of preference in this study.

3.1.1. A definition

The term 'youth culture' consists of two elements, being 'youth' and 'culture'. Youth in this context refers to adolescence. Adolescence can be seen as a stage between stages. As an adolescent, a person lives in a phase between childhood and adulthood (Janssen, 1994a; Prins, 2006). The transition from childhood into adolescence starts with the biological maturation of the child (Prins, 2006; Smetana, Campione-Barr & Metzger, 2005). These physical and sexual changes can be measured by looking at primary and secondary sexual characteristics (Fox, Bowers & Foss, 2001; Peterson, 1988). Adolescence is often divided in the literature in three developmental stages, entailing early adolescence (typically ages 10–13), middle adolescence (ages 14–17), and late adolescence (18 until the early twenties) (Smetana, Campione-Barr & Metzger, 2005). The focus of this study is on adolescents from the ages 14 to 18 which can be seen as middle adolescence. This stage is characterized by an increased frequency of arguments and conflicts between parents and children. These conflicts contribute to an increase in the child's independence from their parents (Smetana, Campione-Barr & Metzger, 2005). This stage is also characterized by changes in the social lives of adolescents as they will spend more time with peers from the age of 14 and the influence of these peers will increase (Zeijl, Du Bois-Reymond & Te Poel, 2001). The interaction between peers differs much from the interaction between the peers and their parents. Peer to peer interaction takes place at three levels (Smetana, Campione-Barr & Metzger, 2005). The first level is about friendships and romantic relationships. The second level is about small groups of peers ('cliques') that are connected by friendship and shared activities. The final level of peer interaction that is mentioned consists of crowds. Crowds are groups of adolescents that can be identified by their common interests, attitudes, norms, behaviours, abilities, and/or personal characteristics (Delsing, Ter Bogt, Engels & Meeus, 2007; Verkooijen, Nielsen & de Vries, 2007). In other words one could say that crowds are groups of adolescents that collectively are part of a youth culture.

The other element is 'culture', which can be described as a set of habits, practices, beliefs, skills, norms and values that are recognized, shared and adopted by members of a specific society (Janssen, 1994a.; Janssen, Dechesne & Van Knippenberg, 1999). Janssen (1994b.) mentions that culture also can be described as the ability of individuals to form and colour their own lives. Both descriptions of the concept are relevant as the first one recognises that culture consists of a great variety of elements while the second description puts an emphasis on people's style, character and independence which is relevant when talking about adolescents' (clothing) style and their search for independence. The description of the term 'youth cultures' can be completed with a definition by Clarke et al. (1976 in Muggleton, 2005) which says that youth culture refers to the way in which young people develop distinctive life patterns and give form to their social and material life experience in an expressive manner.

The given definitions still miss two important elements of youth culture which are 'style' (e.g. fashion, appearance) and 'music'. As mentioned in the introduction of this chapter, adolescents often differ from adults in their music preference, but also in style (Haenfler, 2010; Janssen, 1999). Many youth cultures stem from, or are influenced by, popular music like hip hop, rock & roll and punk (Prins, 2006). Youngsters often see popular artists or other celebrities in the media as role-models and they try to copy their style and attitude (Frankenhuis, Van de Hagen & Smelik, 2007). With this taken into account, youth cultures can be seen as social subgroups which are influenced by, but also differ from, wider societal culture by its habits, practices, beliefs, skills, symbols, norms and values and often style and musical preference, that are recognized, shared and adopted by a specific group of young people (Haenfler, 2010; Blackman, 2005; Janssen et al, 1999).

3.1.2 Why do youth cultures exist?

Different theories exist about why youth cultures exist. Nowadays the idea generally entails that being part of a youth culture is about being part of a collective consciousness, a feeling of belonging and being part of something 'cool' (Haenfler, 2010; Janssen et al., 1999). Because 'cool' is not the same for everyone, there are different youth cultures with different interpretations of what is 'cool'. In the first paragraph of this chapter, the importance of peer to peer interaction and relationships during adolescence has been mentioned. By adopting or striving for an admired trait or behaviour, adolescents try to get the approval of the group (Zimmerman, Copeland, Shope, & Dielman, 1997). Conforming to the behaviours and traits of a youth culture can thus be seen as a way of youngsters to be part of something 'cool'. It all is part of a process in which an adolescent develops his or her identity. So identity, and the questions that adolescents face regarding identity, form a vital part of youth cultures. Elements like gender, ethnicity and social class are of importance to the identity of adolescents (Rattansi & Phoenix, 2005).

Adolescents nowadays are individualistic, fun loving and sensitive to impulses, trends and hypes (Prins & Janssen, 2001; Blackman, 2005). As a result adolescents nowadays often mix different elements from different (youth) cultures with which they feel affiliated, which creates complicated hybrid forms of youth cultures (Wortham, 2011; Haenfler, 2010; Prins, 2006). This trend in which adolescents 'surf' from one youth subculture to another, is often called "style surfing" by different scholars (Prins, 2006). The role of the media in youth cultures has grown tremendously over the past decades as youngsters not only are influenced by radio, television and magazines, but also by new media like the internet. Also the development of communication technologies, migration and easier ways of travel, have contributed to the globalization and commercialization of youth cultures which enabled youth cultures to grow into global cultures with followers across the globe (Wortham, 2011).

3.2 Youth cultures and their health related behaviours

Where there used to be only a few youth cultures in the Netherlands, globalization of youth cultures has lead in the Netherlands to a wide variety of youth cultures, many of which find their origin in musical styles that have been imported from the United States (Janssen, et al., 1999).

3.2.1 What are popular youth cultures?

The literature shows a variety of categories for popular youth cultural styles. In this thesis a division is made between elite groups (e.g., 'populars', 'posh'), deviant groups (e.g., 'hip hoppers' or 'blowers'), athletically oriented groups (e.g., 'Jocks'), academically oriented groups (e.g. 'nerds', 'loners') and 'other' groups (e.g. 'rural youth', 'gamers'). An overview of recent popular youth cultures in the Netherlands is shown in table 3.1. The list with an explanation of all the youth cultures can be found in appendix I.

Some studies show that in the Netherlands the majority of adolescents does not feel affiliated with any particular youth culture. Most adolescents want to blend in with the 'mainstream' and just want to be 'normal' (Delsing et al., 2007). Others say that only a small minority of adolescents are fully submerged in one particular youth culture. The majority feels affiliated with one or more youth cultures and only adopts the fashion style or music (Haenfler, 2010; Verkooijen, Nielsen & De Vries, 2007; Janssen et al., 1999; Janssen, 1994a.).

Table 3.1: Overview of youth cultures in the Netherlands.

Elite groups	Deviant groups	Athletically oriented groups	Other	None
Posh	Blowers	Jocks/ sporty	Nerds/ geaks/ brains	Normal/ average
Popular/ in-crowd	Punk	Skaters	Gamers	
Fashionista's and 'Mooiboys' (pretty boys)	Hard Rock/ 'metal heads'		Farmers/ rural youth	
	Hip hop		Refo's	
	Macho's		Loners	
	Rasta's		House/ dance	
	Gothic		Alto's	
	Emo/ scene			

3.2.2 Lifestyle behaviours within youth cultures

There is little or no information available about the meaning of a healthy lifestyle and sports among Dutch adolescents who feel affiliated with a particular youth culture. Because youth cultural categories tend to be fairly consistent across regions (La Greca, Prinstein & Fetter, 2001) the information from other studies across the world can be of value and are thus used for this section.

The literature mainly talks about the influence of youth crowds on risky behaviour and substance use. Different studies show that members of the so-called deviant youth cultures are most likely to smoke and also elite groups are more likely than members of other youth cultures to smoke (Sussman et al., 2007; Verkooijen et al., 2007; La Greca, Prinstein & Fetter, 2001). Sussman et al. (2007) did a review study in which 18 studies were included that studied alcohol use within youth cultures. In 15 of these studies, members of deviant groups were most likely to consume alcohol (Sussman et al., 2007). Other studies also show that being member of a deviant or popular/elite group, increases the odds of alcohol use (Verkooijen et al., 2007; La Greca, Prinstein & Fetter, 2001). Use of cannabis within youth cultures is most common among the 'skate/hip hop' and 'hippie' groups

in the study by Verkooijen et al. (2007). In eight out of nine studies, deviant youth cultures were found most likely to use cannabis (Sussman et al., 2007). A study by Mackey and La Greca (2007) shows that 'brains' report the healthiest dietary habits followed by the 'populars' who also eat more healthy foods compared to other groups. The 'populars' also report to eat more unhealthy foods than other groups. Members of a deviant group have the least healthy dietary habits (Mackey & La Greca, 2007). The same study from Mackey and La Greca (2007) shows that the 'jocks' report significantly higher levels of physically activity as well as members of the 'popular' group. The 'brains' report to be less physically active than other youth crowds and the members of deviant groups are the least physically active.

3.3 Hip hop

The main focus of this study lies on hip hop culture. Rap artists like Kanye West, Snoop Dogg and lil' Wayne sell millions of albums and have sold out concerts across the globe. Hip hop DJ's play tracks in front of thousands of people in popular clubs and often they produce successful tracks for popular artists. B- boys and b- girls appear in music videos and big events. They travel the world and become more and more known to a greater audience. Also graffiti art has become an accepted art form and graffiti artist nowadays have expositions at galleries and museums.

This shows that hip hop has evolved since its birth in the 70's of the last century (Motley & Henderson, 2007). Hip hop culture started in the ghettos of New York city as a cultural force of creativity, unity and social protest, but has now become a global cultural phenomenon (Hunter, 2011). The culture has several artistic components which form the pillars of hip hop culture (Motley & Henderson, 2007). Turntabalism or DJ-ing is about mixing and creating music by using turntables and vinyl- records (CD's and digital recordings are also frequently used these days). B- boying is a second element which is often referred to by the general public as breakdancing. This is an acrobatic dance form in which b-boys/girls (break boys/girls) dance to the music played by the DJ. The third element of hip hop is graffiti- art. In this art form, the streets are used as a canvas on which graffiti artists use spray paint to express their creativity. A fourth element is the art of rapping or MC -ing in which an MC (Master of Ceremony) raps rhymes about his or her life, dreams, achievements, fantasies etc. He or she rhythmically rhymes verses over a musical soundtrack. The knowledge about the history of hip hop can also be seen as the last element of hip hop but this elements is not always mentioned when the elements of hip hop are discussed.

Just like other youth cultures, hip hop comes with a certain lifestyle. These days hip hop related fashion, accessories and beauty products have become a global industry (Hunter, 2011; Motley & Henderson, 2007). The hip hop lifestyle is often described as being focussed on cars, women and drugs. This image is formed and reinforced by rap videos, lyrics and merchandising (Hunter, 2011). Hip hop is also known for its baggy clothing and shiny jewellery but for people in 'the scene' it is important just to look 'fresh'. Looking 'fresh' is about having a style that looks well put together and clean. Clothing can show character, status, individuality and a person's sense of style. Lyrics and discussions on internet forums show that the focus in hip hop usually does not lie mainly on people's physical appearance. It is more about what a person does with his or her appearance (e.g. in terms of clothing), if he or she is 'real', and original. In hip hop it generally does not matter if a person is slim, fat, tall, short, trained or out of shape. It could be more about a certain image that can be linked to a person's appearance. Appearance in that sense shows individuality which can be seen as an important feature in hip hop culture (Motley & Henderson, 2007; Van Gemert, 2005).

As hip hop originated in the Bronx in the United states it became very popular among Latino and black groups. Black rappers often talked about their life in deprived parts of the city where violence and drugs were common. The way these black young people talked about their situation spoke to many other marginalized groups all across the globe (Osumare, 2001). In the Netherlands, hip hop music was mainly popular among black youth from Surinam and the Antilles (Van Gemert, 2005). Marginalized groups in society feel attracted to the lyrics in the songs that are about social marginalization. Osumare (2001) speaks of 'connective marginalities' in hip hop, in which hip hop culture connects people from all over the world through their connection in marginality. Nowadays hip hop music has penetrated global pop charts and the music has become increasingly popular among a wider public. In the Netherlands, hiphop music now is also very popular among white youngsters and adolescents from different social classes (Van Gemert, 2005). The majority of the people who feel affiliated with hip hop culture are consumers rather than practitioners. People can 'buy' their way into the culture since hip hop culture is very much commercialized so people from 'other' social backgrounds can look like hip hoppers by buying hip hop related items like ringtones, magazines, shoes, entire lines of clothing, video games etcetera (Hunter, 2011). This also allows for a division between 'true' hip hoppers, who contribute to the culture and 'fake' ones who only consume it (Heanfler, 2010).

4. Questionnaires and Q- sorts

In order to answer the general methodological research question (Which differences can be identified when comparing the responses of Q- sorts with the responses from Likert scale questionnaires?), it is important to understand and recognise the differences between the two methodologies. This information also is relevant when constructing the questionnaire and Q- set.

4.1 Likert scale Questionnaires and Q- methodology

Likert scales are a methodology introduced by Rensis Likert in 1931 which aims to measure attitudes (Gliem & Gliem, 2003; Cross, 2004). With Likert scale questionnaires, respondents are asked to what extent they agree or disagree with a certain statement which is related to a specific topic. The idea is that if the respondent answers the items, the attitude of that person concerning that topic will become clear (Cross, 2004). Respondents show their attitude towards a topic by responding to a statement on a continuum which often consists of five or seven points ranging between two extremes (e.g. "I strongly disagree" to "I strongly agree"). Questionnaires generally rely heavily on the respondents' interpretation of a pre-established set of questions (Groves et al., 2004). The method is well known and often used as it is a suitable method for investigating large numbers of respondents (Albaum, 1997). Self- administered questionnaires are also useful for sensitive topics since there is more anonymity than in face to face interviews for example (Bowling & Ebrahim, 2005).

Q- methodology is a method which has been introduced by William Stephenson in 1935. The methodology is mainly a study of subjectivity in which a respondent is asked to order different statements that are related to a specific topic (Brown, 1993). The statements are selected from what is called the "concourse". This concourse is described by Van Exel and De Graaf (2005) as a collection of all statements one can come up with in relation to the topic under investigation. From the concourse, generally a selection of 40-50 statements is made. These statements form the Q- set about which the respondents have to give their opinion. Respondents give their opinion by placing cards with the statements on a continuum which often ranges from "I totally disagree" to "I totally agree". This placing of the statements is called the Q- sorting process. In Q- methodology , cards with statements often are placed in a certain pattern that usually shows the shape of a quasi- normal distribution (Brown, 1993; Van Exel & De Graaf, 2005). Because the statements generally are placed in the shape of a quasi- normal distribution, the respondents are forced to make a choice about which statements they agree or disagree on most.

4.2 Design and theory of answering questions

When adjusting an existing questionnaire and when constructing a new one, several issues have to be taken into consideration in order to get optimal validity and reliability of the instrument.

4.2.1 Questionnaire design

Questionnaire questions can be about attitudes, opinions, feelings, thoughts, knowledge, circumstances, rare behaviour or behaviours that people would rather keep to themselves (Baarda, de Goede & Kalmijn, 2000). When putting together a questionnaire, it is important to take different issues into consideration. Dillman (2007) says that two key objectives should be strived for when designing a questionnaire. Firstly, one should aim to reduce nonresponse and secondly the aim should be to reduce or avoid measurement error (Dillman, 2007). These objectives can be reached by taking several issues into account.

It is always important to get a clear image of the social and (in this case also youth) cultural context of the respondents (Harkness, 2010; Bowling & Ebrahim, 2005; Schwarts, 1999; Robbins, 1999; Zaller & Feldman, 1992). These contexts have a great influence on the formulation of both questions and answers. Questions (as well as the answers) need to be formulated in a manner that makes them as short, simple and as concrete as possible. The questions and answers have to be understandable and answerable for every respondent and they should mean the same to any respondent (Dillman, 2007; Bowling & Ebrahim, 2005; Baarda et al., 2000; Robbins, 1999).

The order in which questions are asked and the layout, also play a role in the response of respondents (Bowling & Ebrahim, 2005; Robbins, 1999). First of all it is important that the questionnaire starts with an introduction of both the researcher as well as the research. The respondents should know the purpose of the survey. There also should be some instructions as to how the questionnaire is supposed to be filled out. The most important rules applying for the ordering of questions are that the first questions of a survey should be simple, pleasant, interesting and non- offensive (Bowling & Ebrahim, 2005; Robbins, 1999). Boring questions and questions about ethnicity, gender etcetera, should be asked towards the end of the questionnaire (Robbins, 1999). The final page of the questionnaire is normally used as an invitation to make additional comments and a thank you (Dillman, 2007).

4.2.2 Q- sort design

The Q- set is a result of the concourse in which different statements have been collected. The selection of statements for the Q- set is according to Van Exel and De Graaf (2005) more of an art than it is a science. Generally statements are selected which widely differ from one another so that they represent the variety of positions that can be taken with regard to a certain topic (Van Exel & De Graaf, 2005; Brown, 1993). There are no elaborate recommendations on the formulation of the statements of the Q- set as there are for questionnaire questions (and answers). One could argue that statements should be edited in a way that they meet the same criteria as been described in the above for the questions in a questionnaire. The literature does show a difference where lay- out is concerned. In Q- sets the statements are often ranked and numbered randomly and printed onto cards. When respondents place the cards during the Q- sorting process, the placement of the cards is monitored in order to ensure a balanced (quasi- normal)distribution of the cards (Van Exel & De Graaf, 2005; Brown, 1993).

In the Q- sorting process it is also important that the respondent is aware of the purpose of the study and he or she should be instructed on what to do and how to do it. This can be done by the researcher before the respondent starts with sorting the cards, but there are also examples of self-administered Q- sorts in which respondents follow written instructions. Still, Van Exel and De Graaf (2005) recommend that the Q- sorts are conducted face-to-face in combination with an interview, as it enables a better interpretation of the responses given during the Q-sorting process.

4.2.3 Answering questions

It is important to recognize the importance of question wording, question format and question context when putting together a questionnaire or Q- set. Minor changes in any of these can influence the answers given by respondents (Harkness, 2010; Bowling & Ebrahim, 2005; Schwarts, 1999; Robbins, 1999; Zaller & Feldman, 1992). Question wording, format and context can be optimized by taking into account the cognitive processes that are involved in answering questions.

There are various theories concerning this specific topic. Generally four groups of processes can be distinguished (Groves et al., 2009; Schwarz, 1999; Schwarz & Strack, 1991). These groups are: 'comprehension of the question', 'Retrieval of information', 'Judgment and estimation', 'Reporting an answer' (Groves et al., 2009). A schematic overview of these four processes is shown in figure 4.1.

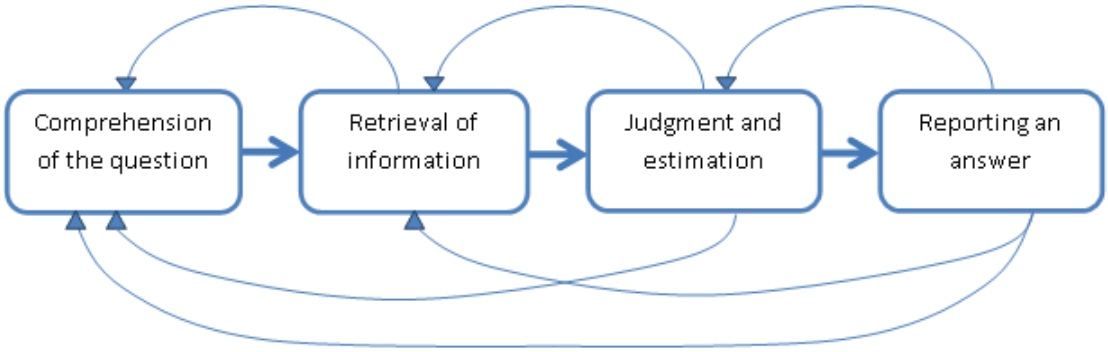

Figure 4.1: A model of the survey response process (Groves et al., 2009, Survey Methodology, p. 202)

When looking at the model of the survey response process, the first step is about making sense out of the question that is being asked. This can only be done if the respondent not only understands the words in the sentences, but also understands the intention of the researcher (Schwarz, 1999). This alone is not enough to comprehend the question. It is also important to interpret the questions. One of the key elements of interpreting a question is determining the set of possible responses and preceding questions (Schwarz, 1999). Interpretation also consists of other processes like identifying different components of the question and their relations to each other. The assignment of meaning to key elements of the question and determining the purpose behind the question and the boundaries and overlap among answers (Groves et al., 2009; Dillman, 2007). In order to limit invalid answers or non- response, it is important to make sure that respondents comprehend the question. Comprehension of a question can be made easier by using a clear layout and by keeping everything as simple as possible. Consistent usage of symbols or by using underlined-, italic- or bold writings or by increasing font sizes can also increase comprehension of the questions (Dillman, 2007).

The second process mentioned in figure 2.1 is called 'retrieval of information' and it is about recalling relevant information to answer a question. In this process information is retrieved from a person's long-term memory. Often people cannot recall certain specific events especially when they are not rare or of considerable importance (Schwarz, 1999). 'Retrieval cues' can be used to activate the recall of information from long- term memory (Groves et al., 2009). Such a cue could result in the ability of the respondent to answer the question, but it could also be that the cue brought up relevant information which in turn could produce another cue. The process of retrieving information generally continues until the respondent finds the needed information or gives up (Groves et al., 2009). Retrieval is influenced by time, the type of events that need to be remembered and the number and quality of retrieval cues (Groves et al., 2009).

The third process in answering questions is 'estimation and judgment' which are processes that may combine or complement to what has been retrieved (Groves et al., 2009). If a question is about frequencies, and the information is incomplete or too insufficient to answer the question, one can make an estimation (Blair & Burton, 1987). Judgments can be useful to fill gaps in what has been recalled and judgments can combine the outcome of the retrieval process (Groves et al., 2009). It is

important to consider the possible negative influence that answer categories can have on the estimation of frequencies (Schwarz, 1999).

The final process is called 'reporting' which entails the selection and communication of an answer. It can be that answer categories have been provided (closed questions) or that the respondent is asked to express his or her answer in words (open questions) (Groves et al., 2009). The reported answer of a respondent may deviate from a respondent's personal answer as a result of social desirability or self-presentation (Schwarz, 1999). A person prefers to 'look good' and thus may report an answer that makes him 'look good' but the answer does not necessarily comply with the person's actual answer. This aspect of social desirability and self- presentation can be eliminated by using techniques that emphasise on the anonymity and confidentiality of collected data (Schwarz, 1999).

A consideration that have to be taken into account when looking at this four- step model is that it presupposes that a respondent will read a question in a thoughtful way, but this is not always the case which might lead to acquiescence. This means that respondents respond without reading the question (Bowling & Ebrahim, 2005). People often tend to take clues from the layout and based on that they estimate what should be read and what can safely be ignored (Dillman, 2007). Also the sequence in which people go through these cognitive processes is not fixed. The different processes can sometimes overlap each other or, as the arrows in figure 4.1 show, people can revise their interpretation of a question as they realize that their answer does not fit with the response categories for instance (Groves et al., 2009; Schwarz, 1999).

In sum the past three chapters explained the theoretical issues which are needed in order to understand what is needed to answer the research questions. Chapter two (A healthy lifestyle and sport) showed how health can be perceived and how it is often perceived in Western societies. It also showed different behaviours of adolescents related to health. The third chapter (Youth cultures) showed what youth cultures are and possible influences of youth cultures on the lifestyles of adolescents were also explained. The two chapters gave information which was useful as theoretical framework for answering the first general research question and its sub- questions. The past chapter (Questionnaires and Q- sorts) showed that there are several differences between the two methodologies in terms of the construction of the instruments, the form in which they are presented and the way they are conducted by respondents. The past chapter was relevant for answering the second general research question and its sub- questions. The methods that have been used in order to answer the research questions, are explained in the next chapter.

5. Methods

In this section, the study design, participants, measures, procedures and data analysis that were used in this research are explained.

5.1 Study design

The general research question of this research was aimed at gaining knowledge on the meaning that is given to a healthy lifestyle and sports by adolescents, who feel affiliated with hip hop youth culture. The second aim regarded a methodological issue, which is about the differences that can be identified when comparing the responses of Q- sorts with the responses from Likert scale questionnaires. A cross- sectional study was used in order to reach these aims.

The study consisted of data collection by means of a questionnaire which entailed a survey on two Dutch VMBO- schools. This questionnaire formed the quantitative part of the research and it also served as the sampling strategy for the second data collection which consisted of an adjusted version of Q- methodology, followed by a semi structured in-depth interview which was conducted among a subsample of the students who reported in the questionnaire that they felt very much affiliated with hip hop culture and its music.

5.2 Data collection by means of a questionnaire

5.2.1 Participants

VMBO students between the ages of 14 and 18 were asked to participate in this study. The schools were chosen by use of convenience sampling. The researcher got into contact with the schools through acquainted employees. School A is a relatively small VMBO school in the Western part of the Netherlands and has both a public and Christian character. School B is a public school in a more urban area in the Southern region of the Netherlands.

5.2.2 Measures

The questionnaire consisted of three parts. For sampling and respondent selection purposes, an adjusted version of the questionnaire for the determination of youth culture membership (Peer Crowd Identification Questionnaire (PCIQ)) was used (Sikkema, 1989). The types of youth cultures have been adjusted and updated with data from focus group meetings held by and with colleagues from the Mulier Institute. A slightly adjusted version of the questionnaire for music preference (Musical Preference Questionnaire (MPQ)) has also been used for this purpose (ter Bogt et al., 2003). Since music preference can be seen as an important aspect of youth cultures a combination of both should questionnaires provide a clear distinction between youth crowds among the participants (Prins, 2006).

Also some (slightly adjusted) questions from the questionnaire for national sports research (Nationaal Sportonderzoek) 2011 were used. The questions that were used about the sports in which the respondent has participated in the twelve months prior to the questionnaire and the frequency in which respondents have participated in moderate physical activity in the month prior to the questionnaire.

A Likert scale questionnaire was developed which consisted of statements about sports and physical activity, reputation, influence of others, appearance, health and a healthy lifestyle. Some of the statements came from a study from Van Exel, De Graaf and Brouwer (2006). Others were formulated as a result of a desk study focussed on hip hop, heath, a healthy lifestyle and sport

(further information about the construction of this part of the questionnaire can be found in paragraph 5.3.2). Respondents had to respond to the statements by checking one of seven boxes ranging from 'I totally disagree (---)' to 'I totally agree (+++)' with one 'middle box' stating 'Do not agree/do not disagree (+/-)'.

The last part of the questionnaire was about the behaviour of the adolescents regarding food, alcohol, smoking and the use of cannabis. Finally there were some questions about general information like age, gender, ethnic background of the parents and ethnic identity of the student. The complete questionnaire can be found in appendix II.

5.2.3 Procedures

This study took place between September 2011 and May 2012. The desk study and questionnaire- and Q- sort design formed the first stage of the study. The questionnaires were filled out by students at the beginning of their physical education (PE) class. Before students filled out the questionnaires, the researcher gave a short introduction about the purpose of the research and explained the way it was supposed to be filled out. The protocol can be found in appendix III.

5.2.4 Data analysis

In order to answer the sub- question what type of adolescents feel affiliated to hip hop culture, an overview of the data was given by using descriptive statistics. Chi square tests were done to analyse possible associations between the variables being a hip hopper (respondents scoring at least 4 out of 5 in both the PCIQ and the MPQ), school (A or B), ethnic background (Dutch/ Western: if both parents was born in the Netherlands or another Western country. Non- Western: if at least one of the parents was born in a non- Western country), educational level (VMBO B/K or G/T), age (14, 15, 16 or 17/18) and gender (boy or girl). Finally by use of logistic regression analysis, being a hip hopper was set out against the covariates (age, school, ethnic background, educational level and gender), to see which of the variables were significantly associated with being a hip hopper.

To answer the second sub- question about hip hoppers' and non- hip hoppers' views on the healthism discourse, responses to statements about appearance, health and a healthy lifestyle were analysed. First a principal component analysis (PCA) was done on all 19 statements with orthogonal rotation (varimax). One statement was left out as the item did not fit with any of the components. The PCA was conducted again with 18 statements. The components were labelled 'healthy lifestyle', 'contentment', 'appearance' and 'value of appearance'. Scores on each component were obtained by computing frequency tables and were reported in the thesis. Differences in the way respondents scored on healthism were described as means were obtained per school, gender, ethnic background, age and being a hip hopper or non- hip hopper. Educational level did not seem to be relevant here. Chi square scores were calculated and significant associations between the components and the mentioned variables were reported. Significantly associated variables were entered in the regression model as linear regression analyses were conducted to find out if there was a significant difference in the scores on healthism between hip hoppers and non- hip hoppers. The *b*- values, t-test statistic and the level of significance are reported in the table.

In order to answer the question what the differences in behaviour are of hip hoppers regarding a healthy lifestyle and sports compared to non- hip hoppers, substance use and sports club membership activity in sports were analysed as follows. First the responses were described by use of cross- tabs. Dummy variables were computed if necessary. Some of the statements were recoded so that they were all framed in the same way. Chi square tests between the dummy variables and

possible confounders (hip hop, school/city, ethnic background, educational level, age and gender) were conducted. The results from this analysis were reported descriptively. Variables that significantly correlated were used in the final binary logistic regression models. The statements, were used as the dependent variables and hip hop, school/city, ethnic background, educational level, gender and age were the covariates. Only the results of the significantly associated statements were described.

Responses regarding the statements on dietary habits were described. Chi square analyses were done order to find possible significant associations between the different dietary habits and hip hop and the possible confounders. The analysis and the literature did not show age as a relevant variable, so it was left out of the linear regression model. Linear regression was conducted in order to find associations between dietary habits and the earlier mentioned covariates. The *b*- values, t-test statistic and the level of significance are reported in the table.

The responses that were given regarding moderate physical activity, were first described by using descriptive statistics. A dummy variable was constructed of moderate physical activity in which a respondent meets the recommended amount of at least 30 minutes of moderate physical activity or not. A chi square analysis was conducted between meeting the norm and hip hop, age, school/city, ethnic background, educational level and gender. The results from this analysis were reported descriptively. The variables that showed a significant correlation with any of the above mentioned variables, and the variables that were explicitly mentioned by the literature to be associated with physical activity, were included in the model for logistic bivariate regression in which meeting the norm for moderate physical activity was used as the dependent variable.

The most frequently participated sports were shown descriptively. The sports were shown per school, gender, ethnic background, educational level and hip hoper or non- hip hopper. Age was not included since nothing was mentioned about age and sports preference in the literature.

5.3 Data collection by means of Q- methodology and interviews

5.3.1 Participants

Fourteen adolescents with the maximum score of 5 (it totally fits me) for the level of affiliation with hip hop youth culture in the PCIQ, and the maximum score of 5 (I like it a lot) in the MPQ, were asked to participate in the Q- sorting process. Because this resulted in insufficient participants, respondents who scored 4 out of 5 in the MPQ were also selected to participate in the second part of the research. One respondent scored 4 out of 5 on the PCIQ but was included in the sample as replacement for another student who was absent during the second collection date. Respondents were given names which resemble those of iconic hip hop figures.

5.3.2 Measures

A Q- set was developed which entailed statements about sports and physical activity, reputation, influence of others, appearance, health and a healthy lifestyle. Some of the statements came from a study from Van Exel, De Graaf and Brouwer (2006). Other statements were the result of a desk study in which hip hop, heath, a healthy lifestyle and sports were studied. Since scientific literature about this topic was scarce, rap lyrics, videos and internet forums were examined. An overview of the gathered information can be found in appendix VI. The information was used for creating the statements that were than used in the questionnaire and the Q-set. A 'concourse' of 119 statements was reduced to 46 statements which formed the Q- set and the same statements were used in the

questionnaire. During the Q- sorting process students had to place cards with statements (the same statements as were used in the questionnaire) on a seven point Likert scale, identical to the one used in the questionnaire. The cards were numbered and ranked in the same order as the statements in the questionnaire in order to allow a more true comparison between the two methods. Q- sorts were combined with semi- structured interviews, so that additional information about their views on hip hop, health a healthy lifestyle and sports could be obtained. In this study, it is not wanted that respondents place statements in a certain category because they have no other options as may occur when using the quasi- normal distribution pattern in the Q- sorts. So in order to make sure that the respondents are able to place the statements in the category of their liking, a free distribution is used in which respondents can place as many statements as they prefer in any category. It also allows the Q- sort to be analysed by comparing the data with the data from the Likert scale questionnaires. The comparison gives an image of the reliability of the statements.

5.3.3 Procedures

The Q- sorts and the interviews were conducted during PE classes, but they took place in a separate room next to the classroom. Before the start of the qualitative part of the study, the process was explained and after the introduction and explanation respondents had to sign an informed consent form. The respondents started with the Q- sorting process which was followed by the interview. The interviews were recorded and questions were about respondents' view on hip hop, sports, health and a healthy lifestyle. The protocol and topic list are placed in appendix IV and V.

5.3.4 Data analysis

The data from the in- depth interviews were written down ad verbatim and respondents' statements were ordered by methodological preference, sports, health a healthy lifestyle. The most important words and statements were than highlighted and some were used in the report. The results from the interviews make it possible to answer the question about the differences between the 'hip hop' health discourse and the dominant 'healthism' discourse. The interviews also are useful for answering which method is preferred among respondents and why (research question 2.a).

In order to answer research question 2.b (Which statements appear to be problematic to answer reliably?), it was important to look for differences between the answers given in the Likert scale questionnaire and the Q- sorts. Small differences (1 or 2 boxes discrepancy) between the two methods were only mentioned shortly since these small differences could not lead to a shift in opinion. When there were big differences (more than 2 boxes discrepancy) in which a respondent changed his or her opinion between the questionnaires and the Q- sorts, this was reported in more detail.

Data from both methods were then entered in SPSS and compared by conducting a paired T-test. Finally the results from the T-test were described. The means that significantly differed from each other were reported. The results from this test also contribute to answering research question 2.b.

Correlations between the responses on the questionnaire and the Q- sorts were also reported and the statements with small effect sizes ($r <= +/- 0.1$) were reported along with the mean scores on those statements. This analysis also was used in order to answer which statements appeared to be problematic to answer reliably (research question 2.b). All the statistical analyses were conducted by use of SPSS 19.

6. Results: questionnaires

The questionnaires were filled out by 88 students of school A and 102 students of school B. The distribution of boys and girls was respectively 51% (N= 96) and 49 % (N=92). The mean age of students was 15.23 years (SD 0.80 ages 14-18). When looking at the ethnic background of the students in both schools, 31% (N=59) of the respondents has one or two parents that have not been born in a the Netherlands or another Western country (migrants with a non- Western background).

6.1 Youth cultural overview of the study population

Table 6.1.1 shows that the biggest youth culture was the 'sporty' people (52%). A group of 43% said that they belonged in the group of 'normal' people. This group thus do not feel strongly affiliated with any particular youth culture. Most students felt affiliated to more than one youth culture which could be concluded from the accumulation of the percentages of all the different youth cultural groups which resulted in a total of 299% (school A= 285% and school B=304%).

Table 6.1.1: Distribution per school of respondents who feel a strong affiliation with a youth culture.

Youth culture categories	Youth cultures	School		Total
		A N (%)	B N (%)	N (%)
None	Normal/ average	37 (43)	44 (44)	81 (43)
Elite groups	Fashionista's and 'Mooiboys' (pretty boys)	30 (35)	29 (30)	59 (32)
	Popular/ in-crowd	7 (8)	29 (29)	36 (20)
	Posh (Kakkers)	0	0	0
Deviant groups	Hip hop	24 (27)	26 (27)	50 (27)
	Macho's	6 (7)	7 (7)	13 (7)
	Blowers	3 (3)	7 (7)	10 (5)
	Rasta's	3 (3)	9 (9)	12 (6)
	Alto's	3 (3)	3 (3)	6 (3)
	Hard Rock/ 'metalheads'	1 (1)	3 (3)	4 (2)
	Punk	1 (1)	2 (2)	3 (2)
	Gothic	1 (1)	2 (2)	3 (2)
	Emo/ scene	1 (1)	2 (2)	3 (2)
	Gabber[1]	0	1 (1)	1 (1)
Athletically oriented groups	Jocks/ sporty	54 (61)	43 (44)	97 (52)
	Skaters	1 (1)	3 (3)	4 (2)
	Dancers[1]	1 (1)	0	1 (1)
Other	House/ dance	27 (32)	33 (35)	60 (34)
	Gamers	24 (28)	36 (36)	60 (32)
	Farmers/ rural youth	12 (14)	6 (6)	18 (10)
	Loners	6 (7)	5 (5)	11 (6)
	Nerds/ geaks/ brains	4 (5)	4 (4)	8 (4)
	Refo's	2 (2)	3 (3)	5 (3)
	Blonds[1]	1 (1)	0	1 (1)
	Otaku (Japanese)[1]	0	1 (1)	1 (1)
	Hardstyle[1]	0	1 (1)	1 (1)

[1]Youth cultures which were reported by respondents apart from the given list of youth cultures.

6.2 Description of hip hoppers and non- hip hoppers

Table 6.2.1 shows an overview of the 50 children who felt affiliated with hip hop culture compared with the 136 children who felt less or no affiliation with hip hop culture. 27% of the respondents in both schools were 'hip hoppers'. Of all male students 32% felt affiliated with hip hop culture and 21% of all girls shared this affiliation. Among hip hoppers 38% had a non- Western background compared to 21% of the non- hip. There were 29% hip-hoppers amongst the B/K level students and 17% among the G/T level students. In all age groups about 27% of the students reported feeling affiliated with hip-hop culture.

Ignoring the data collection structure by combining the data from the two schools, hence running the risk of inflating statistical significance, the above mentioned differences showed not to be significant. Only ethnic background showed a significant association with being a hip hopper or not χ^2 (1)= 5.52, p< 0.05. Based on the odds ratio (OR= 1.32), the odds of Dutch migrants with a non- Western background to feel affiliated with hip hop culture were higher than for Dutch/ Western respondents. Ethnic background was also significantly associated with the school in which the students followed their education χ^2 (1)= 12.20, p< 0.001. The odds ratio (OR= 1.41) shows that the odds of respondents in school B to be a migrant with a non- Western background were higher than in school A. Gender and educational level showed a significant association χ^2 (1)= 5.33, p< 0.05. The odds of boys to study in a lower level of education appeared to be higher than for the girls (OR= 1.83).

Table 6.2.1: Distribution of adolescents who felt affiliated with hip hop culture and the results from the binary logistic regression analysis.

		Hip hop		Non- hip hop	Total
		N (%)	OR (p- value)	N (%)	N (%)
School	**A**	24 (27)	0.70	64 (73)	88 (47)
	B	26 (27)	(0.344)	72 (73)	98 (53)
Gender	**Boy**	30 (32)	1.62	64 (68)	94 (51)
	Girl	19 (21)	(0.184)	71 (79)	90 (49)
Ethnic background	**Dutch/ Western**	27 (21)	0.48	99 (79)	126 (70)
	Non- Western	21 (38)	(0.062)	34 (62)	55 (30)
Educational level	**B/K**	38 (29)	0.63	94 (71)	132 (74)
	G/T	8 (17)	(0.307)	38 (83)	46 (26)
Age	**14**	9 (28)	-	23 (72)	32 (18)
	15	22 (24)		68 (76)	90 (50)
	16	13 (29)		32 (71)	45 (25)
	17-18	4 (30)		10 (70)	14 (7)
Total		50 (27)		136 (73)	

Variable(s) entered: School, Gender, Ethnic background, Educational level.

This information seems to confirm the literature (Tanner et al, 2009; Van Gemert, 2005) that being a hip hopper may be associated with, ethnic background, educational level and gender. Therefore these were the covariates in a logistic regression analysis with affiliation with hip-hop culture as the dependent variable and with school as a structural (fixed) design variable. When taking school, gender and educational level into account, ethnic background was no longer significant.

6.3 Health(ism)

In this paragraph an answer is given on research question 1.c which is about the differences between the 'hip hop' health discourse and the dominant 'healthism' discourse.

The literature showed a correlation between appearance, health and a healthy lifestyle in the healthism discourse. The statements regarding these topics were used in a principle component analysis (PCA) which resulted in four components which represent the healthism discourse. The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) measure of 0.722 was 'good' according to Field (2009, p. 647). Bartlett's test for sphericity χ^2 (153)= 842.70, p< 0.001, indicated that correlations between items were sufficiently large for PCA. Four components accounted for 50.52% of the variance. Table 6.3.1 shows the four components and the statements that were part of these components, as well as the minimum and maximum scores that could be obtained for each component.

Table 6.3.1: Overview of the statements about healthism across the four components.

Component 1: Healthy lifestyle Min. score= 8 Max. score= 56	**Component 2: Contentment Min. score= 4 Max. score= 28**	**Component 3: Appearance Min. score= 3 Max. score= 21**	**Component 4: Value of appearance Min. score= 3 Max. score= 21**
In order to look healthy, you should live healthy.	I am happy about my body	A boy should be muscular in order to look good	Appearance is very important to me
I care about what is (un)healthy.	I feel good	A girl has to be very skinny in order to look good	Charisma is way more important than your figure
I live healthy in order to stay as healthy as possible in the future.	I generally feel safe	It is not cool to be fat	Appearance is an important topic of conversation when I'm with my friends
You could have a healthy lifestyle without having to be active in sports	It is hard for me to have a healthy lifestyle		
You could use drugs and still have a healthy lifestyle			
Alcohol and a healthy lifestyle do not go well together			
Healthy nutrition is an important element of a healthy lifestyle			
If you smoke, you have an unhealthy lifestyle			

Table 6.3.2 shows the average scores on the four components. Respondents in school A showed a higher average score (39.47) than their peers in school B (37.79) on 'healthy lifestyle'. Respondents in school B (10.25) scored higher on the component about 'appearance' than their peers in school A (9.53). Girls appeared to score higher on the components 'healthy lifestyle' (40.45), 'appearance' (10.30) and 'value of appearance' (14.04), than boys who scored respectively 36.88, 9.53 and 12.41 on these components. Boys on the other hand scored with 22.04 points, higher on 'contentment' about their health, lifestyle and appearance than the girls did with 21.09 points. Migrants with a non-Western background scored more points (40,80) on a 'healthy lifestyle' than their Dutch/ Western peers (37.62). They also scored higher on 'contentment' (22.31) and 'appearance' (10.36) where Dutch/ Western respondents scored respectively 21.27 and 9.79 on these components. Hip hoppers scored higher on 'contentment' (22.24) compared to non- hip hoppers (21.33). The biggest difference was seen in 'appearance' in which hip hoppers scored 8.73 points and non- hip hoppers 10.36 points.

Table 6.3.2: Means and standard deviations per component by school, ethnic background age and hip hop/non- hip hop.

		Component 1: Healthy lifestyle Mean (SD)	Component 2: Contentment Mean (SD)	Component 3: Appearance Mean (SD)	Component 4: Value of appearance Mean (SD)
School	**A**	39.47 (7.10)	21.46 (4.94)	9.53 (3.82)	13.50 (3.22)
	B	37.79 (8.81)	21.73 (5.23)	10.25 (4.30)	13.01 (4.01)
Gender	**Boys**	36.88 (8.59)	22.04 (5.29)	9.53 (4.14)	12.41 (3.74)
	Girls	40.45 (6.78)	21.09 (4.86)	10.30 (4.06)	14.04 (3.42)
Ethnic background	**Dutch/ Western**	37.62 (7.92)	21.27 (4.82)	9.79 (4.14)	13.45 (3.54)
	Non- Western	40.80 (7.42)	22.31 (5.69)	10.36 (4.08)	12.81 (4.01)
Age	**14**	38.72 (8.18)	18.74 (5.28)	8.68 (4.00)	13.66 (3.97)
	15	38.69 (7.85)	21.85 (5.06)	10.01 (4.13)	13.00 (3.90)
	16	39.28 (7.74)	23.98 (3.39)	10.57 (4.10)	13.37 (3.27)
	17-18	34.86 (7.93)	18.50 (5.60)	10.57 (4.11)	13.64 (3.10)
Hip hop		38.21 (8.16)	22.24 (4.67)	8.73 (4.05)	13.42 (3.99)
Non- hip hop		38.66 (8.02)	21.33 (5.23)	10.36 (4.03)	13.14 (3.50)
Total		38.61 (8.04)	21.60 (5.08)	9.91 (4.09)	13.24 (3.66)

By ignoring the structure of data collection by collapsing the data from the two schools, the risk of inflating statistical significance is increased. With this is mind the above mentioned differences showed several significant associations. School showed a significant association with 'healthy lifestyle' χ^2 (35)= 50.92, p< 0.05. Respondents in school A appeared to score higher on this component than their peers in school B. Gender showed a significant association with 'value of appearance' χ^2 (16)= 32.47, p< 0.05. Girls seemed to score significantly higher on this component compared with boys which indicates that appearance seemed to be more important to girls than it is to boys. Age appeared to be significantly associated with 'contentment' χ^2 (63)= 87.80, p< 0.05. Older respondents seemed to be more likely to score higher on this component. Age also was significantly associated with 'appearance' χ^2 (48)= 76.36, p< 0.05. Younger respondents more often seemed to score less points in this component. Being a hip hopper did not appear to show any associations with the components that were about healthism.

The results of the linear regression analyses (table 6.3.3) showed that school (p<0.05), gender (p< 0.01) and ethnic background (p< 0.01) had a significant influence on the scores regarding a 'healthy lifestyle'. In the light of research question it appeared that being a hip hopper or not was of significant influence on 'appearance'. It appeared as if the views of hip hoppers differed from non-hip hoppers with regard to the mainstream view on appearance. Hip hoppers did not show significant results on the other components about healthism.

Table 6.3.3: Results of linear regression analyses with the components 'healthy lifestyle', 'contentment', 'appearance' and 'value of appearance' as dependent variables.

	Component 1: Healthy lifestyle			Component 2: Contentment			Component 3: Appearance			Component 4: Value of appearance		
	b-value	t	Sig.	*b*-value	t	sig	*b*-value	t	sig	*b*-value	t	sig
School	-2.51	-2.10	.0.038*	0.10	0.12	.906	0.75	1.18	0.240	-0.37	- 0.64	0.518
Gender	-3.09	-2.63	0.009**	0.86	1.10	.273	-0.74	-1.18	0.239	-1.73	-3.10	0.002**
Ethnic background	-3.89	-2.89	0.004**	-0.75	-0.85	.398	-0.44	-0.62	0.537	0.87	1.41	0.161
Age	-0.65	-0.90	0.372	0.79	1.65	.101	0.79	2.08	0.040*	0.20	0.60	0.552
Hip hop	-1.35	-1.01	0.313	0.53	0.60	.546	-1.55	-2.20	0.029*	0.74	1.18	0.239

Variable(s) entered: School, Gender, Ethnic background, Age, Hip hop.
*p < 0.05 **p < 0.01

6.4 Smoking, alcohol and drugs

The results reported in this paragraph help answer research question 1.d which is about the differences in behaviour between hip hoppers and non- hip hoppers with regard to a healthy lifestyle and sport.

In total, almost one third (31%) of the respondents reported to smoke cigarettes, 61% reported to drink alcohol and 7% said that they smoked cannabis. Respondents in school A, reported a higher prevalence in smoking (38%) and alcohol use (68%) compared to school B (respectively 25% and 54%). In school B, the prevalence of drug use (9%) was higher than in school A (4%). More girls (35%) than boys (27%) reported to smoke cigarettes but boys showed a higher prevalence in alcohol- and cannabis use compared with the girls. Respondents from a Dutch/ Western background showed a higher prevalence in smoking (35%) and alcohol use (71%) compared to non- Western respondents of which 21% reported to smoke and 38% drank alcohol. Non- Western respondents did show a higher rate in cannabis use (11%) compared to the Dutch/ Western respondents (6%). The lower levels of VMBO education (B/K) showed a higher prevalence in the use of all three substances compared to the higher levels. 36% of the respondents in the lower educational levels (B/K) reported to smoke, 62% drank alcohol and 8% used cannabis, compared to respectively 20%, 54% and 4% of the respondents in VMBO G/T. As respondents get older, the prevalence of substance use appeared to increase. Smoking and cannabis use seemed more prevalent among the hip-hoppers than among non-hip hoppers (Table 6.4.2).

When the data collection structure is being ignored by combining the data from the two schools, thus running the risk of inflating statistical significance, some of the above mentioned differences appeared to be significant. Chi square analyses were conducted which showed a significant association between school and alcohol use χ^2 (1)= 3.90, p< 0.05. The odds ratio (OR= 0.546) showed that the odds that a respondent in school B drinks alcohol, were about half compared to a peers in school A. Ethnic background appeared to be significantly associated with alcohol use χ^2 (1)= 18.46, p< 0.001 and based on the odds ratio (OR= 4.10) it can be said that the odds of a Dutch/ Western respondent to drink alcohol were about four times higher compared to non- Western migrant respondents. Educational level associates significantly with the smoking behaviour of the respondents χ^2 (1)= 4.31, p< 0.05. According to the odds ratio (OR= 0.43), the odds of a respondent to smoke cigarettes were lower if the respondent studies on a VMBO G/T level than if they study in VMBO B/K. Being a hip hopper or not appeared to be significantly associated with cannabis use χ^2

(1)= 12.74, p< 0.001. The odds ratio (OR= 7.26) shows that the odds of hip hoppers to smoke cannabis, were more than 7.26 times higher compared to non- hip hoppers.

Table 6.4.2: Prevalence of substance use among hip hoppers and non- hip hoppers and the results from the binary logistic regression analyses.

		Smoke		Alcohol		Cannabis		Total
		N (%)	OR (p- value)	N (%)	OR (p- value)	N (%)	OR (p- value)	N (%)
School	**A**	32 (38)	0.74 (0.411)	58 (68)	0.85 (0.641)	4 (5)	2.54 (0.179)	88 (47)
	B	25 (25)		54 (54)		9 (9)		98 (53)
Gender	**Boy**	25 (27)	0.41 (0.033)*	59 (63)	0.83 (0.610)	8 (9)	1.80 (0.396)	94 (51)
	Girl	32 (35)		53 (58)		5 (6)		90 (49)
Ethnic background	**Dutch/ Western**	45 (35)	2.72 (0.026)*	91 (71)	6.32 (0.000)***	7 (6)	0.88 (0.853)	126 (70)
	Non- Western	12 (21)		21 (38)		6 (11)		55 (30)
Educational level	**VMBO B/K**	47 (36)	0.23 (0.002)**	81 (62)	0.41 (0.034)*	10 (8)	0.92 (0.927)	132 (74)
	VMBO G/T	9 (20)		25 (54)		2 (4)		46 (26)
Age	**14**	7 (21)	1.86 (0.006)**	15 (46)	1.90 (0.008)**	1 (3)	1.43 (0.343)	32 (18)
	15	30 (33)		56 (62)		8 (8)		90 (50)
	16	12 (26)		29 (63)		2 (4)		45 (25)
	17-18	8 (57)		12 (86)		2 (14)		14 (7)
Hip hop		19 (39)	2.09 (0.067)	32 (59)	1.70 (0.201)	9 (18)	6.80 (0.004)**	50 (27)
Non- hip hop		37 (28)		78 (65)		4 (3)		133 (73)
Total		57 (31)		112 (61)		13 (7)		

Variable(s) entered: School, Gender, Ethnic background, Educational level, Age, Hip hop.
*p < 0.05 **p < 0.01 ***p< 0.001

Three logistic binary regression analyses were conducted for each of the three forms of substance use as dependent variables. School, gender, ethnical background, educational level, age and being a hip hopper or not, were used as covariates. These analyses showed that the odds of boys to report themselves as smokers, were lower compared to girls (OR= 0.74, p< 0.05). The odds of a (OR= 2.72, p< 0.05) Dutch/ Western respondent to smoke seemed 2.72 times higher compared to a migrant respondent from a non- Western background. With regard to alcohol consumption the odds of Dutch/ Western respondents to drink alcohol were over six times (OR= 6.32, p< 0.001) higher than the non- Western respondents. The odds of respondents in the higher levels of VMBO to smoke, seemed to be lower (OR= 0.23, p< 0.01) compared to their peers in VMBO B/K. Something similar could be noted with regard to educational level and alcohol consumption (OR=0.41, p<0.034). The odds of an older respondent to smoke, were nearly twice as high than for younger respondents (OR= 1.86, p< 0.01). This also goes for alcohol consumption (OR= 1.90, p< 0.01). Lastly, cannabis use was to only one of the three substances that showed a significant association with being a hip hopper. The odds of hip hoppers in this survey to use cannabis, were nearly seven times higher (OR= 6.80, p< 0.05) compared to non- hip hoppers. This is important for answering research question 1.d: What are the differences in behaviour of hip hoppers regarding a healthy lifestyle and sports compared to non-hip hoppers.

6.5 Dietary habits

This paragraph contributes on answering research question 1.d which entails the differences in behaviour with regard to a healthy lifestyle and sports.

About 63% of all respondents reported that they always, or most of the time ate breakfast. 28% said that they always or mostly ate snacks and sweets more than three times per day. The recommended daily amount of fruit and vegetables were most of the time or always consumed by respectively 40% and 49% of the respondents. 52% of the respondents in school A reported to mostly or never eat more than three snacks or sweets per day compared to 30% of the respondents in school B. Gender differences showed as 72% of the male, and 53% of the female respondents said that they always or mostly had breakfast in the morning. 32% of the boys and half of the girls reported to never or mostly did not eat more than three snacks or sweets per day. With regard to ethnic background, about 54% of the migrants with a non- Western background said to always or mostly have breakfast in the morning compared to two thirds of the Dutch/ Western respondents. More than half of the 'non- Western' respondents said to eat fruit twice a day or more compared to approximately one third of the Dutch/ Western respondents. Hip hoppers appeared to eat breakfast less often than their peers from other youth cultures. Nearly half of all hip hoppers ate breakfast always or most of the time compared to more than two thirds of the non- hip hoppers. Snacks and sweets were eaten more than three times per day most of the time or always by 37% of the hip hoppers compared to 25% of the non- hip hoppers. Fruit seemed to be eaten more by non- hip hoppers as 41% of them mostly or always ate fruit twice a day compared to 35% of the hip hoppers. Finally the consumption of vegetables was asked and 37% of the hip hoppers and 53% of the rest said that they ate at least 200 grams of vegetables every day.

Ignoring the data collection structure by collapsing the data from the two schools, increases risk of inflating statistical significance. With this taken into account, some of the above mentioned differences appeared to be significant. The results from the chi square analyses showed that being school was significantly associated with the statement about snacks and sweets χ^2 (4)= 9.67, p< 0.05. Respondents in school A seemed less likely to eat more than the recommended amount of snacks and sweets per day. Ethnic background showed a significant association with having breakfast χ^2 (4)= 10.49, p< 0.05. Non- Western respondents appeared to have breakfast less often than their Dutch/ Western peers. Ethnic background also was significantly associated with fruit consumption χ^2 (4)= 10.99, p< 0.05. Non- Western respondent ate significantly more often the recommended quantity of fruit per day compared to their Dutch/ Western peers. Being a hip hopper seemed to be significantly associated with vegetable consumption χ^2 (4)= 12.62, p< 0.05. Hip hoppers appeared to be less likely to eat the recommended quantity of vegetables.

The results of the four linear regression analyses (table 6.5.1) with each of the dietary habits as dependent variables, showed a significant influence of between school and the consumption of snacks and sweets (p< 0.05). Breakfast and gender also showed a significant association (p< 0.01) as well as gender and the consumption of snacks and sweets (p< 0.05). Ethnic background seemed significantly associated with fruit consumption (p< 0.05). Hip hop was significantly associated with having breakfast (p< 0.01) and vegetable consumption (p< 0.05). When this information is linked with what was reported in the above, it appeared that hip hoppers eat breakfast significantly less often than non- hip hoppers. And hip hoppers appear to less often 200 grams of vegetables a day compared to non- hip hoppers. This information is relevant for answering research question 1.d:

What are the differences in behaviour of hip hoppers regarding a healthy lifestyle and sports compared to non- hip hoppers?

Table 6.5.1: Results linear regression analyses with breakfast, snacks and sweets, fruit and vegetables as dependent variables.

	Dietary habits											
	Breakfast			Snacks and sweets			Fruit			Vegetables		
	b-value	t	Sig.	*b*-value	t	sig	*b*-value	t	sig	*b*-value	t	sig
School	-0.12	-0.63	0.532	-0.43	-2.54	0.012*	0.09	0.48	0.630	-0.13	-0.74	0.461
Gender	-0.53	-2.83	0.005**	-0.35	-2.07	0.040*	0.36	1.91	0.058	0.16	0.90	0.372
Ethnic background	-0.39	-1.84	0.067	0.25	1.33	0.185	0.48	2.26	0.025*	-0.37	-1.85	0.065
Age	0.05	0.43	0.667	0.06	0.57	0.572	0.11	0.93	0.356	-0.08	-0.75	0.454
Hip hop	0.58	2.68	0.008**	-0.19	-0.98	0.331	0.14	0.65	0.516	0.50	2.53	0.012*

Variable(s) entered: School, Gender, Ethnic background, Age, Hip hop.
*p < 0.05 **p < 0.01

6.6 Sports and exercise

The results in this paragraph give an answer to research question 1.d which is about the differences in behaviour between hip hoppers and non- hip hoppers with regard to a healthy lifestyle and sport.

5.6.1 Exercise

Table 6.6.1 and 5.6.2 show that respondents in school A are slightly more physically active than their peers in school B as about 59% of the respondents in school A and 56% of the respondents in school B were active for a minimum of 30 minutes per day week. The less active respondents also show little differences among schools.

Table 6.6.1: Average days per week in which the respondents do at least 30 minutes of moderate physical exercise.

	School		Gender		Ethnic background		Educational level		Age				Total
	A	B	Boy	Girl	Dutch/ Western	Non-Western	B / K	G / T	14	15	16	17 - 18	
Hip hop	5.3	4.7	4.9	5.0	5.1	4.9	4.9	5.6	4.7	5.5	4.9	3.8	5.0
Non- Hip hop	4.4	4.2	4.4	4.2	4.4	3.8	4.4	4.2	4.1	4.2	4.5	4.2	4.3
Total	4.7	4.3	4.6	4.4	4.6	4.3	4.5	4.5	4.4	4.5	4.6	4.1	4.5

There seemed to be more girls (9%) who reported to be active for at least 30 minutes for zero or one day a week compared to the boys (5%). None of the boys reported not to be active at all, while 2% of the girls did. 55% of both boys and girls are active for at least 30 minutes during 5 or more days a week. 18% of the boys reported to be active for 30 minutes a day during six days of the week compared to 7% of the girls. This information along with the information from table 6.6.1 shows that there appear to be little gender differences in physical activity in this study.

There did not appear to be big differences in the level of physical activity between Dutch/ Western and non- Western respondents. 15% of the non- Western, and 22% of the Dutch/ Western respondents said to be active for at least 30 minutes during all days of the week. Differences were seen as about 36% non- Western respondents were active for at least 30 minutes during zero to three days of the week, compared to 28% of the Dutch/ Western respondents.

On average there seem to be little differences in the number of days in which respondents from different educational levels are active for 30 minutes or more (table 6.6.1). Table 6.6.2 shows that respondents in the higher levels of VMBO (G/T) reported relatively more often to be active for one (10%) or two (14%) days a week compared to the lower levels where 5% was active for 30 minutes or more during one day or the week and 10% for two days. 17% of the respondents on VMBO B/K were active for 4 days compared to 2% of their peers in VMBO G/T. 29% of the respondents in VMBO G/T were active all seven days of the week compared to 17% of their peers in the lower levels.

Respondents appear to become more physically active with age with an exception in the oldest respondents (table 6.6.1). Table 6.6.2 shows that the younger respondents more often responded to be active for two days or less. On the other hand that among the 14 year- olds, about 60% is active for at least 30 minutes during five or more days a week. This counts for 58% of the 15 year- olds, 50% of the 16 year- olds and 42% of the 17-18 year olds. None of the 14, 16 and 17-18 year old respondents were not at all active and the 16 year- olds were all active for at least two days a week.

Table 6.6.2: Distribution of the number of days per week in which respondents had moderate physical activity for 30 minutes or more (all physical activity including transportation, PE lessons etcetera) and the results of the binary logistic regression analysis about meeting the norm for moderate physical activity (NNGB).

		Frequency of moderate exercise								
		0 days N (%)	**1 day N (%)**	**2 days N (%)**	**3 days N (%)**	**4 days N (%)**	**5 days N (%)**	**6 days N (%)**	**7 days N (%)**	**NNGB OR (p- value)**
School	**A**	1 (1)	3 (4)	10 (13)	8 (10)	10 (13)	16 (20)	13 (16)	18 (23)	0.79 (0.597)
	B	1 (1)	7 (8)	10 (11)	12 (13)	13 (15)	21 (24)	9 (10)	16 (18)	
Gender	**Boys**	0 (0)	4 (5)	10 (12)	11 (13)	13 (15)	16 (19)	15 (18)	15 (18)	0.85 (0.719)
	Girls	2 (2)	6 (7)	10 (12)	9 (11)	10 (12)	21 (26)	6 (7)	18 (22)	
Ethnic background	**Dutch/Western**	1 (1)	7 (6)	13 (11)	12 (10)	15 (13)	27 (24)	15 (13)	25 (22)	2.17 (0.174)
	Non- Western	1 (2)	2 (4)	7 (15)	7 (15)	8 (16)	10 (21)	6 (12)	7 (15)	
Educational level	**B/K**	1 (1)	6 (5)	12 (10)	14 (12)	20 (17)	28 (24)	17 (14)	20 (17)	1.94 (0.310)
	G/T	1 (2)	4 (10)	6 (14)	5 (12)	1 (2)	8 (19)	5 (12)	12 (29)	
Age	**14**	0 (0)	4 (13)	4 (13)	2 (7)	2 (7)	9 (30)	3 (10)	6 (20)	1.05 (0.841)
	15	2 (3)	4 (5)	7 (9)	8 (10)	11 (14)	20 (26)	11 (14)	14 (18)	
	16	0 (0)	0 (0)	6 (14)	7 (17)	8 (19)	6 (14)	5 (12)	10 (24)	
	17-18	0 (0)	1 (7)	3 (21)	2 (14)	2 (14)	2 (14)	2 (14)	2 (14)	
Hip hop		0 (0)	0 (0)	6 (13)	3 (6)	9 (19)	11 (23)	5 (14)	14 (16)	3.22 (0.010)*
Non- hip hop		2 (2)	10 (9)	14 (12)	16 (14)	14 (12)	26 (22)	17 (10)	19 (29)	
Total		2 (1)	10 (6)	20 (12)	19 (11)	23 (14)	37 (22)	22 (13)	33 (20)	

Variable(s) entered: School, Gender, Ethnic background, Educational level, Age, Hip hop.
* $p < 0.05$

Hip hoppers appeared to be more physically active than their peers who were not hip hoppers. Hip hoppers exercised moderately for at least 30 minutes 5 days in the week, compared to 4.3 days for non- hip hoppers. The only exception were hip hoppers who were 17-18 years of age. They exercised 3.8 days a week which was less than average and less than non- hip hoppers in that age category.

The norm for moderate physical activity (NNGB) consists of at least 30 minutes of moderate exercise a day. If there was a difference between meeting this norm and school, gender, educational level, ethnic background, age or being a hip hopper or not, was analysed by use of a chi square analysis.

The data from the two schools was combined, thus running the risk of inflating statistical significance. With this in mind, none of the above mentioned differences showed to be significant.

Binary logistic regression analysis showed that being a hip hopper or not was significantly associated with frequency of moderate exercise. Hip hoppers appeared to be more than three times more likely (OR= 3.22, p< 0.05) to meet the norm of moderately physical activity of at least 30 minutes per day.

6.6.2 Sports

The top three most frequently practiced sports consisted of football, dance and fitness. Football and dance are the most frequently practiced sports for respectively male and female hip hoppers (50%), but also for the male and female non- hip hoppers (42%). The data showed that the top five of most frequently practiced sports by hip hoppers were: football, dance, martial arts, fitness and volleyball. This top five is almost identical with the top five of the other respondents as is shown in table 6.6.3.

Table 6.6.3: The five most popular sports that have been practiced most in the past year (prior to the survey) by male and female hip hoppers and non- hip hoppers.

		Top 5 most frequently practiced sports				
		1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
		N (%)	**N (%)**	**N (%)**	**N (%)**	**N (%)**
School	**A**	Football 18 (22)	Dance 11 (14)	Fitness 8 (10)	Volleyball 7 (9)	Basketball 4 (5)
	B	Football 26 (34)	Dance 12 (16)	Fitness 11 (14)	Martial arts 8 (10)	Horseback riding 4 (5)
Hip hop	**Boys**	Football 15 (50)	Fitness 5 (17)	Martial arts 4 (13)	Basketball 2 (7)	Volleyball 2 (7)
	Girls	Dance 7 (50)	Running/ jogging 2 (14)	Martial arts 1 (7)	Volley 1 (7)	Horseback riding 1 (7)
	Total hip hop	Football 15 (33)	Dance 8 (18)	Fitness 5 (11)	Martial arts 5 (11)	Volleyball 3 (7)
Non- hip hop	**Boys**	Football 22 (42)	Fitness 8 (15)	Tennis 3 (6)	Volleyball 3 (6)	Wake boarding 3 (6)
	Girls	Dance 14 (25)	Fitness 6 (11)	Football 5 (9)	Horseback riding 5 (9)	Tennis 3 (5)
	Total non- hip hop	Football 28 (25)	Dance 14 (13)	Fitness 14 (13)	Martial arts 6 (5)	Tennis 6 (5)
Total		Football 44 (28)	Dance 23 (15)	Fitness 19 (12)	Martial arts 11 (7)	Volleyball 7 (4)

The participation of respondents in sports activities was examined. A distinction was made between respondents who were active in sports and those who were not. Table 6.6.4 shows an overview of active and non- active respondents. 95% of the respondents in school A were active in a sport compared to 88% of their peers in school B. Boys seemed to be more active in sports than girls. 95% of the boys are active in a sport while 88% of the girls reported to be active in some type of sport. Dutch/ Western respondents reported more often to be active in a sport than migrants with a non-Western background as 95% of the Dutch/Western respondents reported to be active in a sport compared to 82% of the migrants with a non- Western background. No substantial differences were seen with regard to educational level as 91% of the respondents in VMBO B/K are active in sports compared to 93% of their peers in VMBO G/T. Age also showed minor discrepancies as 90% of the 14 year old respondents were active in sports. 91% of the 15 and 16 year- olds and 93% of the 17-18

year- olds showed to be active in sports. Among the respondents who felt affiliated with hip hop culture, 96% was active in some type of sport compared to 89% of the non- hip hoppers.

When the data collection structure is ignored by combining the data from the two schools, the risk of inflating statistical significance occurs. With this is mind, some of the above mentioned differences showed to be significant. The results of the chi square analyses showed that being active in sports was significantly associated with ethnic background χ^2 (1)= 7.86, p< 0.05. Based on the odds ratio (OR= 4.20), the odds of a Dutch/ Western respondent to be active in sports, appeared to be over four times higher than for their migrant peers with a non- Western background. Hip hop did not show any significant association with being active in sports.

Table 6.6.4: Distribution of respondents who are active in sports with the results from the binary logistic regression analysis.

		Active in sports activities		Total N (%)
		N (%)	OR (p- value)	
School	**A**	81 (95)	0.49 (0.269)	88 (47)
	B	86 (88)		98 (53)
Gender	**Boys**	88 (95)	1.88 (0.292)	94 (51)
	Girls	77 (88)		90 (49)
Ethnic background	**Dutch/ Western**	116 (95)	3.90 (0.023)*	126 (70)
	Non- Western	46 (82)		55 (30)
Educational level	**B/K**	117 (91)	1.49 (0.572)	132 (74)
	G/T	42 (93)		46 (26)
Age	**14**	28 (90)	1.03 (0.944)	32 (18)
	15	80 (91)		90 (50)
	16	41 (91)		45 (25)
	17-18	13 (93)		14 (7)
Hip hop		47 (96)	2.95 (0.189)	50 (27)
Non- hip hop		118 (89)		133 (73)
Total		167 (91)		

Variable(s) entered: School, Gender, Ethnic background, Educational level, Age, Hip hop.
*p < 0.05

The logistic binary regression analysis also showed no significant associations between being a hip hopper or not and participation in sports when school, gender, ethnic background, age and educational level are taken into account. Ethnic background did appear to be significantly associated. The odds of respondents with a Dutch/ Western background to be active in sports appeared to be almost four times higher (OR= 3.90, p< 0.05) compared to migrants with a non- Western background.

In the following an overview is given of whether respondents play sports in an organized (commercial or non- commercial) setting or not. In school A 78% of the respondents was a member of a non-commercial sports provider and 46% was member of a commercial sports provider. Sports club membership seemed less prevalent in school B where 59% was member of a non- commercial sports provider and 42% was member of a commercial provider. Boys appeared to be more often member of both non- commercial (72%) and commercial (51%) sports providers compared to girls. 63% of the girls are member of a non- commercial provider and 36% reported to have a membership of a

commercial sports organisation. About three quarters of the Dutch/ Western respondents reported to be a member of a non- commercial sports provider, which is more than their non- Western peers (53%). About 52% of the non- Western respondents had a membership of a commercial sports provider compared to 41% of their Dutch/ Western peers. Respondents in the higher level of VMBO appeared to be a member of a non- commercial sports provider (74%) more often compared to their peers in the lower levels (66%). The respondents in the lower levels (46%) were more often a member of a commercial sports provider than their peers in VMBO G/T (33%). Both forms of memberships appeared to be associated with age as older respondents more often were a member of a (non-) commercial sports provider. Among the 14 year- olds, about 54% had a membership at a non- commercial sports provider and among the 17-18 year- olds over three quarters of the respondents had such a membership. 21% of the 14 year- olds and 69% of the 17-18 year- olds were member of such a commercial organisation. The data in table 5.6.7 shows that there were only small differences in sports club membership between hip hoppers and non- hip hoppers. 69% of the hip hoppers were member of a non- commercial club and 43% was member of a commercial sports provider. For non- hip hoppers this was true for respectively 67% and 44%. These numbers barely differ from the total average of 68% of non- commercial sports club memberships and 44% of commercial sports club memberships.

If the data collection structure is ignored by combining the data from the two schools, the risk of inflating statistical significance increases. With this taken into account, some of the mentioned differences appeared to be significant. Chi square analyses showed a significant association between membership of a non- commercial sports organisation and the school of respondents χ^2 (1)= 6.78, p< 0.05. The odds to be a member of a non- commercial club were lower (OR= 0.41) if respondents were in school B compared with school A. Membership of a non- commercial club also was significantly associated with ethnic background χ^2 (1)= 5.67, p< 0.05. The odds to be a member of a non-commercial sports provider were 2.35 times higher for Dutch/Western respondents compared to migrant respondents with a non- Western background. Commercial sports club membership was significantly associated with age χ^2 (3)= 11.18, p< 0.05. Older respondents were more likely to report to be member of a commercial sports club.

The results from two logistic binary regression analyses showed that ethnic background was significantly associated with non- commercial sport club membership. The odds of Dutch/ Western respondents to be a member of a non- commercial sports organisation appear to be more than twice as high (OR= 2.36, p< 0.05) than for their peers from a non- Western background. Age showed to be significantly associated with membership of a commercial sports provider. Older respondents appeared to be more likely (1.813, p< 0.01) to be member of a commercial sports club than younger respondents. Being a hip hopper or not did not appear to matter for commercial or non- commercial sports club membership.

Table 6.6.5: Membership of a (non-) commercial sports club in member and not a member with the results of the binary logistic regression analyses.

		Non- commercial club membership		Commercial club membership		Total
		N (%)	OR (p- value)	N (%)	OR (p- value)	N (%)
School	**A**	62 (78)	0.52 (0.079)	36 (46)	0.86 (0.663)	88 (47)
	B	51 (59)		37 (42)		98 (53)
Gender	**Boys**	64 (72)	1.48 (0.300)	45 (51)	1.69 (0.139)	94 (51)
	Girls	48 (63)		28 (36)		90 (49)
Ethnic background	**Dutch/ Western**	86 (73)	2.36 (0.037)*	48 (41)	0.74 (0.455)	126 (70)
	Non- Western	24 (53)		24 (52)		55 (30)
Educational level	**B/K**	77 (66)	1.47 (0.377)	54 (46)	0.59 (0.198)	132 (74)
	G/T	31 (74)		14 (33)		46 (26)
Age	**14**	15 (54)	1.26 (0.324)	6 (21)	1.81 (0.007)**	32 (18)
	15	54 (68)		34 (43)		90 (50)
	16	31 (74)		53 (55)		45 (25)
	17-18	10 (77)		9 (69)		14 (7)
Hip hop		33 (69)	1.43 (0.406)	20 (43)	0.77 (0.520)	50 (27)
Non- hip hop		78 (67)		52 (44)		133 (73)
Total		113 (68)		73 (44)		

Variable(s) entered: School, Gender, Ethnic background, Educational level, Age, Hip hop.

*p < 0.05 **p < 0.01

7. Results: interviews

In this second section, results of in- depth interviews are given which mainly help answer research questions 1.b and 1.c. From each school, seven students participated in the interviews. In school A four boys and three girls participated and in school B, there were five girls and two boys. The average age of the respondents was 15.36 years (SD= 0.84 ages 14-17). The results of these interviews are reported in the following.

7.1 Health(ism)?

The way health was perceived by the respondents showed similarities, but also differences with the earlier mentioned general healthism discourse. Respondents talked about individual behaviour and responsibility with regard to health and about appearance in relation to health.

7.1.1 Managing health

When asked about their thoughts about the meaning of health, all respondents talked about things they could do in order to stay healthy. Health and a healthy lifestyle were thus very much associated. Another association that clearly appeared, was between health and weight. Nearly all of the respondents said that they would not like to be too fat or too skinny and one of the things that was mentioned by all respondents as being important to maintain health (and weight), was healthy nutrition. According to half of the respondents (5 girls and 2 boys) this consisted of not eating too much sweets and snacks (like chips, KFC and McDonalds). Fruit and vegetables were also mentioned by several respondents as elements of healthy nutrition.

Food appeared also to be used as a tool for managing weight so by having a healthy diet, one could prevent to become fat.

Romelle (age: 15, school A, Dutch): *"After dinner, don't eat chips or anything. That is very important because afterwards you will not burn anything or whatever. Than you go to bed and then you don't do anything anymore. And then you get a bit fat."*

This statement demonstrates not only the importance of healthy food, but also of healthy eating habits in general, like she said that you should not eat snacks after dinner. Some respondents also mentioned having breakfast, lunch and dinner as important parts of healthy eating habits.

One of the girls said that, she would rather exercise than watch her dietary habits in order to manage her health.

Arnette (age: 17, school B, Dutch): *"I think sports are more important than nutrition."*

Exercise and sports were mentioned by almost all respondents as elements of health and a healthy lifestyle. Respondents said that to have a healthy lifestyle, exercise should be done on a daily basis according to some and sports a few times a week. One of the respondents said:

Dana (age: 16, school B, Dutch/Moroccan)*: "Yeah, taking care of your body. Just watch what you eat and not too much of the same or anything like that I believe and do enough sports. That will help your body to just […] stay the same."*

Here Dana mentioned health as a state of balance of the body and by proper diet and exercise the body will be in balance and "*stay the same*" in terms of appearance or weight, which in this case meant to stay healthy.

7.1.2 Appearance

According to the respondents, not only healthy dietary habits and exercise were important when it comes to health. Appearance also was mentioned in relation to health. One girl for instance laid emphasis on looking healthy as an indicator for health as she said:

Dana (age: 16, school B, Dutch/Moroccan): *"You just have to look a bit healthy, that's the best."*

Appearance in relation to health was often connected with weight and being too fat or too thin. Neither of both were considered to be healthy or preferable:

Lana (age: 14, school B, Moroccan): *"That you are not too fat, not too skinny. That your weight is normal and stuff like that."*

When the respondents talked about weight, they often talked in extremes as one of the girls said for example:

Tanya (age: 15, school A, Dutch): *"Yeah just a normal body, not too skinny like anorexia, but also not too fat. Just in between, that […] for instance she shouldn't be 200 kilo's."*

The majority of the respondents explicitly said that both boys and girls should not be too fat or too skinny in order to look good but there appears to be a gender difference regarding appearance. Shawn mentioned that in order to look good, he just tried to live healthy. To live healthy for him meant eating properly and being active in sports. According to both male and female respondents, boys generally needed to be a bit muscular, tall and not too fat or skinny in order to look good. Two of the girls said that a boy should have 'body' and that he should not be too skinny. A little bit of fat was according to them acceptable for a boy, but body in terms of muscle was preferred. Half of the boys explicitly mention a muscular body as an attractive body for men. One of the boys (Curtis) used to be active as a b-boy but he quit and now he worked out at the gym in order to grow a more muscular physique. His aim was to be as muscular as some of the famous rappers he knows. To achieve this Curtis worked out as much as he possibly could. Being active in sports and exercise thus appeared to be attributed to both health and appearance for boys. This showed as all the male respondents also mentioned sports as an important part of health and a healthy lifestyle. It could be seen as a way for boys to maintain or create a healthy, muscular, but also attractive body.

Nearly all female respondents said that sports and exercise are important in order to maintain health. For girls, exercise and sports appeared to be more related to weight control compared to the boys. Girls generally did not work out in order to build a bigger physique. Girls should for instance not be muscular because that would make them look masculine according to one of the respondents. Shawn said that in his opinion a girl should preferably look sporty or athletic and other two respondents (one male and one female both from a migrant non- Western background) said that a girl could be a bit fat and still be beautiful.

So health and appearance were connected in a slightly different manner for boys and girls. It seemed as if for girls, appearance was more aimed at taking care of (facial) beauty and hygiene (make- up, doing their hair etcetera). This was mentioned by nine respondents. Dana mentioned for instance that a fat person could still look healthy if they had good skin (no pimples) which also shows this focus on facial beauty when they think of a girl's appearance whereas for boys the focus was placed more on sports and working out to enhance the body.

Finally this statement was made by one of the female respondents, but five others also mentioned something similar:

Sandra (age: 15, school B, Dutch/Turkish): *"Just, as long as you just be yourself."*

Being yourself and authenticity is something that might be seen as typical for hip hop culture. This also is often mentioned by artists as authenticity and creativity are very much respected within the culture (appendix VI). According to these respondents, being yourself meant that it is good to be different. One of the respondents even said that she specifically wanted to be different.

Dana (age: 16, school B, Dutch/Moroccan): *"I never want something that others also have."*

7.2 Kind of (un)healthy lifestyles

Next to nutrition, sports, exercise and appearance, the use of alcohol, drugs and smoking were named by many respondents when they thought of health. All respondents who talked about these topics said that health had to do with moderate or no consumption of any of these goods. When looking at the own lifestyle of the respondents, they seemed to have a healthy lifestyle or a 'kind of' healthy lifestyle.

Responses about the own lifestyles of the respondents were fairly mixed. One group mentioned that they thought that they had a healthy lifestyle. These people did not smoke, said that they had healthy dietary habits and they were active in sports and/or exercise. The majority of the migrant respondents from a non- Western background said that they had a healthy lifestyle. This lifestyle consisted of a healthy diet and exercise but not to the extreme. There were for example respondents who believed they had a healthy lifestyle, but they did not eat vegetables, or they were not active in sports. Some drank alcohol but not every week and none of these (healthy) respondents smoked cigarettes or cannabis. Terrel and Andre said that they occasionally use a water pipe/ hookah. They smoked it in a social setting with friends and they said that it was harmless and not unhealthy and could thus be used while having a healthy lifestyle. Generally respondents in this group often said that they 'kind of' have a healthy lifestyle.

Tanya (age: 15, school A, Dutch): *"Yes, kind of, but not extremely healthy. […] Well, I don't smoke, I don't drink, nah I do eat candy but not a lot or anything…"*

Respondents who said that they did not have a very healthy lifestyle, were mostly girls from Dutch/Western descent. Like the people who believed that they 'kind of' had a healthy lifestyle, this group often also mentioned to have 'kind of' an unhealthy lifestyle. They often had some of the healthy elements, but due to a lack of something healthy (healthy nutrition or exercise) or too much of something unhealthy (smoking, alcohol, drugs), these people thought that they were not living very healthy lives. One of the boys said about his lifestyle:

Shawn (age: 16, school A, Dutch): "*Yes, in the 'sports- department' I do. On the other end not actually, with smoking and stuff…"*

Many of the respondents in this group, also reported to have unhealthy dietary habits. Two of the female respondents for instance did not often eat breakfast or lunch. Cheryl explicitly said to do this because she wanted to lose weight. Curtis said that he ate fatty foods fairly frequently.

Curtis (age: 15, school B, Dutch): *"I eat a lot of fatty things. But that's okay for me because I am a bit… a bit skinny."*

These last examples regarding nutrition show that the respondents knew that their diet was unhealthy but they seemed to justify it because they believe it is good for their appearance. Here there appeared to be a discrepancy between knowledge and behaviour. This discrepancy was also shown by a girl who sketched an extreme image of a healthy lifestyle and she thought it embodied of too much limitations.

Lana (age: 14, school B, Moroccan): *"No smoking, no blowing, no drinking, you can for example only eat vegetables, fruit and you shouldn't snack too much, once a day you can eat a piece of candy, but that all really goes too far."*

Approximately half of the respondents reported to not really have a healthy lifestyle because they drink alcohol and/or because they smoked or because they used drugs. When asked about alcohol use and its possible combination with a healthy lifestyle, only two respondents (boys, Dutch and non- Western descent) were totally against the use of alcohol but the rest said that alcohol could be used in combination with a healthy lifestyle as long as it was done occasionally and in moderation. The majority mentioned something like:

Arnette (age: 17, school B, Dutch): *"As long as you use it normally. Just not every day or something like that. Just every now and then during the weekends or when you go out."*

Smoking was also discussed in the interview and the responses were mixed. Most of the respondents said that smoking was bad for your health and therefore they did not do it. There also were a few respondents who were less extreme in that they thought that if people only smoked a moderate amount of cigarettes, they could still have a healthy lifestyle.

Sandra (age: 15, school B, Dutch/Turkish): *"Yeah, smoking, everybody does it nowadays even if it is done in a sneaky way. But yeah, it is just not right. It's just bad. Just stupid. Waste of money."*

Drug use was rejected by the majority of the respondents. Hard drugs was seen as much worse than soft drugs, but generally drugs had no part in a healthy lifestyle. There seemed to be a difference in the views and behaviours regarding drug use between the respondents in the two schools. None of the respondents in school A said that they used drugs. In school B the responses were less against drug use. Two of the girls (Inga and Sandra) explicitly rejected drug use and the use of hard drugs also was rejected by the ones who mentioned it. The own use of drugs was only mentioned explicitly by two of the respondents in school B. The boy said that he smoked cannabis because:

Curtis (age: 15, school B, Dutch): *"Because if I don't, then I'll become an aggressive little prick. And then I'll get in a fight with anyone within seconds and stuff."*

For this respondent, cannabis was used in order to calm himself down but Romelle and Cheryl said that smoking cannabis was often done because it is supposed to be 'cool'.

Finally the way respondents talked about acceptable or healthy quantities regarding smoking and drug- and alcohol use will be discussed briefly. In the part about appearance, respondents often talked in extremes when describing what they considered to be too fat or too skinny. They generally did the same when they talked about proper amounts of alcohol, cigarettes and cannabis. Alcohol or cannabis could for instance be consumed as long as it was not on a daily basis, and a person could smoke as long as it was not two packages of cigarettes every day. One of the respondents said the following when asked about what was too much alcohol:

William (age: 14, school A, Dutch): *"Yeah, drunk and stuff. Or some people drink so much that they end up in a coma. That is too much."*

7.3 Sports

It appeared as if sports were done by most of the respondents because it helped them to stay or get fit and healthy. Most of the male respondents said to regularly work out at the gym. One of the boys used to be a b-boy but now he specifically works out in order to build a more muscular physique:

Curtis (age: 15, school B, Dutch): *"Yeah now I'm more into fitness. Trying to build some muscles."*

William said that he did not work out at the gym, because he thinks it is boring. This shows that sports and exercise were not only necessary to maintain or enhance physical appearance, it also should be fun to do. Half of the male respondents said that they play sports because they thought that it was fun to do. The people who worked out at the gym often also did another type of sport that they really enjoyed doing. Dwayne and Terrel for instance really enjoyed (kick)boxing. Dwayne said that it is fun to do and it gave him the opportunity to blow off some steam.

Dwayne (age: 15, school B, Dutch/Haitian): *"…I can get rid of my anger on a punching bag or something like that."*

Being active for boys was mainly connected with sports. Andre and William were the only boys who were not active in sports at the time of the survey. They both enjoyed being active in sports and they mentioned that they wanted to play football again in the near future.

Being active in sports and exercise for girls did not mean being active in sports or working out in the gym to grow muscles. The female respondents worked out mainly to get in shape which for them meant to stay or get slim or not too fat. The emphasis for girls was placed less on sports and more on being active. In order to stay healthy, you should be active, but not necessarily in sports. This showed in the number of girls who were not active in any sport. Five out of the eight female respondents said that they were not really active in sports. Dancing was the most popular activity among female respondents. For some of the girls it was done as a sport and for some it was done as a casual (exercise) activity with friends. Nearly all girls who were not active in any sport, were migrants with a non- Western background and they all were in school B. Two of the girls who said

that they were not active in any sport at the time of the survey but that they were looking for a sport that fits them. Sandra said that she felt like she was active enough (walking, dancing, cycling) so she did not feel the need to do sports. Being active (in sports) was linked by the girls with appearance as it seems to be associated with health and losing weight. This could then be associated with the need to be active. This was illustrated by a comment by Lana:

Lana (age: 14, school B, Moroccan): *"In our family is it like, we don't really get fat or anything. So I'll see if I get fat yes or no. If I, at some point in time, notice like now I'm beginning to become fat, then I'll go do sports and stuff, but for now I feel fine."*

Fun seemed not to be a reason for her to be active. The other girls did stress that the activities that they did were fun to do. This was mentioned especially by the girls who danced with their friends.

All of the male and female respondents who were active in sports reported to practice their sport in an organized setting (gym, dance studio, boxing gym, football club). Nearly all female respondents dance to hip hop music either at a dance studio (Romelle, Tanya and Inga) or at home with friends (Dana, Sandra and Arnette). Football was only played by Shawn. Andre, William and one of the girls wanted to start playing football in the near future. It seemed as if the (non- Western) girls more often like to dance and have fun with friends in terms of exercise.

7.4 Health, sports and hip hop

Almost all of the respondents said that what they would call 'good health', was often not visible in hip hop. They based their statements on the impression they had from watching famous rappers, hip hop videos and friends who they considered to be hip hoppers. What these respondents saw in the media was often an image of alcohol- and drug (ab)use. When all of this is considered it appeared as if hip hop and health do not match very well. A respondent commented:

Curtis (age: 15, school B, Dutch): *"If you look at all the famous rappers, […] most of them all just dealt crack and stuff and they all used it and all that shit. So, yeah, it actually does not go well together."*

This student referred to the rough background of the rappers that he listened to (Notorious BIG and 2Pac). These rappers talk about their lives in their lyrics and often this has been visualized in music videos. Health as the respondents viewed it, did not take a primary position in these lyrics and videos and thus not in hip hop culture as they experienced it. Generally the majority of respondents believed that hip hoppers do not have a healthy lifestyle. Hip hoppers often smoke and drink alcohol and also the use of cannabis is common among hip hoppers according to the respondents. Several respondents mentioned overweight rappers like Rick Ross as an example of bad health in hip hop. Some said that alcohol and drugs could be seen a way to show that you are 'cool'. Rapper Snoop Dogg was often mentioned as an example of a hip hopper with an unhealthy lifestyle as he smokes joints in his videos. This use of drugs and alcohol in videos did not bother most of the respondents who talked about it. One of the respondents said:

Dana (age: 16, school B, Dutch/Moroccan): *"Yeah I think that's cool. That he just is open about it like: "Listen, I smoke weed" and yeah just, doesn't give a damn about what others think…"*

There also were three respondents who explicitly mentioned a distinction between hip hop dancers and rappers. They said that hip hop dancers have a healthy lifestyle because they watch what they eat, they often do not drink and smoke and they are active. Dancers have to stay fit in order to dance properly. Rappers are different according to the respondents, since some of them do not have such a healthy lifestyle because they are fat or drink and do drugs. On the other hand some mentioned that there are also rappers who appeared to work out, have a muscular physique and look as if they have a healthy lifestyle.

Respondents were also asked if they felt that hip hop and sports had some sort of connection. The responses showed that they thought that hip hoppers were generally more active in sports than others. Terrel thought that this also had to do with the music. For him hip hop music had an energizing effect on him which mainly came from the beats that are being used:

Terrel (age: 16, school A, Turkish): *"Well if I think of hip hop, I first of all think of being active. [pause] And then want to play sports when you hear the music."*

Next to the energising character of the music, it was also mentioned that some Dutch football players make rap music. Examples were given like Vernon Anita (AFC Ajax Amsterdam), Ryan Babel (1899 Hoffenheim in Germany) and Leroy Fer (FC Twente). Hip hop music from the United States was linked by some respondents to basketball. Dancing was named as a typical 'sport' that could be connected to hip hop according to several respondents. Dana said that hip hop was about being your own unique self and dance was a way to showcase yourself.

Dana (age: 16, school B, Dutch/Moroccan): *"… with dance you can show yourself in different ways. […] That's what I like about it."*

Romelle mentioned the dance film 'Honey' which had many different scenes with hip hop dance in it. In the film, sports like rope skipping and basketball were used as a source for inspiration in dance. These elements were later on in the film blended in a choreography. Next to basketball and dance, fitness was mentioned as a typical sport for hip hoppers. Several respondents said that the appearance of some of the hip hoppers showed that they worked out at the gym. This muscular physique was mentioned a few times and as said earlier, there was one hip hopper who explicitly said that he aimed to get such a physique. Finally it was interesting that Terrel said that boxing was connected with hip hop. He based this on the nature of hip hop that had something in common with boxing.

Hip hop and a healthy lifestyle thus do not seem to be considered as counterparts per se. For the hip hoppers in this survey, a healthy lifestyle and hip hop could go together as one of the respondents, who is an active rapper himself, said:

Dwayne (age: 15, school B, Dutch/Haitian): *"…[J]ust when I look at myself yeah. I think that if I go on like this, that I have a healthy lifestyle and I can just go on with making music."*

In sum it is fair to say that health and a healthy lifestyle were viewed by hip hoppers as something that could be achieved by proper dietary habits (eating fruit and vegetables and not too much fatty foods), being active (sports and exercise) and limit (or refrain from) smoking, drug- and alcohol use. Whether somebody had a healthy lifestyle and thus was healthy or not could be assessed by the way

a person looked. In that sense, the hip hoppers' views do not differ from the healthism discourse. The respondents often talked in extremes when they talked about unhealthy bodies, nutrition, and substance use. Use of drugs and alcohol could be seen as part of hip hop culture because it is often shown in rap videos and heard in lyrics. The majority of the respondents seemed not to be against alcohol and drug use, but it should be used in moderation. In appearance it was mentioned that people need to be themselves in order to look good. Respondents also mentioned trained, toned bodies (healthy) versus extremely skinny or fat bodies (unhealthy). Having a trained, muscular body was more connected to boys. Almost all the male respondents were active in fitness and one of them explicitly mentioned that he wanted to become as muscular as some of the rappers he knew. For boys being active and healthy was more connected to sports. For girls it was more about being active in general. Besides fitness other sports were explicitly mentioned as typical sports for hip hoppers. Examples of these sports are dance, basketball and in the Netherlands football. As an example, some famous Dutch football players were named who are active as rappers. It was also mentioned that sports could be seen as a source of inspiration for hip hoppers. Overall, sports and hip hop appeared to be closely connected.

8. Results: Q- sorts

Q- sorts were completed by the same fourteen respondents who also participated in the interviews. In this chapter, the results from these Q- sorts are compared to the results from the questionnaires and lastly responses by respondents about the methodology are described.

8.1. Differences in response on an individual level

A comparison between the responses given in the questionnaire and the responses given during the Q- sorts, are shown for each respondent in the following.

8.1.1 Romelle (age: 15, school A, Dutch)

This respondent categorized 16 of the 46 statements in the same category in both the Q- sort and the Likert-type questionnaire. For 17 statements the difference was one category up or down. For the remaining 13 statements the difference between the Q- sort category and the questionnaire answer was more substantial and will be described below if a change in opinion was found.

Of the six statements about the acceptance of substances, two showed a shift in opinion between the two methods. In the questionnaire, smoking was slightly rejected (+) by people in her youth culture, but in the Q- sorts she said that it was totally accepted (---).Two opposite responses were given on the statement that said that her friends reject drug use. In the questionnaire she totally disagreed (---). In the Q- sort she totally agreed (+++).

Two of the nine questions about sports and exercise showed substantial differences between both methods. In the questionnaire Romelle disagreed (--) with “I really have to push myself to participate in sports regularly” and in the Q- sort she did not agree or disagree (+/-). The statement about physical education (PE) in school showed two opposite responses. In the questionnaire she said that she totally disliked PE (---), but in the Q- sort she said that she really liked PE (+++).

One of the five statements about reputation showed substantial differences in responses and a shift in opinion. In the questionnaire she said that she slightly disagreed (-) with “I care about what my friends think of me”. In the Q- sort she slightly agreed (+) with the statement.

The seven statements about support and influence from others showed one substantial discrepancy. Romelle did not agree or disagree (+/-) with “my favourite artists look healthy in their video clips” in the questionnaire, but in the Q- sort she agreed (++) with the statement.

Two out of the eight statements about appearance showed notable differences and shift in opinion between the responses in the questionnaire and the Q- sorts. In the questionnaire Romelle said that she slightly disagreed (-) with “appearance is an important topic of conversation when I’m with my friends”, but in the Q- sort she slightly agreed (+). She totally disagreed (---) with “It is not cool to be fat” in the questionnaire, but in the Q- sort she answered by checking the middle box (+/-).

One of the five statements regarding health showed a notable difference as Romelle responded in the questionnaire that she disagreed (--) with “I feel good”, but in the Q- sort she did not agree or disagree (+/-).

Lastly in the six statements on a healthy lifestyle, Romelle had answered in the questionnaire that she totally agreed (+++) that alcohol and a healthy lifestyle could not go together, but in the Q- sort she did not agree or disagree (+/-). Romelle disagreed (--) with “if you smoke, you have an unhealthy lifestyle” in the questionnaire but in the Q- sort she did not agree or disagree (+/-).

8.1.2 Tanya (age: 15, school A, Dutch)

This respondent categorized 18 of the 46 statements in the same category in both the Q- sort and the Likert-type questionnaire. For 12 statements the difference was one category up or down. For the remaining 16 statements the difference between the Q- sort category and the questionnaire answer was more substantial and will be described below if a change in opinion was found.

Three out of the six statements on the acceptance of substance use among friends or within the respondent's youth culture showed discrepancies. Tanya agreed (++) in the questionnaire that smoking was rejected within her youth culture but in the Q- sort she slightly disagreed (-). She slightly disagreed (-) with "alcohol use is 'cool' within my youth culture" in the questionnaire but in the Q- sort she slightly agreed (+). Tanya did not agree or disagree (+/-) with "My friends reject smoking" in the questionnaires but in the Q- sort she totally agreed (+++).

Three of the nine statements about sports and exercise showed substantial discrepancies between the two methods. Tanya said in the questionnaire that she did not agree or disagree (+/-) with "I really have to push myself to participate in sports regularly" while in the Q- sort she totally disagreed (---). Tanya slightly agreed (+) with "I just don't get to play sports" in the questionnaire, but in the Q- sort she slightly disagreed (-). In the Q- sort she did not agree or disagree (+/-) with the statement about more sports during school but in the questionnaire she totally disagreed (---).

One out of the five statements on reputation showed a shift in opinion as Tanya said in the questionnaire that she did not really care about what others think of her (+), but in the Q- sort she disagreed (--) with this statement.

Of the seven statements about the influences of others, three big differences were seen. In the questionnaire Tanya did not agree or disagree (+/-) with "all of my friends participate in sports", but in the Q- sort she totally disagreed (---). In the questionnaire she thought that her favourite artists looked healthy (+++), but in the Q- sort she was not so sure about that(+/-). In the questionnaires she did not agree or disagree (+/-) with "I would like to look like my favourite artist", while in the Q- sort Tanya totally would not want to look like her favourite artist (---).

Big differences were shown in two out of the eight statements about appearance. Tanya first totally agreed (+++) in the questionnaire with "charisma is way more important than your figure", but in the Q- sort she did not agree or disagree (+/-). She also gave different answers to "a girls has to be very skinny in order to look good". In the questionnaire she checked the middle box (+/-) while in the Q- sort she totally disagreed (---).

One out of the six statements about a healthy lifestyle showed substantial differences and changes in opinion between the two methods. In the questionnaire Tanya did not agree or disagree (+/-) with "it is hard for me to have a healthy lifestyle", and in the Q- sort she disagreed (--).

8.1.3 Andre (age: 15, school A, Ghanaian/Dutch)

Andre categorized 30 of the 46 statements in the same category in both the Q- sort and the questionnaire. For 10 statements the difference was one category up or down and for the remaining 6 statements the difference between the two responses was greater as is described below.

Large discrepancies and a shift in opinion were found in the one of the eight statements on appearance. Andre disagreed (--) in the questionnaire to the statement "appearance is an important topic of conversation when I'm with my friends", while in the Q- sorts he slightly agreed (+).

One of the six statements about a healthy lifestyle showed a shift in opinion. Andre said that he disagrees with "alcohol and a healthy lifestyle do not go well together" in the questionnaire while in the Q- sort he agreed (++) with it.

8.1.4 William (age: 14, school A, Dutch)

This respondent categorized 17 of the 46 statements in the same category in both the Q- sort and the Likert-type questionnaire. For 14 statements the difference was one category up or down. For the remaining 15 statements the difference between the Q- sort category and the questionnaire answer was more substantial and will be described below if a change in opinion was found.

Three out of the six statements about the acceptance of substance use showed substantial differences and a shift in opinion. William totally agreed (+++) in the questionnaire with "smoking is rejected within my youth culture" and "alcohol use is 'cool' within my youth culture". In the Q- sort he did not agree or disagree (-/+) with the statement about smoking and he totally disagreed (---) with the statement on alcohol use in the Q- sort. In the questionnaire he completely agreed (+++) with the statement in which drug use was rejected by his friends. In the Q- sort he did not agree or disagree (+/-).

One out of the nine statements about sports and exercise showed a big discrepancy as William said in the questionnaire that he totally agreed (+++) with "I don't have a talent for sports", while in the Q- sort he totally disagreed (---) with the statement.

Out of the five statements about reputation, one statement showed a substantial discrepancy. In the questionnaire William said to not agree or disagree (+/-) with "I care about my friends' opinion about me". In the Q- sort he disagreed (--) with the statement.

The seven statements about the influences of others showed two big differences. In the statement about the healthy appearance of his favourite artists in video clips, William first said in the questionnaire that he totally agreed (+++) that his favourite artists looked healthy. In the Q- sort he said that he did not agree or disagree (+/-). Regarding the statement that he would like to look like his favourite artist, he first said in the questionnaire that he did not agree or disagree (+/-) but in the Q- sort he totally disagreed (---).

Substantial differences were found in one of the eight statements about appearance. William slightly agreed (+) with "in order to look healthy, you should live healthy" in the questionnaire. In the Q- sort he slightly disagreed (-) with the same statement.

Two out of the five statements regarding health showed notable differences as William slightly agreed (+) with "I care about what is (un)healthy" in the questionnaire, while he slightly disagreed (-) with it in the Q- sort. William also said to agree (++) with "I feel good", but in the Q- sort he did not agree or disagree (+/-).

In the statements about a healthy lifestyle, four out of the six statement showed a big difference between to two methods. William said in the questionnaire that he slightly disagreed (-) with "you could have a healthy lifestyle without having to be active in sports", but in the Q- sort he slightly agreed (+). In the questionnaire William said that a person could not use drugs and have a healthy lifestyle at the same time (---). In the Q- sort he said that he did not agree or disagree (+/-). In the questionnaire he agreed (++) with "alcohol and a healthy lifestyle do not go well together" and in the Q- sort he did not agree or disagree (+/-). William first slightly agreed (+) with "healthy nutrition is an important element of a healthy lifestyle", while in the Q- sort he slightly disagreed (-).

8.1.5 Terrel (age: 16, school A, Turkish)

This respondent categorized 18 of the 46 statements in the same category in both the Q- sort and the Likert-type questionnaire. For 10 statements the difference was one category up or down. For the remaining 18 statements the difference between the Q- sort category and the questionnaire answer was more substantial and will be described below if a change in opinion was seen.

Four of the six statements about the acceptance of substance use within youth cultures and among friends showed substantial differences. In the questionnaire he agreed (++) with "smoking is rejected within my youth culture", but in the Q- sort he totally disagreed (---) with it. Terrel first agreed (++) with "alcohol use is 'cool' within my youth culture", but in the Q- sort he did not agree or disagree (+/-). He checked the middle box (+/-) for "drug use is rejected within my youth culture" in the questionnaire but in the Q- sort he agreed (++). At first he totally disagreed (---) with "my friends reject drug use", but in the Q- sort he slightly agreed (+).

One of the nine statements about sports and exercise had substantial a change in opinion. Terrel totally disagreed (---) with "I don't have a talent for sports" but in the Q- sort he agreed (++).

Big differences were found in two of the five statements about reputation. Terrel totally disagreed (---) with "I am known for being a sporty person" and checked the middle box (+/-) for "I'm known as somebody who has a healthy lifestyle". In the Q- sort he agreed (++) both statements.

One of the seven statements about the influence of others showed big discrepancies. Terrel slightly disagreed (-) with "my parents help me to live healthy" in the questionnaire but during the Q-sort he totally agreed (+++) with it.

Two of the eight statements about appearance showed changes in opinion. During the questionnaire Terrel totally agreed (+++) with "charisma is way more important than your figure" and "it is not cool to be fat" but during the Q- sort he slightly disagreed (-) with the first and disagreed with the second statement.

The part about a healthy lifestyle showed two big changes. First Terrel disagreed (--) with "you could use drugs and still have a healthy lifestyle" and agreed (++) with "alcohol and a healthy lifestyle do not go well together". In the Q- sort he picked the middle box (+/-) for both statements.

8.1.6 Shawn (age: 16, school A, Dutch)

This respondent categorized 16 of the 46 statements in the same category in both the Q- sort and the Likert-type questionnaire. For 19 statements the difference was one category up or down. For the remaining 11 statements the difference between the Q- sort category and the questionnaire answer was more substantial and will be described below if a change in opinion was detected.

Three out of the five statements regarding reputation showed notable differences. In the questionnaire Shawn did not agree or disagree (+/-) with "I am known for being a sporty person" and "I'm known as somebody who has a healthy lifestyle". In the Q- sort he agreed (++) with the first, and he disagreed (--) with the second statement. Shawn totally disagreed (---) with "I don't care what others think of me" in the questionnaire, and in the Q- sorts he agreed (++) with the same statement.

Three of the ten statements regarding the influence of others, showed changes in opinion. In the questionnaire Shawn slightly agreed (+) with "all of my friends participate in sports", but in the Q-sort he slightly disagreed (-). In the questionnaire Shawn did not agree or disagree (+/-) with "my parents believe it is important for me to do sports" and "I would like to look like my favourite artist" but in the Q- sorts he totally agreed (+++) with the first and disagreed with the second statement.

Only one out of the eight statements on appearance showed a notable discrepancy. Shawn totally agreed (+++) with "in order to look healthy, you should live healthy" in the questionnaire, but in the Q- sort he slightly disagreed (-).

Two out of the six statements on a healthy lifestyle showed big differences. In the questionnaire Shawn totally disagreed (---) with "you could have a healthy lifestyle without having to be active in sports" but in the Q- sort he slightly agreed (+). In the questionnaire he disagreed (--) with "if you smoke, you have an unhealthy lifestyle", but in the Q- sort he used the middle box (+/-).

8.1.7 Inga (age: 16, school A, Dutch)

This respondent categorized 14 of the 46 statements in the same category in both the Q- sort and the Likert-type questionnaire. For 15 statements the difference was one category up or down. For the remaining 17 statements the difference between the Q- sort category and the questionnaire answer was more substantial and will be described below if a change in opinion was found.

Four big differences were found in the six responses of Inga regarding the acceptance of substance use. In the questionnaire Inga did not agree or disagree (+/-) with "smoking is rejected within my youth culture", and in the Q- sort she agreed (++) with it. In the questionnaire she first slightly disagreed (-) with the statement "alcohol use is 'cool' within my youth culture", but she changed her answer in the questionnaire to "slightly agree" (+). In the Q- sort she switched to totally disagree (---). In the questionnaire she first totally disagreed (---) with "drug use is rejected within my youth culture". She changed this answer to the other side of the continuum (+++) and in the Q- sort she changed back to "I totally disagree" (---).In the questionnaire she did not agree or disagree (+/-) with "my friends reject smoking", while in the Q- sort she totally disagrees (---).

In the statements about reputation two statements showed substantial discrepancies. Inga first said in the questionnaire that she totally disagreed (---) with "I am known for being a sporty person", but she changed her answer in "I do not agree or disagree" (+/-). In the Q- sort she totally disagreed (---) with the statement. Inga did not agree or disagree (+/-) with "I don't care what others think of me" in the questionnaires. In the Q- sorts she agreed (++) with the statement.

One out of the seven statements on the influence of others showed a notable discrepancy. Inga reported in the questionnaire that she did not agree or disagree (+/-) with "my favourite artists look healthy in their video clips". In the Q- sort she reported to agree (++) with the statement.

Substantial differences were found in one of the eight statements about appearance. In the questionnaire Inga said that she did not agree or disagree (+/-) with "it is not cool to be fat", while in the Q- sort she agreed (++) with it.

Notable discrepancies were found in two of the five statements about health. In the questionnaire she did not agree or disagree (+/-) with "I generally feel safe" and "the importance of sports for one's health is very much exaggerated". In the Q- sort she agreed (+) with the first, and totally disagreed (---) with the second statement.

Two out of the six statements regarding a healthy lifestyle showed substantial differences. In the questionnaire the respondent did not agree or disagree (+/-) with "healthy nutrition is an important element of a healthy lifestyle", but in the Q- sort she totally agreed (+++) with the same statement. She slightly disagreed (-) with "it is hard for me to have a healthy lifestyle" in the questionnaire but in the Q- sort she totally disagreed (---).

8.1.8 Dana (age: 16, school B, Dutch/Moroccan)

This respondent categorized 17 of the 46 statements in the same category in both the Q- sort and the Likert-type questionnaire. For 13 statements the difference was one category up or down. For the remaining 16 statements the difference between the Q- sort category and the questionnaire answer was more substantial and will be described below if a change in opinion was seen.

One of the six statements about the acceptance of substance use showed a substantial difference between the responses given in the questionnaire or in the Q- sort. Dana did not agree or disagree (+/-) with "smoking is rejected within my youth culture" in the questionnaire, but in the Q- sort she disagreed (--) with it.

In the statements about reputation, big discrepancies were seen in one of the five statements. In the questionnaire Dana said to not agree or disagree (+/-) with "people expect me to do a lot of sporty activities", but in the Q- sort she agreed (++) with it.

Two out of the seven statements about the influence of others showed changes in opinion. In the questionnaire Dana said to not agree or disagree (+/-) with "you should play sports because you enjoy it, not because others tell you to" and "I would like to look like my favourite artist", in the Q-sort she totally agreed (+++) with the first and agreed with the second statement.

Two out of the eight statements about appearance showed notable differences. In the questionnaire she agreed (++) with "a boy should be muscular in order to look good" but in the Q-sort she did not agree or disagree (+/-) with it. Dana said in the questionnaire that she slightly disagreed (-) with "I am happy about my body", but in the Q- sort she slightly agreed (+) with it.

One out of the five statements about health showed a substantial difference between responses from the questionnaire and the Q- sort. Dana did not agree or disagree (+/-) with "I live healthy in order to stay as healthy as possible in the future". In the Q- sort she agreed (++) with it.

Three big discrepancies were found in the six statements regarding a healthy lifestyle. In the questionnaire the respondent did not agree or disagree (+/-) with "you could have a healthy lifestyle without having to be active in sports", while in the Q- sort she totally agreed (+++). The same was seen in the statement that said "healthy nutrition is an important element of a healthy lifestyle". Dana reported in the questionnaire that she agreed (++) with "alcohol and a healthy lifestyle do not go well together". In the Q- sort she did not agree or disagree (+/-) with it.

8.1.9 Arnette (age: 17, school B, Dutch)

This respondent categorized 19 of the 46 statements in the same category in both the Q- sort and the Likert-type questionnaire. For 8 statements the difference was one category up or down. For the remaining 19 statements the difference between the Q- sort category and the questionnaire answer was more substantial and will be described below if a change in opinion was detected.

One of the six statements about the acceptance of substance use among friends and within youth cultures showed a substantial difference between the two methodologies. Arnette reported in the questionnaire to not agree or disagree (+/-) with "smoking is rejected within my youth culture". In the Q- sort she totally disagreed (---) with that statement.

Two out of the nine statements about sports and exercise showed big discrepancies. In the questionnaire she totally agreed (+++) with "I really have to push myself to participate in sports regularly". In the Q- sort she disagrees (--) with the same statement. In the questionnaire she did not agree or disagree (+/-) with "I like being physically active", while in the Q- sort she said to totally agree (+++).

In the statements about reputation big differences were seen in three out of the five statements. Arnette totally disagreed (---) with "I am known for being a sporty person" in the questionnaire, but in the Q- sort she did not agree or disagree (+/-). In the questionnaire she slightly disagreed (-) with "I'm known as somebody who has a healthy lifestyle", but in the Q- sort she slightly agreed (+) with it. Arnette agreed (++) with "I care about my friends' opinion about me" during the questionnaire, but in the Q- sort she did not agree or disagree (+/-).

The segment about the influence of others showed four of the seven statements with big differences. First Arnette totally disagreed (---) in the questionnaire with "sports are important to all of my friends". In the Q- sort she checked the middle box (+/-). Arnette slightly disagreed (-) with "all of my friends participate in sports" but in the Q- sort she agreed (++) with it. She disagreed (--) with

“my parents believe it is important for me to do sports” in the questionnaire and in the Q- sort she did not agree or disagree (+/-). Lastly Arnette checked the middle box in the questionnaire (+/-) for “my parents help me to live healthy”, but in the Q- sort she totally agreed (+++).

Two of the eight questions regarding appearance showed notable differences. Arnette said in the questionnaire that she totally agreed (+++) with “appearance is very important to me” and “a boy should be muscular in order to look good”. In the Q- sort she did not agree or disagree (+/-) with the first and totally disagreed with the second statement.

Two of the five statements about health showed big changes. In the questionnaire Arnette did not agree or disagree (+/-) with “I care about what is (un)healthy” and in the Q- sort she disagreed (--) with it. In the questionnaire she slightly agreed (+) with “the importance of sports for one’s health is very much exaggerated” while in the Q- sort she slightly disagreed (-) with it.

Two big discrepancies were found in the six statements on a healthy lifestyle. Arnette slightly disagreed (-) with “healthy nutrition is an important element of a healthy lifestyle” in the questionnaire, but in the Q- sort she slightly agreed (+). In the questionnaire she totally disagreed (---) with “it is hard for me to have a healthy lifestyle” but in the Q- sort picked the middle box (+/-).

8.1.10 Lana (age: 14, school B, Moroccan)

This respondent categorized 13 of the 46 statements in the same category in both the Q- sort and the Likert-type questionnaire. For 20 statements the difference was one category up or down. For the remaining 13 statements the difference between the Q- sort category and the questionnaire answer was more substantial and will be described below if a change in opinion was found.

Of the six statements about the acceptance of substances among friends and within Lana’s youth culture, two statement showed substantial differences. Lana agreed (++) with “alcohol use is ‘cool’ within my youth culture”, but in the Q- sort she picked the middle box (+/-). Lana disagreed (--) at first with “drug use is rejected within my youth culture”, but in the Q- sort she totally agreed (+++).

Four out of the nine statements on sports and exercise showed big differences. Lana totally agreed (+++) with “I prefer to play sports with friends”, but in the Q- sort she slightly disagreed (-). In the questionnaire she also totally agreed (+++) with “I really have to push myself to participate in sports regularly” and “I hate PE at school” but in the Q- sort she disagreed (--) with the first, and totally disagreed with the second statement. She slightly disagreed (-) with “I just don’t get to play sports” in the questionnaire, but she totally agreed (+++) in the Q- sort.

One of the five statements about reputation showed a big discrepancy. In the questionnaire Lana totally disagreed (---) with “I care about my friends’ opinion about me” but in the Q- sort she did not agree or disagree (+/-).

One of the statements about appearance showed a big difference. In the questionnaire she agreed (++) with “appearance is very important to me”. In the Q- sort she disagreed (--) with it.

8.1.11 Dwayne (age: 15, school B, Dutch/Haitian)

This respondent categorized 14 of the 46 statements in the same category in both the Q- sort and the Likert-type questionnaire. For 18 statements the difference was one category up or down. For the remaining 14 statements the difference between the Q- sort category and the questionnaire answer was more substantial and will be described below if a change in opinion was seen.

A change in opinion was found in one of the six statements about the acceptance of substance use among friends and within youth cultures. In the questionnaire he agreed (++) with “smoking is rejected within my youth culture”, while in the Q- sort he disagreed (--).

One of the nine statements about sports and exercise showed substantial differences and a shift in opinion. Dwayne totally disagreed (---) with "I don't have a talent for sports", but in the Q-sort he slightly agreed (+) with it.

Two of the five statements about reputation showed substantial differences. Dwayne agreed (++) with "I am known for being a sporty person" in the questionnaire, but in the Q- sort he picked the middle box (+/-). In the questionnaire Dwayne said that he did not agree or disagree (+/-) with "I care about my friends' opinion about me", while in the Q- sort he disagreed (--) with it.

Out of the seven statements about the influence of others, two changes in opinion were found. In the questionnaire Dwayne totally agreed (+++) with "all of my friends participate in sports". In the Q- sort that he did not agree or disagree (+/-) with it. At first Dwayne slightly agreed (+) with "my favourite artists look healthy in their video clips", but in the Q- sort he slightly disagreed (-).

In two out of the eight statements about appearance, substantial differences were found. Dwayne agreed (++) in the questionnaire with "appearance is very important to me" but in the Q-sort he did not agree or disagree (+/-). Dwayne did not agree or disagree (+/-) with "it is not cool to be fat" in the questionnaire, but in the Q- sort he agreed (++) with the statement.

Two of the statements about a healthy lifestyle showed substantial differences. In the questionnaire, Dwayne totally agreed (+++) with "alcohol and a healthy lifestyle do not go well together", but in the Q- sort he totally disagreed (---) with it. Lastly the respondent agreed (++) with the statement that "it is hard for me to have a healthy lifestyle", but in the Q- sort he disagreed (--).

8.1.12 Curtis (age: 15, school B, Dutch)

This respondent categorized 16 of the 46 statements in the same category in both the Q- sort and the Likert-type questionnaire. For 9 statements the difference was one category up or down. For the remaining 21 statements the difference between the Q- sort category and the questionnaire answer was more substantial and will be described below if a change in opinion was detected.

One of the six statements about the acceptance of substances within youth cultures and among friends showed substantial differences. In the questionnaire Curtis did not agree or disagree (+/-) with "alcohol use is 'cool' within my youth culture", but in the Q- sort he disagreed (--) with it.

Two big differences were found in the five statements about reputation. Curtis totally disagreed (---)with "I am known for being a sporty person" and "people expect me to do a lot of sporty activities" in the questionnaire. In the Q- sort he slightly agreed (+) with both statements.

Three out of the seven statements about the influence of others showed major discrepancies. In the questionnaire the respondent totally disagreed (---) with "my parents help me to live healthy", while in the Q- sort he reported to totally agree (+++) with it. Curtis also reported to not agree or disagree (+/-) with "my favourite artists look healthy in their video clips" and "I would like to look like my favourite artist". He totally agreed (+++) on both statements in the Q- sorts.

Two out of the eight statements about appearance showed substantial differences. In the questionnaire Curtis slightly agreed (+) with "appearance is an important topic of conversation when I'm with my friends" but in the Q- sort he slightly disagreed (-) with it. In the questionnaire Curtis checked the middle box (+/-) for "it is not cool to be fat", but in the Q- sort he agreed (++) with it.

Three out of the five statements regarding health did not show notable differences. In the questionnaire, Curtis reported to totally disagree (---) with "I care about what is (un)healthy" and "the importance of sports for one's health is very much exaggerated", but in the Q- sorts he did not agree or disagree (+/-) with these statements. In the questionnaire Curtis totally agreed with "I generally feel safe" but in the Q- sort he reported to complete opposite (---).

Five of the six statements about a healthy lifestyle showed changes is opinion. In the questionnaire Curtis did not agree or disagree (+/-) with "you could use drugs and still have a healthy lifestyle", but in the Q- sort he totally agreed (+++). In the questionnaire he totally disagreed (---) with "alcohol and a healthy lifestyle do not go well together" and "healthy nutrition is an important element of a healthy lifestyle", but in the Q- sort he totally agreed (+++) with these statements. Curtis also totally disagreed (----) with "if you smoke, you have an unhealthy lifestyle" but in the Q- sort he did not agree or disagree (+/-). Lastly Curtis said to totally disagree (---) with that "it is hard for me to have a healthy lifestyle", while in the Q- sorts he slightly agreed (+) with this statement.

8.1.13 Cheryl (age: 16, school B, Mozambican/Portuguese)

This respondent categorized 16 of the 46 statements in the same category in both the Q- sort and the Likert-type questionnaire. For 10 statements the difference was one category up or down. For the remaining 20 statements the difference between the Q- sort category and the questionnaire answer was more substantial and will be described below if a change in opinion was seen.

Big differences between the responses were shown in three out of the six statements about the acceptance of substance use among friends and in Cheryl's youth culture. In the questionnaire she did not agree or disagree (+/-) with "smoking is rejected within my youth culture" and "alcohol use is 'cool' within my youth culture", but in the Q- sort she totally disagreed (---) with the first, and agreed (++) with the second statement. In the questionnaire she totally agreed (+++) with "drug use is rejected within my youth culture", but in the Q- sort she disagreed (--). In the questionnaire she totally agreed (+++) with "my friends reject drug use", but in the Q- sort she totally disagreed (---).

Changes in opinion were found in two of the nine statements on sports and exercise. In the questionnaire Cheryl did not agree or disagree (+/-) with "sports are a very important part of my life" and "I like being physically active" but in the Q- sort she agreed (++) with both statements.

One of the five statements on reputation had substantial discrepancies. At first Cheryl agreed (++) with "I don't care what others think of me", but she checked the middle box in the Q- sort (+/-).

Big changes were seen in three out of the seven statements about the influence of others. In the questionnaire, Cheryl did not agree or disagree (+/-) with "you should play sports because you enjoy it, not because others tell you to" and "sports are important to all of my friends". In the Q- sorts she totally agreed (+++) to the first, and totally disagreed (---) with the second statement. First Cheryl agreed (++) with "I would like to look like my favourite artist", but in the Q- sort she did not agree or disagree (+/-).

Two out of the eight statements about appearance showed substantial differences. In the questionnaire Cheryl reported to agree (++) with "appearance is very important to me". In the Q- sort she picked the middle box (+/-). Cheryl did not agree or disagree (+/-) with "charisma is way more important than your figure" during the questionnaire, but in the Q- sort she agreed (++) with it.

One out of the five statements regarding health showed a big discrepancy between the responses of the two methods. The respondent did not agree or disagree (+/-) in the questionnaire, but in the Q- sort she completely agreed (+++) with "I care about what is (un)healthy".

In the statements about a healthy lifestyle, one out of the six statements showed substantial changes. "If you smoke, you have an unhealthy lifestyle" was remarkable as the Cheryl filled out two responses in the questionnaire ("I totally agree" (+++) and "I totally disagree" (---)). In the Q- sort she said that she totally agreed (+++) with the statement.

8.1.14 Sandra (age: 15, school B, Dutch/Turkish)

This respondent categorized 23 of the 46 statements in the same category in both the Q- sort and the Likert-type questionnaire. For 2 statements the difference was one category up or down. For the remaining 21 statements the difference between the Q- sort category and the questionnaire answer was more substantial and will be described below if a change in opinion was found.

Three of the six statements regarding the acceptance of substances showed substantial differences. In the questionnaire she totally disagreed (---) with "smoking is rejected within my youth culture", "my friends reject smoking" and "my friends reject drug use", while in the Q- sort she totally agreed (+++).

The statements about sports and exercise showed substantial changes in seven out of nine statements. In the questionnaire Sandra totally disagreed (---) with "sports are a very important part of my life" and "I prefer to play sports with friends", but in the Q- sorts totally agreed (+++). She also totally disagreed (---) with "I don't know which sport suits me most" and "I really have to push myself to participate in sports regularly" but in the Q- sort Sandra did not agree or disagree (+/-) with both statements. In the questionnaire she slightly agreed (+) with "I just don't get to play sports", but in the Q- sort she totally disagreed (---). She totally agreed (+++) with "I hate PE at school" and "I would like to do more sports during school" in the questionnaire. In the Q- sort she did not agree or disagree (+/-) with both of these statements.

Four out of the five statements about reputation showed big discrepancies. Sandra totally disagreed (---) with "I am known for being a sporty person" and "I care about my friends' opinion about me", and in the Q- sort she picked the middle box (+/-) for both statements. In the questionnaire she totally disagreed (----) with "people expect me to do a lot of sporty activities" and "I don't care what others think of me" but in the Q- sort she totally agreed (+++).

Big differences were found in four out of the seven statements about the influence of others. Sandra reported in the questionnaire that she totally disagreed (---) with "sports are important to all of my friends" and "my parents believe it is important for me to do sports", but in the Q- sort she reported that she did not agree or disagree (+/-) with these statements. Lastly she completely disagreed (---) with "my friends reject smoking" and "my friends reject drug use" in the questionnaire. In the Q- sort she reported the complete opposite (+++).

In the questions about appearance one big difference was found in which the respondent totally disagreed (---) in the questionnaire and did not agree or disagree (+/-) in the Q- sort. This was about the statement that "it is not cool to be fat".

The statements regarding health show that there was one statement with a big difference between the responses. Sandra reported in the questionnaire that she totally disagreed (---) with "I care about what is (un)healthy", but in the Q- sort she stated the opposite (+++).

Lastly, three of the statements about a healthy lifestyle showed substantial differences. Sandra reported in the questionnaire that she totally agreed (+++) with that "you could have a healthy lifestyle without having to be active in sports", but in the Q- sort she did not agree or disagree (+/-). She totally disagreed (---) with "alcohol and a healthy lifestyle do not go well together" in the questionnaire, but in the Q- sort she totally agreed (+++). The opposite change was seen for "if you smoke, you have an unhealthy lifestyle".

8.2 Reliability of statements

8.2.1 T-test results

In the paired T-tests two statements showed significant discrepancies. “People expect me to do a lot of sporty activities” showed significant difference between answers given in the Q- sorts (M= 5.01, SD= 1.21) and the answers given in the questionnaires (M= 3.93, SD= 1.54), t(13)= -2.33, p< 0.05, r= 0.54. “Appearance is very important to me” was the second statement which showed significant discrepancies between the results given in the Q- sorts (M= 4.86, SD= 1.51) and the responses given in the questionnaires (M= 5.79, SD= 1.25), t(13)= 2.41, p< 0.05, r= 0.56. The other 44 statements showed no significant differences between the means of the responses.

Table 8.1: Results paired T- test.

		Mean	SD	t	df	sig
People expect me to do a lot of sporty activities.	**Questionnaires**	3.93	1.54	-2.33	13	0.036*
	Q- sorts	5.01	1.21			
Appearance is very important to me.	**Questionnaires**	5.79	1.25	2.41	13	0.031*
	Q- sorts	4.86	1.51			

*p < 0.05

8.2.2 Correlations between the results from the Q- sorts and the questionnaires

Some of the statements showed small correlations between the responses given in the Q- sort and the responses given in the questionnaire.

There was a small significant relationship (r= 0.136, p> 0.05) between the responses given in the Q- sort and the ones given in the questionnaire for one of the statements about the acceptance of substance use by friends (“my friends reject drug use”). Two statements about sports and exercise showed a significant relationship between the two responses. “I prefer to play sports with friends” (r= -0.045, p> 0.05) and “I don’t have a talent for sports” (r=0.137, p> 0.05). “People expect me to do a lot of sporty activities” was the one statement regarding reputation which showed a small significant correlation (r= 0.127, p> 0.05) between the responses given in the questionnaire and the Q- sort. “My parents help me to live healthy” was the only statement about the influence of others which showed a small significant relationship (r= 0.061, p> 0.05). A small significant correlation (r= 0.061, p> 0.05) was found for “I care about what is (un)healthy”. “Healthy nutrition is an important element of a healthy lifestyle” (r= 0.068, p> 0.05) and “it is hard for me to have a healthy lifestyle” (r= 0.076, p> 0.05) were the two statements regarding a healthy lifestyle which showed notable significant relationships.

8.2.3 Possible reasons for discrepancies

The discrepancies that were seen between the responses that were given in the questionnaire and in the Q- sorts, might be explained by various factors which will be explained in the following.

The setting in which respondents were asked to fill out the questionnaire differed greatly from the setting in which the 14 selected hip hoppers had to fill out the Q- sorts. Both methods took place during PE- class but the questionnaires were filled out in the gymnasium whereas the Q- sorts were conducted in a separate room near the gym. In the Q- sorts respondents thus were not distracted by peers and they also could not consult them or discuss questions with them. Because of the possibility to interact with peers, it could be that the respondents were less focussed and misread some of the questions. This showed in the corrected answers in which respondents filled out

the same answer in series of questions, but then realized that the questions were asked differently. They might have felt rushed because they saw that others were already finished and they were not.

During the questionnaires respondents also could have felt a sense of anonymity because they were not individually monitored. This could have caused some of the respondents not to fill in the questionnaire seriously, but it also could have increased the honesty of respondents. In the case of the Q- sorts respondents could have felt monitored which may have increased social desirability.

For some respondents, the questionnaire might have been too long. This showed as some respondents got bored and did not fill out the entire questionnaire. The Q- sort consisted of less questions and took less long compared to the questionnaire which might have contributed to the discrepancies between the two methods.

The way of answering questions could also have been of influence. VMBO students may be more practically oriented which makes the Q- sort more interesting for them. This also came forward during the interviews (paragraph 8.3). The Q- sorts involve less reading and more 'doing' compared to the questionnaires as respondents have to place cards in the right box.

When all this is taken into consideration, one could conclude that the Q- sorts might be more sensitive to social desirability than the questionnaires but this is largely a result of the setting in which the method is conducted. The setting also influenced the focus of respondents during data collection. Less focus might have led to questions which were not read correctly. The setting thus could be seen as the main reason for the reported discrepancies. The fact that the Q- sorts were more practical and more fun compared to the questionnaires (according to the respondents), and because the Q- sorts were less extensive than the questionnaire, also might have contributed to the discrepancies that were found.

8.3 Preferred method

All of the respondents said that they liked the Q- sorts better than the questionnaire. The questionnaire was a known format for all respondents and some of them said that it was a boring method compared to the Q- sorts. One of the respondents phrased this as:

Dana (age: 16, school B, Dutch/Moroccan): *"Yeah, I don't know, the sorting is a bit more fun I think than just placing X's and checking boxes. This is just something different."*

One of the mentioned reasons to prefer Q- sorts over questionnaires, was because during the Q- sorts, respondents did not have to hold a pen or had to write down anything. This made it easier and more fun for some of the respondents. Two other respondents said that they liked the Q- sort better because it was easier to correct when a mistake was made.

Shawn preferred the Q-sort because the letters were bigger which made it easier for him to read with his dyslexia. Because he could read it more easily, he could finish it quicker. Two other respondents also mentioned that the filling out of the Q- sorts went quicker or smoother because it stimulated them to make quick decisions. Another respondent said that in the questionnaire, it seemed as if it was more and therefore took longer compared to the Q- sorts.

Another reason why respondents prefer Q- sorts over questionnaires was that the Q- sorts were clearly set out. Two respondents mentioned that they had a better overview in the Q- sorts of what they had done and what they still had to do. A fairly similar comment from another respondent was that he liked the fact that he got to see the questions after each other so he could focus on that particular statement. Inga phrased it as:

Inga (age: 16, school A, Dutch): *"Because otherwise, you see a whole set lined up and then you can see: oh I still have to do that and that. And this just is a bit easier. You just place all those cards. It's more clearly set out."*

One of the male respondents said that the fact that the data was collected during PE class, might have influenced the way he filled out the questionnaire.

Curtis (age: 15, school B, Dutch): *"I think that it is because we normally have to run and stuff during PE and then we all over sudden had to write and stuff. That's why we had something like, I don't feel doing this and stuff. And with this, it's not that bad."*

Another respondent said that he liked the Q- sort better because he had to do something with his hands. Two respondents said that sorting the cards, was like some type of game which made it for them more fun and easier to do. Curtis was one of the respondents who said that the Q- sorts were more like a sort of game. Therefore he might have felt like this method was more appropriate during PE.

Lastly two of the respondents said that in the questionnaire they sometimes randomly filled out something because as one of them put it:

Sandra (age: 15, school B, Dutch/Turkish): *"... You have to check all these boxes and then you think like: "Please stop it!". And then you just fill out anything because it's too much."*

The other girl who said something similar said that the Q- sort made her think about the statements and in the questionnaire she sort of picked out the statements about which she wanted to think. The fact that the researcher was present in the room with the respondent also influenced the way she filled out the Q- sort. She felt like there was more opportunity to ask questions during the Q- sort and she also was focused more because she felt like she was monitored more than during the questionnaire.

Romelle (age: 15, school A, Dutch): *"First you had an entire class in front of you, you know, and then you think like: I'm going to help that one, and that one, but now you know what I do and that I think about it."*

Discussion

What meaning is given to a healthy lifestyle and sports, by adolescents (14-18 years, who study at a VMBO level), who feel affiliated with hip hop youth culture? This was the first general research question. The first sub question was: *What type of children are drawn by this youth culture?* The results in chapter six showed that hip hoppers did not differ significantly from non- hip hoppers with regard to gender, ethnic background, educational level or the school they go to. It thus appears as if hip hoppers and non- hip hoppers are fairly similar with regard to these criteria.

The second sub question was: *What is the health discourse (including sports) of hip hoppers?* The results of the interviews that were shown in chapter seven gave an image of the health discourse of the hip hoppers who participated in this study. Healthy dietary habits and exercise were frequently mentioned as important factors of a healthy lifestyle. According to the respondents in the interviews, health could very well be managed by proper diet and exercise. Appearance also was mentioned in relation to health as respondents said that it was not healthy to be too fat or too skinny. Authenticity and individuality (*"being yourself"*) in terms of appearance was also mentioned fairly often by respondents, but it is debatable if this is typical for hip hoppers. With regard to sports, boys appeared to place more emphasis on sports while female hip hoppers talked more often about physical activity. Being active appeared to be important within the 'hip hop' health discourse.

The third sub question was: *What are the differences between the 'hip hop' health discourse and the dominant 'healthism' discourse?* In paragraph 6.3 the views of hip hoppers on healthism were analysed and appeared to differ significantly on items regarding 'appearance'. Hip hoppers appeared to score significantly lower than non- hip hoppers which meant that hip hoppers disagreed more with several stereotypical statements about male and female appearance. In combination with what was said during the interviews, it appeared as if hip hoppers have a slightly different view on appearance and beauty. Hip hoppers and non- hip hoppers did not appear to differ in their views on other components of healthism that were studied. Generally there thus did not seem to be a distinctive 'hip hop' health discourse.

The last sub question of the first general research question was: *What are the differences in behaviour of hip hoppers regarding a healthy lifestyle and sports compared to non- hip hoppers?* The results shown in paragraphs 6.4, 6.5 and 6.6 showed that alcohol consumption and smoking did not differ significantly between hip hoppers and non- hip hoppers but the odds of a hip hopper to smoke cannabis was 6.8 times higher than for non- hip hoppers. With regard to dietary habits, it appeared that hip hoppers ate breakfast significantly less often than non- hip hoppers and hip hoppers seemed eat 200 grams of vegetables a day less often compared to non- hip hoppers. Paragraph 6.6 showed that the odds of a hip hopper to meet the physical activity norm (NNGB) of 30 minutes of moderate exercise a day, are over three times higher compared to non- hip hoppers. No significant differences were seen in sports activities, participation in sports or sport club membership between hip hoppers and non- hip hoppers.

In sum the first general research question can be answered by saying that hip hoppers in this research appeared to have a fairly mainstream view on a healthy lifestyle and sports. A healthy lifestyle was about managing dietary habits, substance use and exercise. They do not always have a healthy lifestyle, but they know what is healthy and what not. Appearance can also be seen as an indicator for health since being too fat or too skinny is not healthy according to the respondents. Hip hoppers do appear to be slightly less extreme in this compared to non- hip hoppers. Sports seemed to be of more importance for male than for female hip hoppers since girls emphasised more on being

active. For boys sports were done mainly for fun and also to manage their appearance. For girls the emphasis was for some also on fun but it appeared to be more on appearance and weight control. Generally being active appeared to be important for hip hoppers.

Which differences can be identified when comparing the responses of Q- sorts with the responses from Likert scale questionnaires? This was the second general research question which was answered by answering two methodological sub questions. The first was: *What is the preferred method among respondents and why?* Paragraph 8.3 showed that all respondents preferred the Q-sorts over the questionnaire. They said that it was not only quicker, but also easier to complete. Also the fact that they did not have to use a pen was appreciated and some of the respondents said that it was more fun to do and that it felt like participating in some sort of game.

The second methodological sub question was: *Which statements appear to be problematic to answer reliably?* This question was answered in the first two paragraphs of chapter 8. The paired t-test showed that "people expect me to do a lot of sporty activities" and "appearance is very important to me" showed significant discrepancies. "My friends reject drug use", "I prefer to play sports with friends", "I don't have a talent for sports", "people expect me to do a lot of sporty activities", "my parents help me to live healthy", "I care about what is (un)healthy", "healthy nutrition is an important element of a healthy lifestyle" and "it is hard for me to have a healthy lifestyle" were statements of which the responses from the Q- sort and the questionnaire were weakly associated with one another. Possible reasons for the discrepancies that have been found, could be the settings in which the data were collected and the methods themselves could also be the reason, as well as social desirability.

In sum, the general methodological research question can be answered by saying that for a total of ten items, responses between the Q- sort and the questionnaire were difficult to answer reliably. The respondents preferred the Q- sorts over the questionnaire. The setting in which the questionnaires were conducted, differed from the setting in which the Q- sorts were conducted which might have contributed to the discrepancies between the responses of both methods. Related to the setting is the issue of social desirability as the Q- sorts were conducted in a more controlled environment under supervision of the researcher, while the questionnaire was in a more open environment which allowed interaction between respondents.

In the following the results of this study are compared to the literature. The literature also showed that adolescents often not just felt affiliated with one particular youth culture. Instead they 'surfed' from one youth culture to another and they mixed different elements of different youth cultures which created complex hybrid styles (Prins, 2006; Haenfler, 2010, Wortham, 2011). Some sources in the literature said that adolescents wanted to be 'normal' and thus the majority of respondents would say that they are part of the 'normals' (Ter Bogt, 2000 in Delsing et al., 2007). Others said that only a small portion of adolescents could be seen as fully submerged in one particular youth culture and the majority would feel affiliated with one or more youth cultures and only adopted the fashion style or music (Haenfler, 2010; Janssen, Dechesne & Van Knippenberg, 1999; Janssen, 1994a). These theories largely coincide with the outcomes that were found in this study. The respondents who said that they felt affiliated with the hip hop youth culture appeared not to be fully submerged in the specific culture but were more interested in elements of it. This was seen in the interviews where the majority of the respondents mentioned that they liked the music and/or the dancing within hip hop. Only one of the respondents could be seen as a 'true hip hopper' who was fully submerged in hip hop

culture, as he said to wear the clothing, listened to the music and contributed to the culture by creating something (own music). Like Hunter (2011) said, the majority of hip hoppers could be seen as consumers of the culture. Hip hop culture seems to have grown from a subculture which was mainly attractive to marginalized youth, to an almost mainstream phenomenon as over the years hip hop culture has become attractive to youngsters from all layers of society (Van Gemert, 2005). The current study supports this idea as educational level, gender or ethnical background did not seem to be of influence on respondents' affiliation with hip hop culture.

From the literature study it appeared that adolescents who felt affiliated with deviant groups (like hip hoppers), were more likely to smoke and use alcohol and cannabis than their peers in other groups (Verkooijen et al., 2007; Sussman et al., 2007). The numbers on smoking behaviour did not differ much between hip hoppers and non- hip hoppers in this study. One of the respondents said in the interview that 'everybody' smokes nowadays and most of the respondents did not think that smoking was something that typically had to do with hip hop. Smoking was recognised as being unhealthy by the interviewees. Smoking a water pipe or hookah was mentioned by two respondents and they both said that this was not unhealthy. This notion is incorrect as research showed that smoking a water pipe is at least equally harmful to one's health as cigarettes (Primack et al., 2009; www.stivoro.nl). Like in the literature, alcohol use showed a significant association with ethnic background, educational level and age (Van Dorsselaer, 2010; Van Hasselt, 2010; Monshouwer et al, 2008). Adolescents who felt affiliated with a deviant youth culture appeared to have a higher prevalence of alcohol consumption (Verkooijen et al., 2007; Sussman et al., 2007), but alcohol consumption appeared not to be significantly associated with being a hip hopper or not. Cannabis use was reported to be most common among adolescents who felt attracted to deviant youth cultures (Verkooijen et al., 2007; Sussman et al., 2007). On average, 93% of the respondents in the current study said that they did not use cannabis. The results from the study showed that hip hoppers were significantly more likely to use cannabis than non- hip hoppers.

Feeling affiliated with hip hop culture appeared to be significantly associated with breakfast and consumption of vegetables. Hip hoppers appeared to have less healthy dietary habits with regard to these two elements. The literature did not mention anything about dietary habits and youth cultures. It was mentioned that adolescents in deviant youth cultures are more likely to engage in risky behaviour with regard to substance use (Verkooijen et al., 2007; Sussman et al., 2007). It could be that they are less focussed on health and more focussed on feeling good and having fun and thus pay less attention to a healthy diet, but more on a 'good' taste or a 'quick fix' instead of thinking about long term health effects. Here it appears as if there is a gap between knowledge and behaviour with regard to a healthy lifestyle (dietary habits or substance use), just like the literature explained (Burrows & Wright, 2010). Respondents knew what was healthy and what not, but still some respondents choose the unhealthy option. The wideness of this gap is debatable as respondents were able to name healthy practices, but when they more specifically had to name healthy quantities or portions, they often responded with extreme answers which could indicate that they did not know an exact answer to the question.

The chapter about health, a healthy lifestyle and sports showed that Dutch adolescents were on average physically active for at least one hour a day (4.4 days) which was significantly higher than for non- Dutch adolescents (3.7 days)(De Roos & Bot, 2010). The data from this research showed that hip hoppers did appear to be significantly more active than non- hip hoppers as they were over three times more likely to meet the norm of at least 30 minutes of moderate exercise per day. Hip hoppers from a non- Western background were more physically active than Dutch/ Western non- hip

hoppers. The results from this study showed very little differences in the preference of sports by hip hoppers or non- hip hoppers. Gender could be seen more as an influential factor. Swimming and gymnastics are absent in the top five in the current study and fitness and dance were more popular among the respondents in this study. Football was in both this study, as in the literature the most frequently practiced sport. Being a hip hopper showed no significant association with being active in sports. Working out in order to get an impressive physique was a motive for one of the respondents in the interview. In previous research, the motive to work out in order to gain muscle mass, was also given by only a small portion of the male respondents (Wright et al., 2006). For the female respondents in the interviews of this current study, exercise was more focussed on weight control and this also showed in the study of Wright et al. (2006). The interviews showed that male hip hoppers were more 'sports-minded' than the girls. Girls were more into exercise and being active to stay in shape. Female migrant respondents from a non-Western background who felt affiliated with hip hop were less active in sports. They did say that physical activity was important but they did not feel the necessity to be active in sports. The literature also showed that adolescents from a non-Western background participated less in sports activities than their Dutch peers (Lucassen et al., 2010; Tiessen- Raaphorst, 2010). It was said that they participated less in sports because they had other (more fun) activities to do or they felt like they were active enough (Lucassen et al., 2010). This also could be made up out of the interviews, but this response came only from the female respondents. The non- Western hip hoppers in this current study appeared to be more physically active than their Dutch/Western peers.

The main issue with the Q sorts and questionnaires with regard to the process of answering survey questions was seen in the first phase of comprehension of the question which made it more difficult for respondents to report some questions reliably. During the questionnaires, respondents frequently asked if they had to include sports that were done during PE in the question about sports participation and the question about physical exercise while in the introduction of the question, it was explicitly mentioned if PE should be taken into account. The feeling arose that respondents did not read the instructions given in the questionnaire. They often felt like it was too much to read and that is why they did not read everything. Retrieval of information in combination with estimating were difficult for some respondents. Mainly in the part about respondents participation in sports and exercise and the questions about the respondents own behaviour regarding dietary habits and substance use, respondents had to recall information about their behaviour (in some cases) up to twelve months prior to the survey. Still this did not appear to be problematic. When responding to the statements in the Q- sorts and questionnaire, respondents often asked about what "aanleg" (talent) meant. It showed that respondents did not always read the question correctly, or rushed through the statements and misread the question. This could be seen in the responses on the statements as the results from the questionnaire and the Q- sort were placed next to each other. Some questions were given the complete opposite answer in the Q- sort. In that case it could be that respondents did not read the statement correctly in either the questionnaire or the Q- sort (acquiescence). The most problems regarding the response process could thus be found in the first phase of comprehending the question. When looking at reliability of the methods, social desirability is an issue worth mentioning. In school B five out of seven interviewees used cannabis. Another respondent rejected it in the interview, but according to the questionnaire she occasionally smoked joints. Social desirability might have been an issue for this discrepancy in response. The anonymity of the questionnaire might have provided an atmosphere in which they felt more comfortable to say

something about here habits with regard to this topic. This coincides with what was said by Bowling and Ebrahim (2005). Since the interviews and Q- sorts were conducted in a more controlled environment, respondents might have felt more monitored than during the questionnaires.

One of the strengths of this study is that it gives a unique insight in the way in which adolescents who feel affiliated with hip hop culture, perceive health and sports in the Netherlands. The different methods of data collection provided different points of view which contributed to these insights. The use of Q- methodology and the way that is was used, showed another perspective on the methodology.

One could debate about the fact if the methodology that has been used in this study, could still be labelled as Q methodology since respondents were free to place the statements wherever they wanted to place them. As a result, analysis through factor analysis was not possible. This brings to light one of the possible weaknesses of the study since the results of the Q- sorts were of less significance for gaining insight in the health discourse as the adjusted version Q- methodology was used. On the other hand, if the original Q methodology was used, respondents probably would have had to read and (re)place the cards several times. This would have been cognitively more challenging perhaps and it would probably have taken more time. Another issue that might be brought up as a possible weakness is that this study was not really about hip hoppers since only one of the respondents really considered himself to be a hip hopper. The respondents in this study may not think of themselves as hip hoppers, but they do feel affiliated with hip hop culture and are thus influenced through their interest in the music, dance etcetera. They thus could be seen as 'mainstream hip hoppers', which also are hip hoppers. Another possible weakness of this study is that in the analysis of the questionnaires, the data of both schools was combined. This was done in because the number of participants was otherwise too small for statistical analyses.

It could be interesting for future research to study adolescents who are totally submerged in hip hop culture. The results from that study could then be compared with the results from this study so that the differences with regard to a healthy lifestyle and sports between 'true hip hoppers' and 'mainstream hip hoppers' could be identified. Research could also be aimed at looking at a specific group of hip hoppers (b-boys, rappers/MC's etcetera) or hip hoppers in other educational levels or cities. Further research could also be done to see if the there is an association between substance use and the influence of hip hop music and its 'glamorisation' of substance use. Or research could be done to find out what causes hip hoppers to be more likely to use cannabis for instance. As a response to the statement made by two of the respondents in the interviews, it could be interesting to study if the notion that smoking a water pipe is not bad for your health, is present among more adolescents. If so, action could be taken in order to educate people about the risks that come with the use of a water pipe or hookah. Methodologically, further investigation could be done on the difference between answering questions with a pen in a Likert scale type questionnaire, compared to placing cards in a Q- sort. This should be done in a more controlled experimental environment so that possible confounding variables could be controlled.

Conclusion

The title of this thesis “Be yo’ health”, refers to something that was mentioned by several interviewees as they talked about appearance and looking good. They said that *“you just have to be yourself”*. In the healthism discourse, there is an association between appearance and health so being yourself could be seen as being your health. Because the focus of this thesis lies on hip hop culture, your health was transformed in yo’ heath as a reference to the street slang that is often used in hip hop culture. “Be yo’ health” thus encompasses the core of this study.

Being a hip hopper was not significantly associated with the school respondents were in, gender, educational level or age. It could thus be concluded that hip hoppers in this study appeared to be fairly average with regard to gender, ethnic background, educational level and there were no significant differences in the number of hip hoppers between both schools. Health could, according to the interviewed hip hoppers, be managed through a healthy diet and exercise and one could indicate someone’s health by looking at their weight or by seeing if people were fat or not. The healthism discourse thus also appeared to be the main discourse for hip hoppers. The only difference was found in that hip hoppers appeared to be milder with regard to the general healthism view on appearance. In the interviews some respondents also mentioned things about appearance and beauty that could be seen as deviant from the mainstream healthism perspective. Some said for instance that a fat person could still look good, or that it is not a problem to be a little bit fat for both boys and girls. Hip hop appears to have become a mainstream phenomenon among the respondents in this study and its members could be seen as mainstream or normal adolescents with a touch of hip hop. That touch of hip hop consists of an interest in its music and/or dance. The majority of the hip hoppers in this study could be seen as consumers of hip hop culture as they pick the things that are interesting according to them, but only a few contribute to the culture as such by sharing their talents, passion and creativity. These mainstream hip hoppers appear to be influenced in their behaviour as hip hoppers in this study, seemed to differ from their peers who did not feel affiliated with hip hop culture. The difference shows mainly in the behaviour of several hip hoppers as they appeared to live a less healthy (but more physically active) lifestyle than non- hip hoppers. Their knowledge and perception on a healthy lifestyle did not appear to differ as much. One might thus conclude that the gap between knowledge and behaviour appears to be bigger among hip hoppers than among non- hip hoppers in this study. This also shows that health and a healthy lifestyle do not appear to be of primary concern to the hip hoppers.

Methodologically it can be concluded that ten of the 46 statements which had been used in the questionnaire and the Q sorts, showed significant discrepancies between the two methods. These statements could thus not produce reliable responses. These discrepancies could be caused by the setting in which the data was collected, but also the difference in methodology could be seen as a cause. Respondents preferred the Q sorts over the questionnaire because they thought it was more fun to do and they did not have to read as much or write down anything and some even thought that the Q sort was more like some sort of game. Social desirability is an issue that is related to the setting in which the data was collected. Respondents could have responded in a socially desirable way during the interviews and the Q sorts because they might have felt like they were being monitored. This could have affected the results for questions that were more sensitive for the respondents (for instance the questions about drug use).

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