



“Exile is a traumatizing horror, a nightmare of terror, a destabilizing drama, a suicidal downer, a dehumanizing outrage, a continuous bondage”: A Psychobiography of Hugh Ramapolo Masekela

By

Sannah Tsatsawane Zimbaye

Student Number: 221116150

Submitted in partial fulfilment for the degree of Master of Social Sciences in

Clinical Psychology

College of Humanities, School of Applied Human Sciences, Department of Psychology

University of KwaZulu-Natal

July 2024

Supervisor: Professor Duncan James Cartwright

Photograph of Hugh Ramapolo Masekela



Note. From *Hugh Masekela, South African trumpeter and a leading voice in the anti-apartheid movement, dies at 78*, by H. Smith, 2019, The Washington Post (https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/obituaries/hugh-masekela-south-african-trumpeter-and-a-leading-voice-in-the-anti-apartheid-movement-dies-at-78/2018/01/23/3181306a-0032-11e8-9d31-d72cf78dbeee_story.htm)

COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES
DECLARATION – PLAGIARISM

I, **Sannah Tsatsawane Zimbaye**, declare that

1. The research reported in this thesis, except where otherwise indicated, is my original research.
2. This thesis has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university.
3. This thesis does not contain other persons' data, pictures, graphs or other information, unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other persons.
4. This thesis does not contain other persons' writing, unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other researchers. Where other written sources have been quoted, then:
 - a. Their words have been re-written but the general information attributed to them has been referenced
 - b. Where their exact words have been used, then their writing has been placed in italics and inside quotation marks, and referenced.
5. This thesis does not contain text, graphics or tables copied and pasted from the Internet, unless specifically acknowledged, and the source being detailed in the thesis and in the References sections.

Signed:

A large black rectangular redaction box covering the signature area.

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I give thanks to my Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ. He has been my greatest source of strength and currency of hope throughout this master's journey. His grace, sustenance and assurance remained sufficient even on the days I dragged my feet to complete this thesis. Proverbs 1 verse 16 states, "commit to the Lord whatever you do, and He will establish your plans". The completion of my thesis proves that the Lord has established my plans, and further testifies of His goodness.

I would further like to express my gratitude to Professor Duncan James Cartwright, for his availability to supervision, timeous responses, consistent professionalism and supportive guidance throughout my research endeavour. He also played a significant role, as my course coordinator and lecturer, in master's year 1. I have learned greatly, both as a clinician and researcher, under his training.

I was first introduced to psychobiographical research by Professor Zelda Knight, at the University of Johannesburg, during my honours year in Psychology in 2020. I remain grateful to her for this introduction. She once said something along the lines of, 'some students pursue psychobiography during their master's once I've introduced this kind of research to them'. I'm glad to say, I was one of those students.

I'm eternally grateful to my mother, Rieneth Nwambokota Zimbaye, for her constant support and encouragement throughout my academic journey. Mama, I dedicate this body of work to you. Your prayers and guidance have finally paid off. Your daughter has made you proud, I came back home three degrees hotter [lol]. Your efforts were not in vain, and I love you. I'm also grateful to my second mother [read aunt], Sarah Moshatama Zimbaye, for our very often 8pm phone call conversations, where she consistently asked of my wellbeing. Thank you for your love and loyalty over the years, you will forever be my favourite aunt. To my brother and friend, Thabo Zimbaye, I thank God for you more than you will ever know. I appreciate the laughs, in-betweens, and serious moments. Also, for making me an aunt to my wonderful niece, Lesedi Matjie Mokgokong. I call her, the most beautiful girl emhlabeni [in the whole world]. Her smile and talkative nature are pleasant to be around on tough days. I would also like to extend my gratitude to my kind friends and colleagues for their listening ear.

Lastly, thank you to me, Sannah Tsatsawane Zimbaye, for not giving up on your childhood dreams mfanaka. Now, the PhD journey awaits.

ABSTRACT

Various studies provide explorations and descriptions of the implications of exile. However, fewer South African studies give a psychobiographical account of the implications of exile on personhood and/or personality development. Psychobiography is qualitative in nature and refers to the systematic, descriptive, and explorative study of the life histories of past or present significant and influential members of society in light of psychological conceptions. The primary aim of this study is to give a psychobiographical account of the implications of exile on Hugh Ramapolo Masekela's (1939-2018) psychodynamic life. Purposive sampling was used to select Masekela as the psychobiographical subject. His experience of exile for thirty years, extraordinary musical abilities, sociopolitical activism, and rich biographical data make him a suitable subject. Masekela's musical abilities earned him global recognition as the father of South African jazz music. He employed his music, including live performances, as his political voice against the apartheid regime.

The researcher established an analytical matrix to classify data and employed Erikson's theory of psychosocial development to systematically evaluate and extrapolate Masekela's life history. Erikson's theory emphasises how historical, social, cultural, and external environmental factors impact an individual's personality development. The research findings revealed that Masekela's sociohistorical context, including his early life and the occurrences of his external environment, complicated his identity development and, subsequently, his ability to cope and adapt during exile. Masekela experienced a sense of mistrust in himself and his external environment, exilic trauma, anxiety and personal destabilisation. He also experienced feelings of isolation, loss and inadequacy. Masekela's experience of exile perpetuated his regression to past psychosocial conflicts, alongside his psychosocial moratorium and identity confusion. Even so, Masekela's continuing sense of purpose and competence facilitated the development of his career fidelity. Masekela had two significant experiences which led to his catharsis and the eventual resolution of previous psychosocial crises, namely: (a) his return from exile and (b) rehabilitation from substance use. Lastly, this study contributes to South Africa's progressing field of psychobiography as a methodological approach.

Keywords: Psychobiography, Hugh Masekela, psychosocial development, exile

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
PHOTOGRAPH OF HUGH MASEKELA	ii
COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES: DECLARATION – PLAGIARISM	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iv
ABSTRACT	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vi
LIST OF TABLES	xii
LIST OF APPENDICES	xiii
CHAPTER 1	
INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Chapter Preview	1
1.2 Orientation and Background of the Study	1
1.3 Problem Statement	2
1.4 Contextualisation of the Study	2
1.4.1 Defining Exile and its Implications	2
1.4.2 Psychobiography and the Psychobiographical Subject	3
1.4.3 Theoretical Framework: Erikson’s theory of Psychosocial Development	4
1.5 Research Aim	6
1.6 An Overview of the Study	6
1.7 Chapter Summary	7

CHAPTER 2

EXPLORING THE IMPLICATIONS OF EXILE	9
2.1 Chapter Preview	9
2.2 The Conceptualisation of Exile	9
2.3 Implications of Exile	11
2.3.1 Psychological Implications of Exile	11
2.3.2 The Implications of Exile on Identity	12
2.3.3 Coping with Exile	14
2.4 Psychodynamic Findings on the Exile Experience	15
2.5 Literature Outcomes	18
2.6 Chapter Summary	19

CHAPTER 3

AN OVERVIEW OF ERIKSON'S THEORY OF PSYCHOSOCIAL

DEVELOPMENT	20
3.1 Chapter Preview	20
3.2 Erik H. Erikson: Orientation and Background	20
3.2.1 Brief Biography	20
3.2.2 Significant Contributions to the Field of Psychology and Theoretical Foundation	21
3.2.3 Key Concepts of Erikson's Theory	23
3.3 The Eight Stages of Psychosocial Development	26
3.3.1 Stage 1: Basic Trust versus Mistrust – Hope	28

3.3.2 Stage 2: Autonomy versus Shame and Doubt – Willpower	29
3.3.3 Stage 3: Initiative versus Guilt – Purpose	31
3.3.4 Stage 4: Industry versus Inferiority – Competence	33
3.3.5 Stage 5: Identity versus Role Confusion – Fidelity	34
3.3.6 Stage 6: Intimacy versus Isolation – Love	36
3.3.7 Stage 7: Generativity versus Stagnation – Care	37
3.3.8 Stage Eight: Integrity versus Despair – Wisdom	38
3.4 Criticism and Limitations of Erikson’s Theory of Psychosocial Development	40
3.5 Erikson and Psychobiographical Research	43
3.6 Chapter Summary	44

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY	45
4.1 Chapter Preview	45
4.2 Research Objectives	45
4.3 Research Design	45
4.4 The Psychobiographical Subject	47
4.5 Data Collection Procedures	48
4.6 Data Extraction and Analysis	49
4.7 Methodological Limitations of Psychobiography	52
4.7.1 Bias of Psychobiographical Researcher	52
4.7.2 Analysis of an Absent Psychobiographical Subject	52
4.7.3 Infinite Amount of Biographical Data	53

4.7.4 Cross-cultural Variations	53
4.7.5 Inflated Prospects	54
4.7.6 Elitism and Easy Genre	54
4.7.7 Reductionism	55
4.8 Ensuring Trustworthiness	57
4.8.1 Credibility	57
4.8.2 Transferability	57
4.8.3 Dependability	58
4.8.4 Objectivity	58
4.9 Ethical Considerations	58
4.10 Reflexivity	59
4.11 Chapter Summary	61
CHAPTER 5	
RESEARCH FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION	62
5.1 Chapter Preview	62
5.2 Conceptual Format of the Research Findings	62
5.3 The Psychosocial Development of Masekela	63
5.3.1 Stage 1: Basic Trust versus Mistrust – Hope	63
5.3.1.1 Findings: The father of South African Jazz is born (1939-1940)	63
5.3.1.2 Discussion	67
5.3.2 Stage 2: Autonomy versus Shame and Doubt – Will	70
5.3.2.1 Findings: Uncle Putu’s influence (1940 – 1942)	70

5.3.2.2 Discussion	71
5.3.3 Stage 3: Initiative versus Guilt – Purpose	73
5.3.3.1 Findings: Music in the air (1942-1945 years)	74
5.3.3.2 Discussion	76
5.3.4 Stage 4: Industry versus Inferiority – Competence	79
5.3.4.1 Findings: Primary school and parents’ marriage (1945-1951)	80
5.3.4.2 Discussion	82
5.3.5 Stage 5: Identity versus Role Confusion – Fidelity	84
5.3.5.1 Findings: ‘Young Man with a Horn’ (1951-1959)	84
5.3.5.2 Discussion	88
5.3.6 Stage 6: Intimacy versus Isolation – Love	92
5.3.6.1 Findings: Grazing in the grass (1959-1974)	93
5.3.6.2 Discussion	97
5.3.7 Stage 7: Generativity versus Stagnation – Care	101
5.3.7.1 Findings: The politicization of Masekela (1974-2004)	101
5.3.7.2 Discussion	105
5.3.8 Stage Eight: Integrity versus Despair – Wisdom	109
5.3.8.1 Findings: A life worthy of honour and remembrance (2004- 2018)	109
5.3.8.2 Discussion	112
5.4 Chapter Summary	115

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUDING PERSPECTIVES ON EXILE: MASEKELA’S PSYCHOBIOGRAPHY	116
6.1 Chapter Preview	116
6.2 Summation of Research Findings	116
6.3 Understanding the Implications of Exile	117
6.4 Research Objectives Revisited	121
6.5 The Value of the Study	122
6.5.1 The Value of Psychobiographical Research	122
6.5.2 The Value of Erikson’s Theory of Psychosocial Development	123
6.5.3 The Value of the Psychobiographical Research Subject	123
6.6 The Limitations of the Study	123
6.6.1 The Limitations of Psychobiographical Research	124
6.6.2 The Limitations of Erikson’s Theory of Psychosocial Development	124
6.6.3 The Limitations of the Psychobiographical Research Subject	124
6.7 Recommendations for Future Research	125
6.8 Reflexive Passage: Personal Thoughts and Final Remarks from the Researcher	126
6.9 Chapter Summary	127
REFERENCE LIST	128

LIST OF TABLES

		Page
Table 3.1	Erikson's Eight Stages of Psychosocial Development	27
Table 4.1	List of First-, Second and Third-Person Sources	48
Table 4.2	Matrix of Hugh Masekela's Psychosocial Development	51

LIST OF APPENDICES

	Page
Appendix A: Ethical Clearance Certificate	158
Appendix B: Ten-Step Guide to Conducting Psychobiography with Reflective Researcher Questions	159
Appendix C: Exile	161
Appendix D: Stimela	162
Appendix E: Soweto Blues	163
Appendix F: Bring Him Back Home, Nelson Mandela	164
Appendix G: Turnitin Report	165

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Chapter Preview

This introductory chapter orientates the reader with a general overview of the holistic research study. Firstly, an orientation and contextual background of this study will be delineated. Secondly, the problem statement will be affirmed, followed by the research aim. Thereafter, the study's overview will be presented, followed by a summation of this chapter.

1.2 Orientation and Background of the Study

This research study comprises a psychobiographical account of the implications of exile on the psychodynamic life of Hugh Ramapolo Masekela. Erikson's theory of psychosocial development is employed in the analysis and interpretation of Masekela's life journey.

This is a qualitative-morphogenic study, and it makes use of nomothetic, longitudinal, and idiographic notions (Schultz, 2005), as psychobiography is classified as a form of life history research and adopts a single-case approach (Edwards, 1998). This enables the researcher to configure the subject's (i.e., Masekela) personhood within general (nomothetic) and specific (idiographic) methods (Edwards, 1998; Elms, 1994), leading to rich and in-depth descriptions of his life journey within his sociohistorical context (Edwards, 1998; Elms, 1994; Schultz, 2005). The morphogenic approach argues that individuals are symbiotic to their social, cultural, and historical context (Allport, 1937; Hoque, 2018). Thus, the understanding of an individual's cultural and sociohistorical background is of significance, as it provides a complete description of an individual (Hoque, 2018).

By adopting a morphogenic approach, psychobiographical research considers Masekela's development over time – from birth to death (Runyan, 1983; Verwey, 2018). Furthermore, the integration of morphogenic and idiographic approaches allows for the comprehensive understanding of Masekela's individuality and distinctiveness, thus highlighting the central story or themes of his life (Hoque, 2018; McAdams, 2006; Runyan, 1983). The exploration of Masekela's personality as a whole is also enabled. The adoption of idiographic notions in psychobiography allows for the psychological understanding of his life history and personality development (McAdams, 2006; Verwey, 2018).

1.3 Problem Statement

Various studies provide explorations and descriptions of the implications of exile. However, to the knowledge of the researcher, few South African studies give a psychobiographical account of the implications of exile on personhood and/or personality development, and even fewer studies focus on psychodynamic factors. Globally, many studies account for the reconstruction of identities as an implication of being an exile (DRC, 2013; Milani, 2005; Sabawi, 2020). These studies primarily focus on how exiled persons restructure and/or reconstruct their identities by assimilating and adopting the host country's language, value system and ethnic practices (DRC, 2013; Sabawi, 2020). Although various studies state and give a comprehensive understanding of exiled persons' coping strategies and traumatic experiences (Bergset, 2020; Muys, 2007), many are cross-sectional studies, leaving longitudinal and developmental aspects of the experience underemphasized. They also lack a specific focus on understanding an individual's subjectivity embedded with a socio-historic context.

Since the longitudinal nature of psychobiography enables researchers to identify changes over time (Caruana et al., 2015), this enables the study to track the implications of exile over time. In this way, this study explores how the research subject exploited constructive and maladaptive coping strategies, along with how the implications of being in exile altered their personhood over time. Fittingly, this study employs psychobiography as a research method in exploring the implications of exile on a South African subject's complete life narrative. More specifically, the implications of exile on Hugh Ramapolo Masekela's psychodynamic life – social and personality development.

1.4 Contextualization of the Study

This section gives a brief contextualization of this study. Firstly, the general implications of exile will be outlined, followed by a concise description of psychobiography and a biographical account of the chosen subject (i.e., Masekela). Lastly, Erikson's theory of psychosocial development will be briefly described.

1.4.1 Defining Exile and its Implications

Grinberg and Grinberg (1989) assert that exile is a state wherein an individual's departure is enforced, and their return is illegal and forbidden. According to Escobar (2000) and Muchova (2006), reasons for exile vary. It is usually because people are often persecuted for their religious beliefs, political stance, or intellectual dissent (Escobar, 2000; Muchova, 2006).

Individuals' perceptions and experiences of exile are unsimilar and, subsequently, bear different implications and coping responses (Muchova, 2006; Rojas et al., 2015). Ruwanpura et al. (2006) state that mental distress and deterioration in mental well-being are prevalent among exiled persons. The American Psychiatric Association (APA, 2019) and Danish Refugee Council [DRC] (2013) state that prevalent mental health disorders in exiled individuals include Anxiety, Depression, and Posttraumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD). The DRC (2013) argues that exile passively reconstructs the identities of affected individuals, forcing them to adapt to new practices in order to fit in and reduce possible alienation in host countries. A further discussion of these implications along with exiled persons' coping strategies, is presented in Chapter 2.

1.4.2 Psychobiography and the Psychobiographical Subject

According to Mayer and Kovary (2019), psychobiography, or psychological biography, refers to the systematic, descriptive, and explorative study of the life histories of past or present significant and influential members of society in light of psychological conceptions. Significant and influential members of society include "artists, scientists, philosophers, activists or politicians" (Mayer & Kovary, 2019, p. 1). Psychobiographical studies intend to uncover a central theme or story, along with personality developments, of a subject's life, extending from their birth to death (Hoque, 2018; McAdams, 2009). Moreover, the use of psychological conceptions enables a better understanding of individuals' life narratives along with their personality and behavioural development (Osorio, 2016; Schultz, 2005).

Hugh Masekela (1939-2018) is acknowledged as the father of South African jazz music (Colburn, 2018); he exploited his music, inclusive of live performances, as his political voice against the apartheid regime (Denselow, 2018). In 1960, the regime investigated Masekela – seeking to either sentence him to life imprisonment or death by hanging – just as other antiapartheid activists, for their rebuttal of racial norms and outspoken activism (Cueva, 2020; H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004). Consequently, he escaped South Africa and went into self-exile for thirty years (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004).

Despite strong opposition, Masekela still maintained his political stance, and his antiapartheid activism was acknowledged across various African and European countries – spread through his music (Colburn, 2018). Masekela spent most of his life perfecting his musical craft in jazz. Hence, he remains renowned as one of South Africa’s most talented musicians (Colburn, 2018; Denselow, 2018; H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004). Upon his arrival in New York as an exile in 1961, he enrolled at the Manhattan School of Music (Colburn, 2018), and he later released his debut jazz album, ‘Trumpet Africaine’, in 1963 (Denselow, 2018). In September 1990, he returned to his home country, as apartheid laws were progressively abolished and South Africa was working towards becoming a democratic state (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004). In 2012, Masekela was nominated for a Grammy Award for the album ‘Jabulani’ in the Best Music Category (Smith, 2018). In 2014, the University of York in England presented him with an Honorary Doctorate in Music (University of York, 2018).

The foregoing brief delineation of Masekela’s sociohistorical significance proves him a worthy psychobiographical subject. Furthermore, ample biographical data concerning his life narrative is substantially available; he also published an autobiographical book, *Still Grazing: The Musical Journey of Hugh Masekela* (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004), which is utilized as a first-person source in the data collection process of this paper. However, none of his biographical data stems from a psychological viewpoint. Thus, this minor dissertation seeks to bridge this gap by employing Erikson’s theory of psychosocial development in the analysis and interpretation of Masekela’s life history. More specifically, the study utilizes Erikson’s eight stages of psychosocial development.

For the purpose of this study, the researcher identifies the experience of exile as the central theme of Masekela’s life. Hence, the study primarily focuses on the implications of exile on his personhood and psychosocial development. Even so, Masekela’s life story – sociohistorical background, family of origin, childhood, events surrounding his music, marriage, fatherhood, adulthood, and so on – will be wholly evaluated, and not just specific aspects or events, to counter reductionism (see chapter 4). A detailed discussion of his life narrative is presented in Chapter 5.

1.4.3 Theoretical Framework: Erikson’s Theory of Psychosocial Development

As previously stated, the implications of exile on Masekela’s personality and behavioural development are evaluated using Erikson’s theory of psychosocial development. The psychodynamic approach is inherent to understanding Erikson’s theorizations (Gibbson, 2007).

The approach encompasses the conceptualizations of neo-Freudians, such as Erikson, in describing the origins of human behaviour (McLeod, 2024; Prochaska & Norcross, 2010). In essence, psychodynamic theorists expand on Sigmund Freud's theorizations (Gibbson, 2007; McLeod, 2024). For instance, Erikson's framework initiated the general study of adult development in psychology, as he expanded on Freud's theory of psychosexual development, even beyond the age of sexual maturation (Freiberg, 1987; Hoare, 2005; Nel, 2013). This is later discussed in section 3.2.2.

The psychodynamic theory places emphasis on the functioning of the ego and focuses on interpersonal conflicts (Prochaska & Norcross, 2010), as it maintains that human behaviour is influenced by unconscious mental processes, along with past and present experiences (Brearley, 1995; McLeod, 2024; Yelloly, 1980). Erikson conceptualised the ego "as a synthesising power within an individual, one that creates an identity through the process of dealing with personal, societal, historical and familial forces as the individual strives to master the environment" (Nel, 2013, p. 90; Wastell, 1996). To Erikson, the ego is independent, decisive, active, creative, and adaptive (Meyer & Viljoen, 2008; Prenter, 2015; Nel, 2013; Shaffer, 2002).

Erikson (1963, 1968, 1974, 1977) argues that human development occurs in eight successive stages, and each stage is marked by a unique crisis or challenge that people are to overcome or resolve. According to Erikson (1980), these crises result from conflicting forces, and the forces result from biopsychosocial changes. In essence, a person's biological and psychological needs are in constant opposition or conflict with the needs of their external and social environment – the psycho versus social (Erikson, 1963, 1968). Overall, Erikson's (1963, 1968, 1974, 1977, 1980) theory emphasizes the psychological and social aspects of development, as he argues that one's external environment and/or sociocultural context has an immense impact on their holistic personality development.

Erikson (1968) asserts that the resolution of a psychosocial stage results in the attainment or development of a distinct virtue or ego strength. Erikson (1980) further states that when persons resolve earlier psychosocial stages, they are better equipped to handle later stages and/or crises. So, unresolved psychosocial stages pose a threat to the person's forthcoming stages and, thus, holistic development (Erikson, 1968; Louw et al., 2014). A detailed discussion of this conceptual framework is given in Chapter 3.

1.5 Research Aim

The main aim of this research study is to give a psychobiographical account of the implications of exile on Hugh Ramapolo Masekela's psychodynamic life. Secondly, Erikson's (1963, 1968, 1974, 1977, 1980) notion of psychosocial development is employed, with the aim of evaluating the applicability of the psychosocial developmental stages to Masekela's biographical data. Moreover, the use of psychological theory in the analysis of Masekela's life narrative enhances the reader's understanding of his personhood (Osorio, 2016; Ponterotto, 2017; Schultz, 2005), inclusive of how the experience of exile impacts his character development, at various stages of his life. The third aim is to comprehensively understand Masekela's psychosocial development within his socio-historical context. Lastly, the researcher aspires to contribute to South Africa's progressing field of psychobiography as a methodological approach. The foregoing research aims are presented as objectives:

1. To give a psychobiographical account of the implications of exile on Hugh Ramapolo Masekela's psychodynamic life.
2. To employ Erikson's theory of psychosocial development in the systematic evaluation and extrapolation of Masekela's life history – including the implications of exile on his personality development.
3. To provide a comprehensive understanding of Masekela's psychosocial development within his socio-historical context.

1.6 An Overview of the Study

This research study is composed of six distinct chapters. The First Chapter introduces and orientates the reader to the research study by outlining a general orientation and contextual background of the study, along with the problem statement and research aim. The Second Chapter presents a comprehensive literature review, specifically on the implications of exile. In this chapter, a definition of exile will be given, and the exile population will be identified. Moreover, the psychological implications of exile will be deliberated, along with the implications of exile on identity, as well as prominent coping strategies associated with the experience of exile. Thereafter, psychodynamic findings on the exile experience will be outlined. The outcomes of the literature review will be presented last.

The Third Chapter consists of a theoretical discussion of Erikson's theory of psychosocial development. Firstly, an orientation and background pertaining to Erikson will be delineated. The section will include Erikson's biography, along with his prominent contributions to the field of Psychology (including theoretical foundation) and the key concepts of his theoretical framework. Secondly, the eight stages of psychosocial development shall be demarcated, followed by the relevancy of psychosocial developmental theory to psychobiography. Thereafter, the limitations and criticism of the theoretical framework will be provided. Lastly, the usefulness of Erikson's theorizations in the construction of psychobiography will be presented. The Fourth Chapter is comprised of a presentation of the psychobiographical research design and methodology. The chapter will first outline the study's research objectives. Thereafter, the qualitative research design will be deliberated, followed by the psychobiographical subject, data collection procedure, data extraction and analysis procedure, methodological limitations of psychobiography, trustworthiness measures, and ethical considerations. The researcher's reflexivity will be discussed last.

The Fifth Chapter accounts for a discussion of the psychosocial personality development of Hugh Masekela. Firstly, a conceptual format will be delineated to guide the presentation of the research findings. The research findings include Masekela's life history – from birth: 4th of April 1939, to death: 23rd of January 2018. Even so, sociohistorical events that occurred prior to the subject's birth will be considered, as the researcher hypothesized that these are significant to Masekela's personhood and development. Lastly, Masekela's biographical data will be deliberated in correspondence to Erikson's psychosocial developmental stages. The Sixth Chapter concludes this psychobiographical study. Firstly, the researcher will present a summation of the research findings, followed by a concluding discussion of the implications of exile on Masekela's personhood. Thirdly, the study's research objectives will be revisited, and then a delineation of the value of the study and recommendations for future research will be provided. Lastly, the researcher will present their reflexive or personal passage as part of the reflexivity process.

1.7 Chapter Summary

This introductory chapter provided a general overview of the research study. The chapter began with a delineation of the orientation and contextual background of this study, wherein the following was identified and acknowledged: (1) the implications of exile on personhood is

the principal focus of the study; (2) Psychobiography is the research methodology of use; (3) Hugh Ramapolo Masekela is the psychobiographical subject; and (4) Erikson's theory of psychosocial development is the employed theoretical framework. Thereafter, a problem statement was affirmed, whereby the researcher argued that although various studies give a comprehensive understanding of the experience and implications of exile on individuals (Bergset, 2020; Muys, 2007), longitudinal and developmental aspects of the experience are underemphasized. The chapter progressed to specify the research aim: to give a psychobiographical account of the implications of exile on Masekela's psychodynamic life with specific reference to exile. Lastly, an overview of the study was presented, and it comprised a concise explanation of what each chapter of this study will entail.

Chapter 2

Exploring the Implications of Exile: A Literature Review

2.1 Chapter Preview

This chapter serves as a literature review exploring the implications of exile. Firstly, the chapter conceptualizes exile. Secondly, the implications of exile will be discussed, followed by the constructive and maladaptive coping strategies of exiles. Thereafter, psychodynamic findings on the exile experience will be outlined. The outcomes of the literature review will be presented last.

2.2 The Conceptualisation of Exile

Various phenomenological studies have portrayed the harsh and painful realities of exile. According to Escobar (2000), exile refers to individuals who have been banished and/or expelled from their home country or country of birth. Grinberg and Grinberg (1989) assert that exile is a state wherein an individual's departure is enforced, and their return is illegal and forbidden. According to Escobar (2000) and Muchova (2006), reasons for exile vary, and people are often persecuted for their religious beliefs, political stance or intellectual dissent.

An example of political exile, meaning expatriation due to political reasons (Dunne & Hamzawy, 2019), includes the banishment of 160 anti-apartheid activists from South Africa between 1948 and 1986 (Badat, 2013) during the apartheid era. Apartheid entails a system of former policies and measures rooted in racial segregation (Helliker, 2015), resulting in the oppression and marginalization of non-white South Africans along with their economic and sociopolitical discrimination by the white minority (Ellis, 2019; Helliker, 2015). Helen Joseph, an anti-apartheid opponent, describes the banishment or exile of anti-apartheid activists as violent in that persons were plucked from their indigenous environments and forced to leave their families to either starve, suffer or die (Badat, 2013; Joseph, 1968).

Certain studies assert that refugee is a closely associated term of exile and that these two terms are, at times, used interchangeably (Houvenaghel et al., 2020). Other scholars classify refugees and immigrants as exiles (Muchova, 2006). Houvenaghel et al. (2020) argue

that both refugees and exiles cannot return to their home countries as a result of forced displacement. Refugees are often coerced to leave their country of birth in search of better living conditions or asylum (Escobar, 2000; Lijtmaer, 2017; Shacknove, 1985). According to The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR] (2023), at the conclusion of 2022, there has been a record of 108,4 million forcibly displaced persons globally. Refugees were approximately 32,5% (35,3 million persons) of this population (UNHCR, 2023).

O'Neill and Spybey (2003) also argue that forced migration or displacement results in the global prevalence of refugees. The reasons for forced displacement often include the occurrence of natural and environmental disasters, wars, human rights violations, and ethnic cleansing (Muchova, 2006; O'Neill & Spybey, 2003; UNHCR, 2023). Forced displacement further mirrors a political and socio-economic catastrophe along with global conflict (Castles & Davidson, 2000; O'Neill & Spybey, 2003). According to the United Nations World Food Program ([UNWFP], 2022), 6 million Ukrainians became refugees due to Russia's full-scale invasion into Ukraine in February 2022. This serves as an example of forced displacement due to armed conflict or war. The forcibly displaced Ukrainians took refuge in neighbouring countries such as Hungary, Romania and Moldova (UNWFP, 2022).

While exile is primarily a socio-political phenomenon (McGinnis, 2015), immigrants often seek better employment opportunities (including working conditions and increased wages), educational prospects, and healthcare services in host countries (Giuntella et al., 2018). Unlike exiles and refugees, immigrants do not experience forceful displacement and can return to their home countries as they please (Houvenaghel et al., 2020). Escobar (2000) argues that exile often serves as a power tool aimed at influencing political actions and the people involved. Badat (2016) further contends that exile is a broader and more extreme political tool used to intimidate, control and punish political opponents.

According to Muys (2007), exiles have suffered great loss, including their social status, contact with family, cultural resources and future perspectives. Brother and Lewis (2012) maintain a congruent stance by stating that exiled persons are "forced to live in a world that is no longer recognizable" and without meaning (p.184). On the other hand, Muchova (2006) and Pettinger (2019) argue that exile is potentially a liberating experience, as exiles may gain access to better living conditions in their host countries.

Fittingly, this literature review explores the various implications of exile on affected individuals in the next section. It should come to the reader's attention that this literature review

classifies exiles as individuals who are legally banished from their home country, as well as refugees. The review will further consider the experiences of immigrants and classify them as exiles. This is because Houvenaghel et al. (2020) and Bernard (1976) contend that immigrants and exiles face similar challenges in host countries. This is because exile and immigration are both grounded upon the experience of rupture with the home country (Houvenaghel et al., 2020). The experience of rupture then results in corresponding anxieties, along with issues relating to cultural identity and assimilation for both exiles and immigrants (Grinberg & Grinberg, 1989; Houvenaghel et al., 2020). However, Grinberg and Grinberg (1989) argue that, unlike immigration, the notion of exile highlights the matching experiences as even more heart-rending and intense. Lastly, the researcher also consulted relevant and substantial data on the experiences of immigrants in host countries.

2.3 Implications of Exile

Research indicates that people cope with stress and adverse situations in various and unsimilar ways (Hyland, 2015; Phan, 2013). According to Lee and Mason (2014) and Phan (2013), one's cultural and contextual background plays a significant role in how they perceive, experience and respond to stress or adverse situations. Hyland (2015) asserts that factors such as personality, disposition, personal values and goal conflicts impact coping responses. Correspondingly, individuals' perceptions and experiences of exile are unsimilar and, subsequently, bear different implications and coping responses (Muchova, 2006; Rojas et al., 2015). According to Camurri (2014), different historical backgrounds and reasons for exile – e.g. political, escaping war or violence, etc. – inform these experiences and subsequently coping responses. Therefore, this section of the literature review discusses the psychological implications of exile, followed by the implications of exile on identity. Thereafter, a delineation of constructive and maladaptive coping strategies will be construed.

2.3.1 Psychological Implications of Exile

The American Psychiatric Association [APA] (2019), in consideration of various systematic reviews, asserts that estimates of prevalent mental health disorders amongst the exile population in high-income countries range from 20% to 80%. Prevalent mental health disorders include anxiety, depression and posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD) (APA, 2019; Danish Refugee Council [DRC], 2013). More specifically, estimates for the prevalence of

anxiety range from 4% to 40%, while estimates for depression are between 5% and 45%, and 9% to 36% for PTSD (APA, 2019).

Ruwanpura et al. (2006) state that mental distress and deterioration in mental well-being are prevalent amongst exiles, and a risk factor includes being away from family and friends who could have provided social support. This further leads to a decline in social functioning, and exiles become socially withdrawn as they find difficulties trusting and relating to others in a new environment (DRC, 2013; Marchetti-Mercer, 2006; Ruwanpura et al., 2006). Marchetti-Mercer and Roos (2006) further state that anxiety is common amongst exiles, as they have an intense fear of the future – not knowing when they will return to their home countries or how they will generate income in host countries.

As previously stated, trauma, or “exilic trauma” (Muchova, 2006, p. 91), is also a dominating psychological implication of exile (Hosin et al., 2006; E. Montgomery, 2011; Sachs et al., 2008). Exilic trauma refers to a feeling of uprootedness, and uprootedness entails removing or uprooting an individual from their usual or home environment (Muchova, 2006). The trauma stems from homelessness and culture shock; the reconstruction of identities in order to adapt to a new environment, learning new languages, eating exotic food and taking up new practices (Muchova, 2006). In addition, Said (2001) and Sabawi (2020) contend that the traumatic implications of exile are transgenerational, as they can be passed on from generation to generation through exiles’ parenting skills. Bailey (2004) argues that exilic trauma even manifests as difficulty maintaining intimate or interpersonal relationships in adulthood.

2.3.2 The Implications of Exile on Identity

Rankoe (1999) conducted research which focused on the discourses of exile identity and argues that the reconstruction of identity as an implication of exile is neither fixed nor unitary but is forever changing, multiple and/or subjective. Moreover, Rankoe (1999) recommends future studies to explore whether the implications of exile are damaging to the individual as well as the effects of returning to one’s home country has them.

According to Muchova (2006), exiles indirectly search for their identities in host countries. The DRC (2013) argues that exile passively reconstructs the identities of affected individuals, as being away from their home countries, including cultural and geographical practices – for 10 to 30 years, forces them to adapt to new practices in order to fit in and reduce possible alienation. Language acquisition is important in restructuring identity, as one is

enabled to communicate and relate with others in a new environment (DRC, 2013). In this way, exiles form a shared identity by learning the ways and/or culture of the host country. Ainslie et al. (2013) state that language is used to represent people's identity (the self), ideologies and feelings. So, exiles whose mother tongue is dissimilar from that of the host culture or society tend to experience feelings of inferiority and a sense of loss, as they cannot effectively convey their feelings and experiences in a secondary language (Ainslie et al., 2013).

Oberg (1960) presents a descriptive model which focuses on the notion of cultural shock. Firstly, Oberg (1954) defines culture shock as a sequence of emotional responses that are triggered or activated by the experience of anxiety, resulting from individuals losing all recognizable or identifiable symbols and signs of social intercourse. Another aspect of culture shock includes the adjustment individuals are forced to make as a way of adapting to a new environment or their new reality after forced displacement from their home country or primary environment (Oberg, 1954). Oberg's (1954) model delineates the process of adjusting to a new environment in the form of a U-shape continuum. The processes include (Lopez & Portero, 2013; Oberg, 1954):

1. The **Honeymoon Stage** includes persons arriving in and being fascinated with a new environment. So, they learn and begin to understand the language of the host environment. They are also enthusiastic and euphoric about their change in environment, and subsequently willing to adjust. During this stage, persons usually do not compare nor perceive differences between their own or native culture and new cultural experiences. Recognized differences are often excused as defects in persons.
2. The **Rejection or Regression Stage** comprises the evidence of physical tiredness resulting from the preceding process. Individuals begin to notice difficulties in physically adjusting to the target culture (e.g., insomnia, water or food problems, etc.). They are also increasingly exposed to various situations of linguistic interaction wherein the level of their language is inadequate. At this point, persons feel exhausted, disappointed, alienated, lonely and anxious, as unfamiliarity with the host environment's culture is perceived negatively comparative to country of origin. Hence, individuals struggle to integrate and experience culture shock as a result.
3. The **Adjustment or Negotiation Stage** includes individuals' progressive adaptation to their host environment and the establishment of daily routines, which facilitate and make adaptation less difficult. In this process, persons are aware of and understand the discrepancies between their own culture and the host environment's culture and social

norms. Their linguistic abilities portray improvement. They also know how to manoeuvre around new environments and create social bonds with others.

4. **Mastery Stage:** Some individuals spend less time in their new environment or adapting to another culture, leaving this stage uncompleted. When individuals stay in a host environment for prolonged periods or even permanently, they are said to become adoptive cultural natives.

2.3.3 Coping with Exile

Exiles tend to regress in the face of adversities that challenge their sense of belonging and self, consequent to their detachment from pre-exilic experiences, including their family, culture and home country (Grinberg & Grinberg, 1989; Kerrisk, 2010; Lijtmaer, 2001). The DRC (2013) asserts that some women resort to prostitution when they struggle to make ends meet in host countries, and young men tend to abuse substances (drugs and alcohol) as a way of dealing with their daily struggles and traumatic encounters. Majodina's (1989) literature review explored the psychosocial challenges experienced by exiles. The study intended to generalise its literary findings to the exilic experiences of black South Africans during the apartheid era. The researcher observed the prevalence of aggressiveness, alcohol addiction and social withdrawal among exiles and argued that aggressive behaviour could have been an effective pre-exilic coping mechanism given the experiences of black people during apartheid. However, aggressive behaviour becomes maladaptive during exile (Majodina, 1989), implying that exiles are to assess and alter previously acquired coping behaviours or strategies to suit the sociohistorical context of their host country and/or current exilic experiences (in a socially acceptable manner). On the other hand, Hielbel (2019) highlights that a few exiles turn to religion for hope amidst adversity.

According to Grinberg and Grinberg (1989), exiles tend to keep aspects of their native culture or society (such as music, familiar objects and memories) and join social groups of people with similar ideologies and/or religious or cultural background. Such behaviours counter the destabilizing nature of exile on personhood, as these increase social functioning and facilitate adaptation in host countries, thus providing exiles with a sense of identity continuance (Griffiths, 2007; Kerrisk, 2010). Moreover, Bhugra's (2004) literature review study on the implications of immigration on mental distress and cultural identity concluded that the formation of healthy support systems reduces the risk of psychopathology among immigrants. Kosic (2002) revealed that immigrants who kept their ethnic identities and

practices had higher levels of self-confidence and, therefore, coped with exilic difficulties better.

Muchova's (2006) study demonstrated how 20th century Czech writers reflected their exilic experiences in their literary works. The study specifically evaluated "the responses of Jan Drabek and Jaroslav Vejvoda to two historical traumas: the 1948 Communist Coup and the failure of the "Prague Spring" in 1968", along with Czech exile literature (Muchova, 2006, p. 3). The researcher concluded that some writers inscribed literature on the basis of their lived experiences, which helped them cope with emotional distress (Muchova, 2006). The evaluated authors used their time and writing skills to express their political disagreements, confront the exilic state, educate readers on their sociopolitical period, and comfort their counterparts in exile and/or with similar experiences. Also, each writer presented a unique reflection on their exilic experience consistent with the distinct sociopolitical condition of their historical period. In essence, the study illustrated how some exiles utilize their talents or acquired skills as constructive coping mechanisms.

2.4 Psychodynamic Findings on the Exile Experience

There are numerous psychodynamic conceptualisations and findings on the experience of immigration and exile, including exilic implications on identity development and psychological processes (Halperin, 2004; Kerrisk, 2010; Mattsson, 2018). Brearley (2007) emphasises that psychodynamic thought is primarily concerned with:

Certain key relationships, namely, those between the self and significant other people, past and present experience, and inner and outer reality, with simultaneous focus on both the actual relationships and those built up internally from experience and with special emphasis on the processes of these relationships and interaction. (pp. 86-87)

Various psychodynamic literature notes that Bowlby's attachment theory is inherent to understanding the complications of exile and immigration (Kerrisk, 2010; Madjlessi, 2016; Sharabany & Israeli, 2008; Van Ecke, 2005). The attachment theory proposes that the quality of an infant's relationship with their mother or primary caregiver determines their attachment style and, subsequently, the quality of later relationships and interactions (Bowlby, 1980; Main, 1995). Sharabany and Israeli (2008) conducted research examining the psychodynamic processes underlying the challenges adolescent immigrants encounter. Sharabany and Israeli

(2008) maintain that “attitudes and cognitions dealing with anxiety-inducing situations such as loss, separation, and new situations [are] based on early experiences with caretakers develop” (p. 139). Sengun (2001) further argues that an exile’s attachment style determines their adaptability in host countries. Sengun (2001) and Sharabany and Israeli (2008) interpret the exile process as separation from familiarity (people and places), and a host country as a strange anxiety-inducing situation.

Exiles with an insecure attachment style are more likely to have trouble adjusting in host countries (Sharabany & Israeli, 2008). Exiles with an avoidant attachment style resort to social isolation as they fear encountering new experiences, while anxiously attached exiles tend to experience separation anxiety (Kerrisk, 2010; Sengun, 2001). Contrariwise, securely attached exiles explore their new environment with confidence, handle exilic challenges better, and adapt more easily (Kerrisk, 2010; Sengun, 2001; Sharabany & Israeli, 2008). A study by Madjlessi (2016) investigated the attachment styles and acculturation strategies of third-wave Iranian immigrants (1978-1984) living in the United States. The study sampled 64 immigrants and employed a correlational research design. As per the findings, immigrants with secure attachment styles indicated no psychological distress, reported more life satisfaction, and easily related to others in their host country. In contrast, immigrants with fearful and preoccupied attachment styles reported symptoms of psychological distress and life dissatisfaction.

Kerrisk (2010) conducted a study exploring psychodynamic perspectives on immigration, including the implications of immigration on identity formation. The researcher intended to employ their research findings to inform cross-cultural therapeutic practice (Kerrisk, 2010). Their methodology comprised a modified systematic literature review and critical evaluation. The findings show that recognising: (a) the multiplicity of the human experience, (b) the complexity of psychological processes, and (c) immigrants’ varied sociocultural contexts in addition to their intrapsychic processes is significant in understanding and addressing identity complications (or maladaptation), resulting from the experience of immigration (Kerrisk, 2010).

Kerrisk (2010) further noted that psychodynamic literature tends to overemphasize the challenging and traumatic aspects of the immigration process, while the positive aspects of cultural relocation (or opportunities for personal growth) are underemphasized (Kerrisk, 2010). Psychodynamic literature highlighted identity crises, grief or loss, and cultural shock as

prevalent issues arising among immigrants, along with social variables such as “language difficulties, prejudice and isolation” (Kerrisk, 2010, p. 4).

A study conducted by Freire (1995) investigated gender-based variations among Latin American exiles living in Toronto from a psychodynamic perspective. The research findings were based on longitudinal developmental observations of the population, which revealed that women have better coping mechanisms and adjustment strategies than men (Freire, 1995). According to Freire (1995), more suicidal attempts were reported by men, along with increased sexual promiscuity, substance abuse, and violence against women and children. In contrast, women exhibited more help-seeking behaviours and formed social groups to combat social isolation. Freire (1995) argues the following:

Under normal circumstances, and within the socioeconomic status to which they belong in their home country, Latin American women are accustomed to having fewer opportunities than men, to assuming that they must be able to cope with whatever situation arises, to drawing something positive out of the most taxing experiences, and to being thankful for whatever assistance, if any, they receive from others. This is the basis for the coping mechanisms of women, their tremendous resources for survival, and their heightened resilience in facing crises as compared with their male counterparts. (p. 21).

Okolie (2018) evaluated Chinua Achebe’s seminal text, ‘Things Fall Apart’. The study illuminated the psychological processes which governed Okonkwo’s (protagonist) exile experience. Okolie (2018) came to the following conclusions: (a) the exile experience is intrinsically connected to an exile’s pre-exilic and post-exilic experiences, (b) exilic departure destabilises one’s personal, sociocultural, and psychological order, resulting in their distorted sense of self, (c) unrelinquishable attachment to pre-exilic events or accomplishments exacerbates feelings of loss and alienation, alongside resistance to adaptation and reconstruction of identities, resulting in a psychic scar thus traumatizing the exile, and (d) exilic trauma tends to manifest as violence against the self (e.g., suicide) and the environment (e.g., homicide).

Relationally focused psychodynamic literature maintains that intrapsychic processes and/or childhood experiences do not solely determine the (psychological) implications of exile and highlight the importance of external factors (Álvarez, 1999; Halperin, 2004; Kerrisk, 2010). Halperin (2004) argues that each person’s unique amalgam of dynamic and non-dynamic aspects justifies the disparate outcomes of their exilic experience or process. Akhtar

(1995, as cited in Kerrisk, 2010) outlined ten points which encapsulate key developmental, external and internal facets that impact immigration outcomes:

(1) the extent of the person's ability to intra-psychically accept his or her loss; (2) whether the immigration is temporary or permanent; (3) the degree of choice in leaving one's country; (4) the possibility of revisiting the home country; (5) the age/life-stage of the immigrant; (6) the reasons for leaving one's country; (7) level of prior achievement of the intrapsychic capacity for separateness; (8) the way in which the host culture receives the migrant; (9) the magnitude of cultural differences between the adopted and the home country; and (10) the extent to which one's original role/vocation can be resumed in the new land. (pp. 40-41)

2.5 Literature Outcomes

The foregoing findings illustrate the significance of understanding exiles within their sociohistorical context, as sociocultural factors inform individuals' exilic experiences and perceptions, alongside their adaptability or response to adversity during exile. The psychodynamic findings stressed the importance of exploring and grasping exiles' earlier relationships and unconscious conflicts. Even so, the discussed findings primarily focused on the immediate implications of exile, including exiles' immediate coping responses and psychological well-being. Fewer studies explore exiles' long-term adjustment in host countries as well as their quality of life and, consequently, how these facets impact their identity development. For instance, although Freire's (1995) longitudinal study achieved its research objectives, the researcher argues that certain aspects required further longitudinal exploration: "Did the Latin American men's adaptation to their host country improve over time (in relation to the women)? If yes, in what way? Did the Latin American women reconstruct their identities in exile? What were the driving forces behind this?"

Moreover, even fewer studies evaluate the experiences of South African exiles and/or immigrants longitudinally, including their long-term psychological well-being and adaptability, especially from a psychodynamic perspective. According to McKay (2000), learning about histories and the experiences of others often highlights and reveals 'unspoken' and/or 'unknown' aspects of these histories, experiences and phenomena – 'hidden truths' are unveiled. The detailed and unique experiences of others are also produced, enabling a better,

comprehensive and comparative understanding of these histories and experiences (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005). Subsequently, researchers are able to identify areas for further academic, practical and theoretical development (McKay, 2000). Psychobiography, as a research methodology, can be employed in this regard. For the reason that, it enables the in-depth study and understanding of unique histories along with subjective and internal experiences (Edwards, 1998; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010), as the methodology prolongs focus on single case units or phenomena (Edwards, 1990).

According to Mayer and Kovary (2019), psychobiography, or psychological biography, refers to the systematic, descriptive and explorative study of the life histories of past or present significant and influential members of society in light of psychological conceptions. Psychological conceptions enable a better understanding of the life narratives of individuals along with their personality and behavioural development (Osorio, 2016; Schultz, 2005). Therefore, a psychobiographical account of the implications of exile on an individual's personhood enables the researcher to identify and track changes in social and personality development over time. Fittingly, this study explores the implications of exile on Masekela's (a South African subject) psychodynamic life using Erikson's theory of psychosocial development (see Chapter 3). The research methodology is discussed further in Chapter 4.

2.6 Chapter Summary

This chapter accounted for a literature review exploring the implications of exile. The chapter began with the conceptualization of exile. Thereafter, the implications of exile were deliberated: (1) the psychological implications of exile and (2) the consequences of the exile experience on identity, followed by the constructive and maladaptive coping strategies of exiles. Psychodynamic findings of the exile experience were then outlined. The outcomes of the literature review were presented last. Erikson's theory of psychosocial development is discussed in the following chapter.

Chapter 3

An Overview of Erikson's Theory of Psychosocial Development

3.1 Chapter Preview

This chapter provides a discussion of Erik H. Erikson's theory of psychosocial development across the human lifespan, as his psychological theory is utilized in the analysis of this paper's psychobiographical subject: Hugh Masekela. Firstly, an orientation and background pertaining to Erikson will be delineated. The section will include Erikson's biography along with his prominent contributions to the field of Psychology, including the theoretical foundation of his theory, followed by the key concepts of his theoretical framework. Secondly, the eight stages of psychosocial development shall be demarcated, followed by the relevancy of psychosocial developmental theory to psychobiography. Thereafter, the limitations and criticism of the theoretical framework will be provided. Lastly, the usefulness of Erikson's theorizations in the construction of psychobiography will be presented.

3.2 Erik H. Erikson: Orientation and Background

3.2.1 Brief Biography

Erik Homburger Erikson was born on the 15th of June 1902 and bred in Frankfurt, Germany (Cherry, 2023; Stevens, 2008). Erikson was raised by his mother, Karla Abrahamsen, who later married his stepfather and paediatrician, Dr Theodore Hamburger (Allen, 2006; Cherry, 2023; Stevens, 2008). The identity of Erikson's biological father remained hidden from him (Stevens, 2008), and Erikson spent his childhood believing that his stepfather was his biological father (Cherry, 2023). Eventually, he learned of the truth and developed an identity crisis, as he was confused about and questioned who he truly was (Stevens, 2008). Also, Erikson often discussed how this, as well as various childhood experiences, had a negative impact on his sense of belonging (Erikson, 1995).

Upon Erikson's visitations to the synagogue, consistent with his stepfather's Jewish background, he was often teased for his dissimilar Arian appearance (Allen, 2006). He was described as Nordic-looking, blue-eyed, blonde, and tall (Cherry, 2023). Erikson experienced

further rejection from his German school peers because of his religious practices; this was during the climate of the First World War (Boeree, 2006; Stevens, 2008). Erikson's childhood experiences and struggle with his personal identity vastly ignited the development of his psychological theories, specifically the study of identity (Friedman, 1999; Stevens, 2008). In 1927, Erikson received psychoanalytic training under Anna and Sigmund Freud at the Vienna Psychoanalytic Institute and eventually achieved certification (Cherry, 2023; Stevens, 2008). He was simultaneously trained as a teacher by the Montessori Teachers Association (Allen, 2006). Erikson also became Anna Freud's patient, as psychoanalysis was less formalised at the time, and recalled that their sessions enhanced his self-awareness (Stevens, 2008).

In 1933, Erikson migrated to the United States of America with his wife – Joan, and children. Harvard Medical School offered Erikson a teaching position, even without a doctorate or formal degree (Allen, 2006). Erikson also opened his own practice, focusing on child psychoanalysis. The theory of psychosocial development was primarily established through Erikson's clinical observations (Barresi & Juckes, 1997). Sadock and Sadock (2007) also state that Erikson's experience as an anthropological fieldworker, artist, teacher and lecturer further facilitated the establishment of his core tenets.

To forge his own identity, at age 37, he changed his name to Erik H. Erikson – meaning “Erik son of Erik” (Allen, 2006, p. 150); previously, Erik Homburger (Cherry, 2023; Flemming, 2004). Erikson later held academic positions at various institutions, including Yale, Berkeley and the San Francisco Psychoanalytic Institute, to name a few (Cherry, 2023; Stevens, 2008). The next subsection discusses his contributions to the field of psychology.

3.2.2 Significant Contributions to the Field of Psychology and Theoretical Foundation

Erikson is globally recognized as an eminent psychoanalyst of the 20th century (Cherry, 2023). He is best known for coining the term ‘identity crisis’ and his theory of psychosocial development (Cherry, 2023; Keitt, 2012; Stevens, 2008). In 1963, Erikson introduced his theorizations [to be discussed later] in his published book, ‘Childhood and Society’. His theorisations on adolescent identity crisis and psychosocial development have vastly influenced: (a) the development and adaptation of psychotherapeutic interventions, (b) research agendas, (c) the formation and implementation of social policies, (d) the comprehension of historical processes, and (e) clinicians’ understanding of personality development over a lifespan (Batra, 2013; Prenter, 2015; Swart et al., 2008). Various scholars

consider the theory of psychosocial development valuable in clinical practice for assessment purposes, case formulations and establishing interventions for developmental challenges (Marcia & Josselson, 2013; Swart et al., 2008).

Developmental psychology recognises Erikson as a pioneer of the field, with the most researched psychoanalytical approach and empirically validated framework on identity formation (Marcia & Josselson, 2013; Meyer & Viljoen, 2008; Prenter, 2015). Also, Erikson's theoretical framework initiated the general study of adult development in psychology, as he expanded on Sigmund Freud's theory of psychosexual development, even beyond the age of sexual maturation (Freiberg, 1987; Hoare, 2005; Nel, 2013). Erikson (1963) focused on contextual implications on human existence, specifically the relationship between sociocultural processes and personality development. Unlike Freud, Erikson (1963) intended to study ego processes within society and beyond the individual. Thus, scholars consider Erikson a Neo-Freudian or psychodynamic thinker (Stevens, 2008). Psychodynamic thought expands on or derives from Sigmund Freud's theorizations (Gibbson, 2007; McLeod, 2024).

The psychodynamic theory places emphasis on the functioning of the ego, and focuses on interpersonal conflicts (Prochaska & Norcross, 2010), as it maintains that human behaviour is influenced by unconscious mental processes, along with past and present experiences (Brearley, 1995; McLeod, 2024; Yelloly, 1980). Freud described the unconscious as primitive instincts and impulses, and is the storehouse for repressed memories, which influence human behaviour (Brearley, 2007; Kadish, 2016). Repressed memories comprise "painful childhood memories, forbidden sexual and/or aggressive wishes or phenomena in the outside world that feel too threatening to enter into awareness, for whatever deeper reason" (Kadish, 2016, p. 83).

Nonetheless, Erikson (1975) criticised Freud's notions to be backward and reductionist, as Freud maintained that early childhood, pathology and instincts arise from intrapsychic conflict. According to Erikson (1975), Freud did not acknowledge the significance of sociohistorical factors. Unlike Freud, Erikson conceptualised the ego "as a synthesising power within an individual, one that creates an identity through the process of dealing with personal, societal, historical and familial forces as the individual strives to master the environment" (Nel, 2013, p. 90; Wastell, 1996). To Erikson, the ego is independent, decisive, active, creative, and adaptive, even during a developmental crisis, instead of a measly intercessor between the id and superego (Meyer & Viljoen, 2008; Prenter, 2015; Nel, 2013; Shaffer, 2002). Freud described the id as "unconscious aggressive and sexual impulses and instincts," which manifest

as wishful or illogical thinking (Brearley, 2007, p. 88; Kadish, 2016). While the superego refers to “the internalized images of critical parents and other authority figures, which acts as a conscience and gradually develops moral values” (Brearley, 2007, p. 88). To Freud, the ego maintains equilibrium between the id’s demands (desires) and the superego’s rules (morality) (Kadish, 2016).

Nevertheless, Erikson was further acknowledged as an evocative author whose literary works remain prominent in academia and to the general public (Douvan, 1997; Kivnick & Wells, 2013). Moreover, some of his concepts, namely psychosocial moratorium, identity, etc., have formed quotidian vocabulary (Benveniste, 2000). This also qualifies that Erikson’s work has a direct and tremendous impact on the course of human culture (Douvan, 1997), along with perceptions of ethnicity and race (Syed & Fish, 2018). In certain regions of the world, Erikson’s framework has been evidently integrated into (early classroom) educational design and practice (Batra, 2013). Batra (2013) argues that “Erikson’s framework provides the necessary connecting dots between children’s growing-up needs and their education, including the needs of children with learning difficulties” (p. 251). Drawing from Erikson’s framework, career guidance psychologists also aid adolescents in developing their *occupational identity* – to be deliberated later (Miller, 2011). Erikson’s later works expounded on the implications of religion and religious institutions on personality development, which stimulated further research on religion from a psychoanalytic perspective (Saccaggi, 2015; Wright, 1982; Zock, 1990).

3.2.3 Key Concepts of Erikson’s Theory

(a) Epigenetic principle

According to Erikson (1963), human development occurs in eight successive stages and is determined or influenced by a combination of genetic [or biological] and environmental factors. The psychosocial stages of development are interdependent, as they emerge from and depend on one another (Erikson, 1963; Saccaggi, 2015; Stevens, 2008). However, different or unique characteristics manifest during each developmental stage, corresponding to certain ages (Roets, 2015). This describes the *epigenetic principle*. Moreover, the manifestation of unique characteristics emerges in a specified, genetically determined sequence, indicating that individuals develop continuously and holistically – overtly and covertly (Erikson, 1963; Stevens, 2008). Erikson (1963) further stresses that individuals are enabled to revisit and resolve earlier psychosocial stages, or crises, at later stages. This is because components of

each developmental stage exist from birth and differentiate over time in correspondence to biopsychosocial factors (Peedicayil, 2012; Prenter, 2015). Moreover, Erikson (1968) maintains that the way in which persons resolve crises during specific psychosocial stages is neither fixed nor immutable.

(b) Ego identity

Erikson (1963, 1968) argues that the ego is a core facet of personality. The ego describes “the part of the self that is in touch with the outside world” (Roets, 2015, p. 23). *Ego identity* refers to the continuous development of the conscious sense of self throughout one’s lifecycle and is influenced by personal, cultural, historical, familial and societal forces (Erikson, 1963, 1968; Hoque, 2018; Nel, 2013; Roets, 2015; Saccaggi, 2015). So, each psychosocial stage presents persons with an opportunity to discover, understand and accept their sense of self or who they are [identity] in relation to society (Bjorklund & Hernández Blasi, 2012). The ego identity constantly evolves and adapts as persons acquire fresh experiences and learn new information through daily social interactions (Roets, 2015).

(c) Crisis and crisis resolution

According to Erikson (1963, 1968), each psychosocial stage is initiated and characterised by a unique crisis [or developmental task], wherein individuals are required to choose between two opposing possibilities. Erikson (1968) maintains that a crisis is a positive phenomenon, instead of a catastrophic one, and a catalyst for psychosocial growth. A crisis facilitates a drastic shift in perspective (Erikson, 1963; Roets, 2015) and, essentially, a turning point in persons’ lives wherein they must meet the demands of a new or challenging developmental task (Prenter, 2015). During each psychosocial stage, individuals are constantly required to establish a balance between the self and the social demands of their primary environment (Prenter, 2015; Swartz et al., 2008). This balance describes the notion of *crisis resolution* (Erikson, 1995), which basically materialises when persons achieve a favourable ratio between both adaptive and maladaptive aspects of development at the end of each stage (Louw, 2013; Prenter, 2015). According to Erikson (1968, 1979), the following qualities signify the successful resolution of a psychosocial crisis and are apparent in individuals over time: (a) a sense of clear direction in life; (b) stable identity; (c) self-acceptance; and (d) the confidence that their sense of self will be affirmed by their primary environment.

The successful resolution of a current or upcoming psychosocial stage depends on the outcome of the previous stages. However, Prenter (2015) argues that “failure to adequately

resolve a crisis in a specific stage does not necessarily result in a failure in subsequent stages; rather, it increases the intensity of the challenge of the next crisis” (p. 22). As previously mentioned, Erikson’s (1963) epigenetic principle further enables individuals to revisit and rework unresolved psychosocial crises at later stages. The complete failure to revisit and/or resolve a crisis results in psychological regression, evident in the emergence of emotional, cognitive, social and physical maladjustment (Bukato & Daehler, 2003; Erikson, 1978; Roets, 2015).

(d) Ego strengths [or virtues]

As per Erikson (1963), persons acquire an ego strength [or virtue] at the successful resolution of each psychosocial developmental stage. Erikson et al. (1986) maintain that for an ego strength to emerge persons are to integrate and find balance between the opposing forces of a psychosocial stage. An ego strength facilitates a healthy personality or identity development (Erikson, 1968; Hook, 2002). Roets (2015) argues that ego strengths are similar to life skills or qualities, as these aid individuals to persist, adapt and manoeuvre through the demands of the successive psychosocial stages saliently. Therefore, ego strengths are positive psychological traits which depict the degree to which persons can adequately establish mental processes (Hamachek, 1990; Meyer & Viljoen, 2008). Such processes comprise one’s ability to think, perceive, reason, remember, and strategize to attain set goals and express their self-concept (Roets, 2015). Erikson (1964) pinpoints eight ego virtues in correspondence to his psychosocial stages, specifically hope, will, purpose, competence, fidelity, love, care and wisdom. These will be highlighted in section 3.3 within their respective developmental stages.

(e) Maladaptive and malignant tendencies

Each of Erikson’s psychosocial stages is characterised by two opposing, positive and negative, forces (Erikson, 1968). When these forces are integrated unsuccessfully – or remain imbalanced – maldevelopment often occurs, manifesting as either a maladaptive (neurotic disturbance) or malignant tendency (psychotic disturbance) (Erikson et al., 1986; Saccaggi, 2015). So, maldevelopment refers to basic weaknesses caused by an imbalance of the ego crisis (Erikson, 1963). Maladaptive tendencies emerge when persons rely on the ‘positive’ force excessively, while malignant tendencies manifest when they rely on the ‘negative’ force excessively (Capps, 2004; Erikson et al., 1986). During a neurotic disturbance or maladaptive tendency, persons do not lose touch with reality (France, 1991). They are further able to separate themselves from and identify unresolved psychosocial crises, implications and reasons thereof (Hoque, 2018; Renik, 1992). Contrariwise, during a psychotic disturbance or malignant

tendency, persons are disconnected from or have distorted perceptions of reality (APA, 2013; Cherney, 2020). Erikson et al. (1986) argue that maladaptive tendencies can be amended as persons progress to later psychosocial stages, especially through therapeutic or spontaneous readaptation. Meanwhile, malignant tendencies are more severe and prove difficult to amend over time or without radical correction (Erikson et al., 1986; Nel, 2013).

(f) Ritualization

Each psychosocial developmental stage is characterised by specific ritualisations and ritualism (Erikson, 1963, 1968). According to Erikson (1968), ritualisations refer to recurrent behavioural patterns that characterise or are distinct to a certain society. These are predominantly ascertained by culture, historical time periods, and/or specific situations (Erikson, 1963; Hoque, 2018). Saccaggi (2015) argues that ritualisations aid persons in forming their identity in correspondence to the norms of a specific society. Essentially, ritualisations facilitate their psychosocial identity formation. While Erikson (1976) further highlights that ritualisations are essential in understanding how society impacts psychological well-being. Moreover, ritualisations enable persons to express their emotions in a socially sanctioned manner and simultaneously ensure that persons are safe and secure, even in an ever-evolving and dynamic world (Meyer & Viljoen, 2008). Meanwhile, ritualism encompasses ritualisations that are inappropriate, exaggerated, rigid and have negative or maladaptive implications (Erikson et al., 1986). Specific ritualisations and ritualisms will be highlighted and discussed in the relevant psychosocial stage in the next section.

3.3 The Eight Stages of Psychosocial Development

Erikson (1963, 1968, 1974, 1976) argues that human development occurs in eight successive stages, and each stage is marked by a unique crisis or challenge that persons are to overcome or resolve. According to Erikson (1980), these crises result from conflicting forces, and the forces result from biopsychosocial changes. In essence, a person's biological and psychological needs are in constant opposition or conflict with the needs of their external and social environment – the psycho versus social (Erikson, 1963, 1968). Overall, Erikson's (1963, 1968, 1974, 1976, 1980) theory places emphasis on the psychological and social aspects of development, as he argues that one's external environment and/or sociocultural context has an immense impact on their holistic personality development.

Persons may either respond to the emergence of developmental crises in an adaptive [positive] or maladaptive [negative] manner (Schultz & Schultz, 2009). Erikson (1968) asserts that the resolution of a psychosocial stage results in the attainment or development of a distinct virtue or ego strength. Erikson (1980) further states that when persons resolve earlier psychosocial stages, they are better equipped to handle later stages and/or crises. So, unresolved psychosocial stages pose a threat to the person’s forthcoming stages and, thus, holistic development (Erikson, 1968; Louw et al., 2014). However, Erikson (1963, 1976) coined the term *epigenetic principle*, which maintains that individuals are enabled to revisit and resolve earlier psychosocial stages at later stages. Hence, the theory of psychosocial development “does not suggest a fixed process” (Osorio, 2016, p. 12). The aforementioned also highlights another notion of the epigenetic principle which stipulates that each successive psychosocial stage is established in the preceding stages (Erikson, 1976). Table 3.1 depicts a summation of Erikson’s eight stages of psychosocial development along with the prominent features of each stage thereof.

Table 3.1: Erikson’s Eight Stages of Psychosocial Development

Psychosocial Stage and Crisis	Age Range	Ego strengths [or virtues]	Ritualization	Maladaptive Tendencies	Malignant Tendencies
1. Basic Trust versus Mistrust	Birth – 18 months	Hope	Numinous	Sensory maladjustment	Withdrawal
2. Autonomy versus Shame and Doubt	18 months – 3 years	Will	Judicial	Impulsiveness	Compulsion
3. Initiative versus Guilt	3 – 6 years	Purpose	Dramatic	Ruthlessness	Inhibition
4. Industry versus Inferiority	6 – 12 years	Competency	Formal	Narrow Virtuosity	Inertia
5. Identity versus Confusion	12 – 20 years	Fidelity	Ideological	Fanaticism	Repudiation
6. Intimacy versus Isolation	20 – 35 years	Love	Ritual Sanction	Promiscuity	Exclusion
7. Generativity versus Stagnation	35 – 65 years	Care	Generational	Over-extension	Rejectivity
8. Integrity versus Despair	65 years – Death	Wisdom	Philosophical	Presumption	Disdain

Note. Adapted from “The decades of life: Relocating Erikson’s stages,” by D. Capps, 2004, *Pastoral Psychology*, 53(1), p. 8. Copyright 2004 by Springer Science and Business Media. In the public domain.

The eight stages of psychosocial development are discussed as follows:

3.3.1 Stage 1: Basic Trust versus Mistrust – Hope

The first stage of psychosocial development is termed *Basic trust versus Mistrust* (Erikson, 1976; D. A. Louw & Louw, 2014), mainly occurring from birth to approximately 18 months (Hamachek, 1990; Roets, 2015). This stage is fundamental in the establishment of a healthy personality structure and lasting worldview (Erikson, 1959). Infants are required to develop a sense of trust in their primary environment as a safe place (Erikson, 1959; D. A. Louw & Louw, 2014). According to Nel (2013), infants are fully dependent on their primary caregivers, typically mothers, for survival. Prenter (2015) and Swartz et al. (2008) argue that the quality of the relationship between a primary caregiver and an infant determines the outcome of this psychosocial stage. The quality of their relationship also impacts the infant's emotional and social development, along with a basis for their future relationships and self-trust (Cherry, 2022; Roets, 2015). According to Erikson (1959, 1968), this phase parallels the oral stage of psychosexual development, as infants incorporate or grasp their primary environment via the five senses, specifically through the mouth.

Infants develop a sense of *basic trust* when caregivers respond to their basic needs – such as hunger, affection, etc. – in a predictable and consistent manner (Carr & McNulty, 2006). Essentially, infants are enabled to establish a sense of *hope* and endurance amid adversity (Carr & McNulty, 2006; Erikson, 1959). *Trust* also develops when caregivers (Cherry, 2022): (1) provide infants with reassurance whenever they feel scared; and (2) create a safe and secure environment for them. Thus, an infant's first emotional challenge “is to learn to trust the primary caregiver” (Roets, 2015, p. 24). According to Prenter (2015), *sensory maladjustment* is the maladaptive tendency of this stage. This manifests when infants are gullible, too trusting and believe that everyone has good intentions toward them (Erikson, 1968).

Inversely, *mistrust* manifests when infants experience a sense of abandonment and deprivation, as their needs are constantly unmet or neglected by their primary caregivers (Erikson, 1980; Nel, 2013). Such infants tend to perceive their environment as unsafe or the world as threatening (Erikson, 1963). Consequently, they detach or self-isolate to protect themselves (Erikson, 1963; Roets, 2015). Capps (2004) argues that the malignant tendency of *withdrawal* occurs when mistrust is experienced in excess. Various psychopathologies or developmental challenges typically arise when this psychosocial stage is unresolved, namely

depression, psychosis, apathy, masochism, schizoid traits, lethargy, and isolation (Erikson, 1963; Iwaniec, 2006). Welchmann (2000) hypothesizes that the manifestation of mistrust also results from the process of defensive splitting wherein the inner self is separated from the outer. Roets (2015) further notes that defence mechanisms such as projection, introjection and distortions of reality typically accompany the aforementioned. Furthermore, children exposed to domestic violence struggle to resolve this phase, habitually display feelings of guilt and anxiety, and have somatic complaints (Hook, 2002; Prenter, 2015).

During this stage, infants engage in *numinous* ritualisation, which entails a fusion of feelings of awe and attraction (Hoque, 2018; Stevens, 2008). This ritualisation enhances identity development and self-affirmation, as infants and mothers acknowledge each other mutually by engaging in activities or routines such as diaper changing, feeding or morning greeting (Erikson, 1979; Meyer & Viljoen, 2008). Such routines typically include hugging, frequently calling the infant's name, smiling, kissing, and maintenance of eye contact (Meyer & Viljoen, 2008). Moreover, this ritualisation includes the weaning-off process, which enables infants to learn self-soothing skills as they experience a necessary degree of abandonment and separation from their mothers (Erikson, 1979). According to Stevens (2008) and Erikson (1964), a counter to *numinous* ritualisation is *idolism*, wherein an infant excessively idolises their primary caregiver, leading to an unhealthy and excessive ego attachment. This further results in the emergence of narcissistic traits typically observed in said infants and/or primary caregivers (Erikson, 1964).

The successful resolution of this psychosocial stage, or the balance between basic trust and mistrust, results in the occurrence of the ego strength of *hope* (Erikson, 1964). Meyer and Viljoen (2008) argue that caution arises when infants maintain a healthy sense of trust regulated by the experience of mistrust to an extent.

3.3.2 Stage 2: Autonomy versus Shame and Doubt – Willpower

The second psychosocial stage is called *Autonomy versus Shame and doubt* (Erikson, 1968), emerging when toddlers are between the ages of 18 months and three years old (Hamachek, 1990; Syed & Mclean, 2018). This phase is primarily characterized by toddlers' conflicting urges to either gain independence or remain dependent (Erikson, 1968, 1974, 1980), as they become cognisant of their separateness from their primary caregiver and thus attempt to develop personal autonomy and agency (Roets, 2015). Erikson (1965) and Roets (2015) define *autonomy* as a toddler's ability to become self-reliant, meaning to think independently

and act confidently. In other terms, toddlers are tasked to develop a sense of independence and self-control as well as establish decision-making skills (Erikson, 1968). They are also required to make sense of and gain control over their environment (Roets, 2015). *Autonomy* further enables toddlers to attain a sense of goodwill and protects their sense of assertiveness (Erikson, 1963; Nel, 2013).

This stage is also eminent for increased societal expectations and salient physical development (Prenter, 2015). Toddlers are required to learn how to walk, talk, dress, and eat independently, and regulate their excretory functions (Hook, 2002). Thus, the anal stage of psychosexual development aligns with this second psychosocial phase (Erikson, 1968). According to Stevens (2008), the anal stage is characterised by the initiation of personal autonomy and self-control as toddlers learn to regulate their excretory functions (retention and elimination).

Toddlers experience feelings of *shame and doubt* – towards their abilities – when their attempts at autonomous behaviour are constantly discouraged, punished, or ridiculed by their primary environment (Erikson, 1976; D. A. Louw & Louw, 2014). Ultimately, their self-worth diminishes (Erikson, 1963). According to Erikson (1963), *shame* entails an intense and excessive kind of self-consciousness. Thus, Prenter (2015) urges parental figures to empathetically assist toddlers in coping with failed attempts at autonomous behaviour while upholding set boundaries. Erikson (1995) contends that boundary setting protects toddlers from avoidable instances of *shame and doubt* while providing space for the freedom of their curiosity. Moreover, boundary setting is the basis for self-governance, discretion, and moral judgement in adulthood (Stevens, 2008). Thus, *judicious ritualisation* is eminent during this developmental stage (Erikson, 1976), as “toddlers are increasingly exposed to social rules” (Prenter, 2015, p. 27). According to Erikson (1976), this ritualisation encompasses a toddler’s ability to maintain equilibrium between their consciousness and societal law. Counter to this ritualisation is *legalism*, which describes an individual’s rigid attitude toward the law for personal gain (Austrian, 2008; Prenter, 2015).

The maladaptive tendency of *autonomy* is *impulsiveness* (excessive autonomy or shameless wilfulness), which is evident when toddlers persistently act on impulse or without assessing the implications of their actions nor acknowledging their capabilities and limitations (Boeree, 2006). Contrariwise, the malignant tendency of *compulsion* manifests when toddlers experience *shame and doubt* excessively (Boeree, 2006). Such toddlers feel the need to perform

tasks perfectly and always comply with instructions and regulations (Boeree, 2006). Ultimately, said toddlers refrain from tackling new tasks or challenges, as they tend to experience an overwhelming sense of fear over perceived imperfection (Hoque, 2018). They tend to experience feelings of worthlessness, lack self-confidence, procrastinate, and have performance anxiety (Hamachek, 1988; Hoque, 2018). Moreover, the unsuccessful resolution of this stage conceivably results in the following developmental challenges: malevolence, aggressive conduct, suicidal tendencies, Antisocial Personality Disorder, obsessive-compulsive behaviour, perfectionistic and rigid traits, and intolerance (Erikson, 1963; Hook, 2002; Roets, 2015).

Toddlers develop the ego virtue of *willpower* at the successful resolution of this psychosocial stage (Fouché et al., 2019). Erikson (1964) describes willpower as “the unbroken determination to exercise free choice [and] self-restrain”, despite inevitable occurrences of past *shame and doubt* (p. 119). Toddlers with *willpower* maintain a healthy balance between personal agency and doubt (or caution) (Erikson, 1997; Prenter, 2015).

3.3.3 Stage 3: Initiative versus Guilt – Purpose

The third developmental stage is named *Initiative versus Guilt* (Erikson, 1976; Fouché et al., 2019), or the *play age* (Erikson, 1976; Hamachek, 1990). This phase of development usually occurs between the ages of 3 and 6 years, during the preschool years (Hamachek, 1990). It is characterised by children’s “willingness to try new things and to handle failure” (D. A. Louw et al., 2014, p. 22). Erikson (1963, 1968) asserts that children vigorously employ their freedom to participate in motor and fantasy play as they initiate the exploration of their environment and learn to trust their abilities in the process. According to Erikson (1963), ego *initiative* heightens ego *autonomy*, which was attained in the preceding stage of psychosocial development. This is because *initiative* encourages a child’s capacity to perform tasks independently or based on their convictions (Erikson, 1963). Children use language to reason, imagine, strategize, and evaluate their world, which aids the attainment of *intellectual initiative* (Stevens, 2008). They also learn to differentiate between the acceptable and unacceptable, based on the rules and boundaries set and implemented by authoritative figures – especially parents (Roets, 2015).

This stage initiates the process of self-discovery, wherein parental figures also notice the emerging signs of the kind of person the child will become in adulthood (Erikson, 1980). Erikson (1963) parallels this developmental stage to the phallic stage of psychosexual

development. According to Roets (2015), the oedipal complex also emerges during this phase, as children begin to differentiate between different sexes. Children tend to “identify with the parent of the same sex and form a jealous attachment to the parent of the opposite sex” (Roets, 2015, p. 27). This is evident when children utilize *dramatic ritualisation* expressed through play, wherein they mimic gender and social roles, along with an imaginary future, often by dressing up as adults (role play), playing with toys and storytelling (Erikson, 1963; Prenter, 2015; Stevens, 2008). Fantasy play enables children to learn societal order and apply moral rules (Prenter, 2015; Stevens, 2008), as well as facilitates emotional regulation and amplifies the development of empathy (Nel, 2013). Children are further enabled to determine how their actions and conduct influence their surroundings (Prenter, 2015). Therefore, it is imperative for parental figures to guide and encourage children’s imagination and curiosity while teaching them discipline (Hook, 2002). Moreover, children develop a positive self-concept when parental figures are supportive of their developing *initiative* (Erikson, 1968).

Counter to *dramatic ritualisation* lies *impersonation*, wherein inauthenticity becomes eminent as children fail to commit to a specific role (Stevens, 2008). In adulthood, *impersonation* manifests when individuals cannot differentiate between their authentic self – through a valid ego experience – and role play (Erikson, 1964). Children experience and internalise feelings of *guilt* toward their actions, goals and behaviours when parental figures criticise, discourage or punish them for developing *initiative* (Erikson, 1968, 1976; A. E. Louw & Louw, 2014b; Prenter, 2015). They eventually lack self-confidence and experience feelings of unworthiness along with fearfulness over anticipated punishment or criticism (Erikson, 1968).

When children develop a sense of initiative in excess and experience corresponding guilt inadequately, this imbalance results in the manifestation of the maladaptive tendency of *ruthlessness* (Boeree, 2006). Such children plan and work toward attaining their goals at the expense of their environment and others (Roets, 2015). In contrast, the malignant tendency of *inhibition* develops when children insufficiently develop initiative and experience guilt excessively (Boeree, 2006; Erikson et al., 1986). Such children evade feelings of guilt by inhibiting or avoiding spontaneous action (Erikson et al., 1986). Various challenges emerge in adulthood when this psychosocial stage is unsuccessfully resolved, such as denial or inhibition (Erikson, 1963). Alternatively, persons attempt to overcompensate for the development of *inhibition* by engaging in risky or reckless behaviours and attention-seeking conduct (Erikson, 1963).

A sense of *purpose* is attained when children establish a healthy balance between initiative and guilt (Erikson, 1963, 1978). *Purpose* refers to children's ability to confidently develop initiative and a sense of direction toward achieving set goals (Erikson, 1964, 1976; Stevens, 2008). Children are to envision, intentionally plan, strive for, and persevere toward their goals (Erikson, 1964), even through the fear of punishment (Stevens, 2008), and while respecting set boundaries (Roets, 2015), or maintaining a sense of morality (Erikson, 1963). Boeree (2006) argues that children need to be cognizant of past failures and acknowledge or act within personal limitations to facilitate further growth and attain a sense of purpose.

3.3.4 Stage 4: Industry versus Inferiority – Competence

Erikson's fourth psychosocial developmental stage is called *Industry versus Inferiority* (A. E. Louw & Louw, 2014c), which occurs from middle childhood to the beginning of adolescence, specifically between ages 6 to 12 years (Erikson, 1997; Hamachek, 1990). This stage is congruent to Freud's latency stage (Boeree, 2006). Saccaggi (2015) acknowledges this stage as the decisive period wherein formalised learning takes place. Children become exposed to a wider environment – outside their primary one or home perimeters – as educators and peers begin to hold imperative roles in their development (Nel, 2013; Stevens, 2008). This stage requires children to acquire new competencies, technical skills and social proficiency primarily through classroom learning (Nel, 2013), while cooperating with peers in learning the principle of labour division (Erikson, 1963), highlighting *formal* ritualisation (Erikson, 1995). This initiates children to the concept of workmanship, which is quite essential and a prerequisite of adulthood (Erikson, 1963). Children receive recognition from teachers as they acquire new competencies and successfully employ new skills (Erikson, 1963). Their performance, and essentially development, is usually evaluated in relation to their peer group. Children learn these new skill sets through observation, application, and repetition.

Nel (2013) highlights that ego *industry* is attained when children master new competencies learned at school and, consequently, receive recognition or validation from teachers and peers. Conversely, a sense of *inferiority* emerges when children are unable to master new skills in relation to their peers (Carr & McNulty, 2006). Such children feel humiliated, become discouraged and lack the motivation to improve their performance or exhaust their full capabilities (Carr & McNulty, 2006). Essentially, they become consumed by the fear of failure and dislike learning new tasks (Hamachek, 1990). The ritualisation of *formalism* emerges when children experience work as a meaningless routine (Fromme, 2010).

When children develop an excessive sense of *industry*, the maladaptive tendency of *narrow virtuosity* manifests, which is an alternative word for workaholics (Prenter, 2015). A counter to *narrow virtuosity* is *inertia*, which is the malignant tendency that develops once children experience excessive feelings of *inferiority* (Boeree, 2006). According to Erikson et al. (1986), *inertia* either expresses itself as regression or extreme competitiveness, as children feel pressured to gain recognition and meet the expectations of authority figures. Children develop the virtue of *competence* “in useful skills and tasks” when this developmental stage is resolved (A. E. Louw & Louw, 2014c, p. 255). This implies that children have a favourable ratio of egos *industry* and *inferiority*, wherein *industry* is prevalent with a small dose of *inferiority* to facilitate humility (Boeree, 2006; Hoque, 2018; Prenter, 2015). The development of *competence* is essential for future productiveness and healthy collaboration in family life and occupational settings (Prenter, 2015).

3.3.5 Stage 5: Identity versus Role Confusion – Fidelity

The fifth stage of psychosocial development is labelled, *Identity versus Role confusion* (Erikson, 1963, 1968, 1974). This stage primarily manifests during the period of adolescence, ranging from ages 12 to 20 years (Erikson, 1997; Hamachek, 1990; Hoque, 2018). Erikson (1980) emphasizes the importance of continuity in the understanding of identity formation, as the competencies and technical abilities adolescents acquire in the earlier stages integrate in this current stage. Ego identity encompasses one’s incognizant strive for the continuity of experience while maintaining a conscious sense of individuality (Erikson, 1963, 1968, 1974, 1976, 1980). Erikson (1959) specifically describes identity as “accrued confidence that one’s ability to maintain inner sameness and continuity is matched by the sameness and continuity of one’s meaning for others” (p. 89).

Hook (2002) argues that principal interpersonal relationships with significant adults facilitate the formation of a stable identity along with social functioning. Adolescents have a need to belong (Erikson, 1968) and, therefore, require reassurance from their primary environment while exploring their sense of identity (Stevens, 2008). According to Roets (2015), several systems are involved in the development of identity, including culture, family, political climate and economic circumstances. Essentially, adolescents must establish the ability to master these systems or their environment (Roets, 2015). This marks the transition from childhood to adulthood (Erikson, 1968). Erikson equates this stage to Freud’s genital stage (Louw & Louw, 2009), as adolescents are faced with swift biological or physical changes,

such as genital maturation, and become more conscious of their physical appearance (Erikson, 1963).

During this stage, adolescents are required to make decisions pertaining to sexuality, occupation, and social circle (Erikson, 1963; Stevens, 2008). Sexual identity is associated with adolescent love, wherein a delicate ego-image is projected onto other persons in an effort to explain one's identity (Erikson, 1963). Career or occupational identity refers to a person's ability to choose and settle on an occupational path (Erikson, 1963; Hoque, 2018). Persons carry their occupational identity into adulthood (Erikson, 1976). Hook (2002) argues that the competencies and technical skills attained in prior stages must be cultivated for possible use in prospective careers. Lastly, social identity refers to "the loss of aspects of identity through the idealisation process directed at leaders of certain groups and cliques in an attempt to feel included into these groups", as per Erikson (1963, as cited in Hoque, 2018, pp. 52-53). Stevens (2008) argues that identity development is relational, as adolescents explore their values, likes and dislikes in comparison to their peers or social group. Rites of passage (e.g., Christian confirmation ceremonies, matric dance, memulo, etc.) and graduation ceremonies aid adolescents in adhering to certain ideologies or worldviews (Prenter, 2015). Thus, this aids the formation of a stable identity (Erikson, 1963). This discussion signifies the *ritualisation of ideology*, which entails an individual's experimentation with and adaptation of their ideological views while retaining their individuality (Fromme, 2010). *Fanaticism* is the maladaptive tendency of this stage and occurs when individuals become intolerant because they are overinvolved in certain social roles.

Converse to *ego identity* is *role confusion* (Erikson, 1963). *Role confusion* is apparent when adolescents conform to the identities and ideals of other acquainted or known persons, as their sense of individuality is unstable or unestablished (Freiberg, 1987; Nel, 2013). Prenter (2015) contends that *role confusion* occurs when individuals fail to explore new social roles and establish a sense of belonging while consolidating the roles acquired from previous stages. Such individuals also have trouble identifying personal faults and those of others (Hamachek, 1990). According to Erikson (1976), Kroger (2005) and Nel (2013), *role confusion* is expressed as: (a) low self-esteem, (b) lack of or lower levels of autonomy, (c) people-pleasing behaviours, and (d) lowermost or lack of integrative continuity. To counter *role confusion*, adolescents tend to overidentify with their heroes and adopt other peoples' worldviews (Erikson, 1963; Nel, 2013). Erikson (1963) refers to this overidentification as the *ritualisation of totalism*.

The malignant tendency of this psychosocial stage is *repudiation* (Stevens, 2008), which implies the “excessive experience of role confusion” (Hoque, 2018, p. 54), wherein adolescents reject their need to establish an individual identity (Prenter, 2015). Hence, such adolescents often engage in delinquent or maladaptive behaviours to overcompensate (Erikson, 1963; Nel, 2013). *Repudiation* may also lead to the development of psychopathologies such as substance abuse, social withdrawal, Antisocial Personality Disorder, delinquency and psychotic episodes (Hook, 2002; Stevens, 2008). Overall, *totalism* results in *repudiation*.

The ego virtue of *fidelity* manifests when the psychosocial stage of *Identity versus Role confusion* is successfully resolved (Hoque, 2018; Nel, 2013). This virtue refers to an adolescent’s ability to (Hoque, 2018; Nel, 2013; Prenter, 2015; Stevens, 2008): (a) establish a clear and stable sense of identity; (b) remain committed to their chosen beliefs, affiliations, and roles; and (c) counter unavoidable contradictions which are inherent to dissimilar belief systems. Commitment or remaining true to one’s belief system is the affirmative self-description which accompanies *fidelity* (Carr & McNulty, 2006). Overall, *fidelity* is attained when adolescents successfully balance *identity* and *role confusion*.

3.3.6 Stage 6: Intimacy versus Isolation – Love

Erikson coined the sixth psychosocial stage, *Intimacy versus Isolation* (A. E. Louw, 2013), which occurs during early adulthood from ages 20 to 35 years (Erikson, 1988; Hamachek, 1990). This psychosocial stage is characterized by “an individual’s willingness or unwillingness to commit to another in a loving [or intimate] relationship” (A. E. Louw, 2013, as cited in Zimbaye, 2020, p. 13). According to Erikson (1963, 1976), ego *intimacy* expands beyond sexual relations and encompasses friendships and further forms of authentic interpersonal connections. *Intimacy* entails one’s ability to commit to interpersonal relations, even amidst demanding, major compromises and sacrifices (Erikson, 1963). During this phase, persons also search for a shared identity within their interpersonal connections (Erikson, 1963; A. E. Louw & Louw, 2014a). Stevens (2008) describes shared identity as profound involvement with other persons which places one’s sense of individuality in jeopardy.

Ego *isolation* is the antithesis of *intimacy*, which manifests when individuals perceive that their sense of personal identity is endangered or under scrutiny and, therefore, resort to self-seclusion (Erikson, 1963). Persons with an unstable identity are likely to experience ego isolation (Erikson, 1974, 1976). However, people can revisit the stage of *Identity versus Role Confusion* to strengthen their individuality and combat a destructive shared identity (Hoque,

2018). Moreover, unresolved crises from previous stages are bound to reemerge during this current developmental phase (Roets, 2015). The malignant tendency of this stage is *exclusion*, which describes one's excessive capacity to isolate and conduct oneself in a spiteful manner (Prenter, 2015; Erikson, 1963). When *exclusion* manifests, persons are unable to form or maintain meaningful or intimate connections with others, and reject their initiation thereof (Stevens, 2008). Meanwhile, the maladaptation of *promiscuity* manifests when people attempt to counter an overwhelming sense of isolation (Hoque, 2018). Persons engage in promiscuous relations in an attempt to connect or initiate meaningful relations (Hoque, 2018). Such persons lack healthy and appropriate boundaries (Erikson et al., 1986).

The ego strength of *love* emerges at the resolution of the psychosocial stage of *Intimacy versus Isolation* (Erikson, 1974, 1976, 1980; Nel, 2013). This ego strength manifests when one successfully maintains a balance between their capacity for intimacy and the simultaneous need for isolation from time to time (Erikson et al., 1986). Erikson (1964) defines the virtue of *love* as “the mutuality of devotion forever subduing the antagonism inherent in divided function” (p. 128). There are various forms of *love*, including “infantile comforting love, adolescent passionate infatuation, [and] love that develops into care for the other” (Hoque, 2018, p. 55). Nel (2013) and Stevens (2008) state that the *affiliative* institution or ritual of marriage celebrates and protects intimate connections, as well as facilitates shared identity by providing persons with a sense of belonging. A counter to this ritualization is *elitism* (Erikson, 1982; Hoque, 2018), which involves barring others for no significant reasons. However, Erikson (1968) emphasizes that this phase of development enables individuals to acquire a good balance between feelings of love and hate. In this way, individuals can maturely form integrated ethical views and counter views, which can be passed from one generation to the next (Saccaggi, 2015).

3.3.7 Stage 7: Generativity versus Stagnation – Care

Erikson (1976) states that the seventh psychosocial stage of development is *Generativity versus Stagnation*. This stage emerges during middle adulthood, at approximately the age of 35 years till the age of retirement, which is typically 65 years (Hamachek, 1990). According to Erikson (1963) and Zimbaye (2020), this developmental stage involves persons' generative natures, including their positive and impactful contributions to: (a) younger people in general; (b) persons with less experience and expertise; and (c) society through outreach and voluntary work. Nel (2013) defines *generativity* as “involvement in and contribution to one's

environment or the welfare of future generations” (p. 105). Louw et al. (2014) and Nel (2013) state that productive and creative work are generative acts, along with childbearing and childcare practices. Moreover, processes that facilitate intergenerational bonding, such as socialization, are also considered generative acts in that cultural practices, values and knowledge are shared from one generation to another (Nel, 2013; Prenter, 2015). Socialization essentially benefits society at large, as transgenerational continuity is prompted (Nel, 2013). On the other hand, when persons *over-extend* generative acts beyond their capacity, this becomes maladaptive and ineffective for the welfare of younger generations (Erikson et al., 1986; Hoque, 2018; Nel, 2013).

Contrary to generativity is *stagnation* (Erikson, 1963). According to A. E. Louw (2013), self-indulgent individuals are essentially stagnant, as they are inconsiderate of how their actions or lack of shape the future of society. Erikson (1964) defines *stagnation* as “the mental deformation of self-absorption” (p. 130), implying that individuals regress to pass conflicts due to unresolved childhood crises. *Stagnation* often unfolds as pseudo-intimacy, wherein persons coddle or indulge themselves, like they were their own child (Erikson, 1968). According to Roets (2015), stagnation may be disguised as infidelity and substance abuse, and result in the experience of a mid-life crisis. Erikson (1963, 1968) argues that stagnant persons are predisposing factors to the manifestation of maldevelopments in their offspring. Moreover, the excess ritual of this psychosocial stage is *authoritism*, which manifests when persons exercise ungenerous, excessive and coercive power and judgment (Erikson et al., 1986).

The malignancy of this psychosocial stage is *rejectivity* (Erikson, 1982; Stevens, 2008), which entails: (a) self-preoccupation, and (b) the direct refusal to positively contribute to the welfare of society (Erikson et al., 1986). Erikson (1963, 1974, 1976, 1980) states that the successful resolution of this stage leads to the ego virtue of *care*. Erikson (1964) describes *care* as concern for other persons, manifesting as the need to impart knowledge and aid those in need while preserving one’s personal identity. In essence, individuals acquire *care* when a good balance between self-care and contributing to the welfare of others is maintained (Erikson et al., 1986). Furthermore, Erikson (1978) argues that attaining *care* becomes challenging when individuals refrain from committing themselves to intimate interpersonal relationships. Therefore, the previous stage of *Intimacy versus Isolation* must be successfully resolved to resolve this current stage. All previous psychosocial stages must be resolved as well.

3.3.8 Stage Eight: Integrity versus Despair – Wisdom

According to Erikson (1963) and Hamachek (1990), the final psychosocial stage of *Integrity versus Despair* occurs at the commencing age of retirement or in late adulthood. The commencing age of retirement is typically 65 years old (Osorio, 2016; Prenter, 2015). During this stage, individuals primarily evaluate their holistic positive and negative life experiences (Erikson, 1980). They further reflect upon and recognize how their actions and/or inactions have influenced the outcome or trajectory of past events and experiences (Erikson, 1980). In essence, older adults assess the meaning of life and/or life satisfaction, as precipitated by the eminence of the reality of death during this stage (Cherry, 2022; Erikson, 1963).

According to Prenter (2015), ego *integrity* is attained when individuals are generally satisfied with their holistic life narrative. These individuals meaningfully acknowledge and integrate personal life experiences that are both favourable and adverse (Erikson, 1980). This self-evaluation enables individuals to cope with the reality of death fearlessly (Prenter, 2015). Persons with ego integrity also recognize the important roles and influence other individuals have had on their lives (Erikson, 1963).

A counter to integrity is *despair*, experienced by individuals with a sense of life dissatisfaction (Erikson, 1980). Such persons tend to primarily ponder upon past failures, missed opportunities and current shortcomings (Osorio, 2016). Consequently, individuals struggle to adequately cope with and fear the reality of death (Prenter, 2015). Individuals experiencing despair yearn to alter their unpleasant life experiences but are overwhelmed by perceived time constraints in the face of death (Erikson, 1963). Hoque (2018) states that the malignant tendency of *disdain* may occur when despair is experienced in excess. Meanwhile, the maladaptive tendency of *presumption* manifests as pseudo-integrity (Erikson et al., 1986). These maldevelopments both involve an intense sense of disgust and helplessness with oneself and life narrative, as individuals fail to consciously conclude the reality of death (Erikson, 1964). Subsequently, such individuals tend to isolate and refuse aid from their surroundings (Erikson et al., 1986).

The successful resolution of this phase results in the attainment of the ego strength of *wisdom* (Erikson, 1968). According to Erikson (1980), wisdom is “the detached concern with life itself, in the face of death itself” (p. 133). Erikson *et al.* (1986) argue that the ego strengths from the previous developmental stages comprehensively integrate into the virtue of wisdom. Essentially, this ego strength is attained when individuals balance the virtues of integrity and despair.

The ritualisation of this stage pertains to the *philosophical* (Erikson, 1968), meaning “the ability to maintain order [during] the potential disintegration of [the] mind and body” (Saccaggi, 2015, p. 82). Counter to this ritualisation is *dogmatism* which emerges when persons unquestionably adhere to orthodoxies that are potentially coercive and apply unjustifiable power (Erikson, 1968; Saccaggi, 2015).

3.4 Criticism and Limitations of Erikson’s Theory of Psychosocial Development

Numerous studies provide critique and outline the limitations of Erikson’s conceptualization of psychosocial development. This section will only consider and discuss five key facets of criticism and/or shortcomings thereof.

Hamachek (1988) and Hook (2009) highlight *gender bias* in the establishment and applicability of Erikson’s theory. The theory is fundamentally established on the basis and combination of Erikson’s personal childhood experiences, along with his clinical work, which primarily includes the experiences of male subjects and/or their historical transcripts (Hook, 2009; Hoque, 2018; Stevens, 2008). Miller and Scholnick (2000) specify the demographic of the male subjects as predominantly White, middle-class, and either American or European. Hence, various researchers argue that the theory is limited in the exploration and rationalisation of female development (Douvan, 1997; Hook, 2009; Schultz & Schultz, 2009). Feminist scholars further critique the theory’s accentuation of biology, consisting of the biological and anatomical differences between men and women, as a substantial aspect of psychosocial development and an explanatory notion (Saccaggi, 2015; Sorell & Montgomery, 2001). This explanatory notion is problematic as it confines the formulation and understanding of sex dissimilarities in gender-role identity to biological function – “impregnation, menstruation, gestation, and lactation” (Sorell & Montgomery, 2001, p. 110).

Since the initial theorization of psychosocial development, a myriad of studies have been conducted to investigate the effective applicability of Erikson’s stage constructs on female subjects and their development (James & Zarret, 2006; Joyce, 1970; Prager, 1986). For instance, Prager (1986) evaluated the concept of identity development or status on eighty-six female undergraduate university students, between the ages of 18 and 23 years. The concluding findings confirmed Erikson’s (1968) concept of identity achievement as the most developed outcome of the identity crisis, thus successfully stretching his concept to female development

(Prager, 1986). Allen (2006) further contends that Erikson's constructs evolved to explore and incorporate female development. Erikson's change in perspective on female development occurred as a result of the rise and significant global impact of women's movements before the mid-1970s (Allen, 2006; Prenter, 2015; Reid, 2020). The foregoing also supports the evolving-nature and, essentially, adaptability or modification of Erikson's theorizations. Lastly, Roets (2015) argues that psychosocial development places emphasis on virtues such as generativity, trust and intimacy, which rightly align with and affirm qualities associated with women's development.

The second criticism pertains to the *cross-cultural pertinence* of the psychosocial development model. Sorell and Montgomery (2001) interrogated the usefulness of the model to contemporary human development and a fast-changing multicultural context, as the model encompasses the ideals of American capitalism. Ramokgopa (2001) and Schachter (2005) argue that the holistic model tends to emphasise individualism [egoism, competition, and independence] over collectivism [altruism, cooperation, and interdependence] in the understanding of identity formation, which excludes the incorporation of non-Western societies or ideologies.

Even so, Sorell and Montgomery (2001) support the importance of Erikson's thought on identity formation in the study and comprehension of life-long human development. Moreover, the biopsychosocial processes of the model are parallel to contemporary thinking (Nel, 2013; Sorell & Montgomery, 2001). Erikson also effectively investigated the cross-cultural pertinence of his personality theory (Brown & Lewis, 2003; Ramokgopa, 2001). Furthermore, numerous South African scholars have examined and subsequently supported the applicability of Erikson's personality theory on various South African demographics and influential figures (Hoque, 2018; Nel, 2013; Stead & Schultheiss, 2010; Van de Water & McAdams, 1986). Erikson (1968) also acknowledged cultural multiplicity along with the impact of culture on personality development. He asserted that although human development occurs in eight successive stages, the manifestation of these stages remains different based on persons' disparate cultural backgrounds (Allen, 2006; Douvan, 1997).

Erikson's personality theory is further majorly criticized for often maintaining an *idealistic and optimistic* outlook (Hook, 2009). According to Roets (2015) and Lacan (2012), Erikson provides impractical, ineffective and unrealistic explanations of psychosocial development, as he overestimates the integrative and adaptive functionality of the ego. In

contrast, Douvan (1997) argues that Erikson included the possibility of unfavourable outcomes and/or human maladaptation – due to the unsuccessful conflict resolution of each developmental stage – in his explanations. Therefore, this deems Erikson’s theory effective and considerate of both favourable and unfavourable outcomes (Douvan, 1997). As previously outlined, Erikson (1986) also explains the concept of maladaptive tendencies in the development of his theoretical framework.

Some scholars contend that the theory of psychosocial development lacks *methodological rigour* (Granqvist, 2006; Hoque, 2018; Saccaggi, 2015). Saccaggi (2015) notes that the establishment of Erikson’s theorizations is based upon the observation and analysis of small and individual sample groups, which includes case studies and his clinical clients. Therefore, posing challenges for initiating and accomplishing empirical investigations (Hamachek, 1988; Hoque, 2018). Erikson’s conclusions are built upon subjective interpretations instead of systematic reviews and interventions along with large samples (Hoque, 2018; Saccaggi, 2015). Hence, methodological rigour is inquired (Stevens, 2008). However, since the institution of Erikson’s theoretical framework, a number of instruments were developed to assess his concepts (Prenter, 2015). To mention a few, these instruments include the Erikson Psychosocial Stage Inventory (Rosenthal et al., 1981), the Psychosocial Inventory of Ego Strengths (Markstorm et al., 1997), and the Inventory of Psychosocial Balance (Domino & Affonso, 1990). Osche and Plug (1986) also developed a self-report survey aimed at assessing Erikson’s first seven personality components for the South African context.

The last criticism pertains to the theory’s *ambiguity*. According to Hoare (2005) and Welchmann (2000), Erikson’s theory proves challenging to operationalise, as the naming of elementary developmental constructs remains vague. Swartz et al. (2008) contend that Erikson provides inadequate explanations relating to the reason behind (why) and manner in which (how) human development occurs, and the changes thereof. Miller (2011) emphasises that the theory does not include definitive and detailed developmental processes. Erikson neglects to thoroughly unpack how persons manoeuvre successive stages and the crisis resolution within specific stages (Miller, 2011; Prenter, 2015), along with the existence of distinct personality variations among persons (Hoque, 2018; Roets, 2015). However, various researchers maintain that substantial studies have been conducted to evaluate and confirm Erikson’s notions, more especially on identity formulation (Corsini & Marsella, 1983; Douvan, 1997; Kowaz & Marcia, 1991; Meyer & Viljoen, 2008; Sorell & Montgomery, 2001). Erikson (1976) further

highlighted the idiographic nature of human and/or personality development [and delays], thus preventing definitive and subsequently rigid explanations thereof.

3.5 Erikson and Psychobiographical Research

This subsection depicts the usefulness of Erikson's theorizations in the construction of psychobiographical research projects.

Erikson employed psychobiographical research to further expound and comprehend the notion of psychosocial development in-depth, including the implications of sociohistorical factors on identity formation (Barresi & Juckes, 1997; Prenter, 2015). Erikson conducted extensive psychobiographical research on two significant revolutionary figures, specifically Martin Luther (1958) and Mahatma Gandhi (1969). Various researchers argue that Erikson's research methodology and practice have a great positive influence on the trajectory of, or constructing a well written, psychobiographical research (Barresi & Juckes, 1997; Noland, 1977; Osorio, 2016). Simply, Erikson is recognised as one of the founders of psychobiographical research (Runyan, 2005), who further employed his theoretical aspects in the exploration and understanding of certain historical figures, including Sigmund Freud, Adolf Hitler, Albert Einstein, George Ben Shaw, and Maxim Gorky (Erikson, 1963; Saccaggi, 2015; Stevens, 2008). This further illustrates that Erikson's theorizations are a renowned backdrop for the composition of psychobiographical studies, as various scholars have employed the theory of psychosocial development for psychobiographical purposes (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010; Saccaggi, 2015). Some of these scholars include Capps (2009), Hoque (2018), Nel (2013), Roets (2015) and Saccaggi (2015).

As per Erikson, psychobiographical research functions to "explore the relations between persons in history and the reason why they came to exert the influence they did" (Stevens, 2008, p. 83). Erikson argues that in the construction of psychobiographical research, scholars should not only identify developmental stages but grasp concepts underlying cultural embeddedness, societal factors, identity formation, and lifelong development (Capps, 1979; Kramp, 2012; Saccaggi, 2015). Moreover, Erikson's body of work recognizes normal and abnormal ego development and focuses on how the ego interacts within a facilitating versus impeding environment at each psychosocial stage (Noland, 1977; Osorio, 2016). This

facilitated Erikson's exploration of the communal and individual aspects of human life (Osorio, 2016).

3.6 Chapter Summary

This chapter provided a discussion of Erik H. Erikson's theory of psychosocial development across the human lifespan, as his psychological theory is utilised in the analysis of this paper's psychobiographical subject: Hugh Masekela. Firstly, an orientation and background pertaining to Erikson was delineated. The section included Erikson's brief biography along with prominent contributions to the field of psychology (including the theoretical foundation of his notions) and the key concepts of his theoretical framework. Secondly, the eight stages of psychosocial development were demarcated, followed by the relevancy of psychosocial developmental theory to psychobiography. Thereafter, the theoretical framework's limitations and criticism were provided. Lastly, the usefulness of Erikson's theory in the construction of psychobiography was highlighted. The next chapter accounts for the research design and/or methodological procedures of the study.

Chapter 4

Research Design and Methodology

4.1 Chapter Preview

This fourth chapter provides a description of the research design and/or methodological procedures that were utilized in the psychobiographical study of Hugh Masekela. Firstly, the research objectives of the study will be presented. Secondly, the research design is outlined, followed by information pertaining to the psychobiographical subject. The fourth point of discussion consists of the data collection procedures, the fifth comprises data extraction and analysis, and the sixth includes the methodological limitations of psychobiography. Thereafter, the significant measures which ensure the study's trustworthiness will be reported along with ethical considerations. Lastly, the researcher's reflexive passage will be presented.

4.2 Research Objectives

The objectives of this study are:

1. To give a psychobiographical account of the implications of exile on Hugh Ramapolo Masekela's psychodynamic life (primary objective).
2. To employ Erikson's theory of psychosocial development in the systematic evaluation and extrapolation of Masekela's life history – including the implications of exile on his personality development.
3. To provide a comprehensive understanding of Masekela's psychosocial development within his socio-historical context.
4. To contribute to South Africa's progressing field of psychobiography as a methodological approach.

4.3 Research Design

This study employs a qualitative single case design, using psychobiographical methods. Qualitative research involves the collection, analysis and interpretation of non-numerical data (Dudovskiy, 2018), as inquiry prioritizes the in-depth understanding of lived and subjective

experiences (Sarantakos, 2013). Qualitative inquiry is interpretivist and constructionist in nature (Heppner & Heppner, 2004). Constructionism theorizes that there is no objective reality and people construct or make meaning on the basis of their social, cultural and historical background or context (Sarantakos, 2013). This enables the understanding of the research population within its sociohistorical context. Interpretivism involves the identification and interpretation of subjective meaning and exploring the processes of meaning making (O'Reilly, 2009).

In psychobiographical studies, the life history of a past or present significant and influential member of society (i.e. Masekela) is systematically and descriptively explored using psychological conceptions (Ponterotto, 2017; Mayer & Kovary, 2019). Psychobiography is classified as a type of life history research and single case approach (Edwards, 1998). Life history research involves the documentation of an individual's autobiographical data over a period of time (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005). It provides account for an ongoing or completed life (Bakar & Abdullah, 2008). A single case approach is context specific and involves an intensive investigation of a single unit – e.g. person, event, group or community – over a specified period (Gerring, 2006; McLeod, 2008; Willis, 2014). This approach focuses on how social, political and economic factors impact a single unit's holistic functioning and development (Willig, 2013). Elms (1994) states that psychobiographical studies are morphogenic, implicating that research focuses on the analysis and interpretation of the subject's holistic character development rather than specific elements and/or events.

Psychobiography enables the study to configure Masekela's personhood within general (nomothetic) and specific (idiographic) methods (Edwards, 1998; Elms, 1994). An integration of the notions of constructionism, interpretivism, life history research and single case study approach is imperatively employed in understanding and providing in-depth descriptions of Masekela's personhood within his sociohistorical background – specifically, but not limited to, the implications of exile on his holistic development – and over his life span. An integration of these notions proves suitable for reaching the study's primary objective (see 4.2, point 1). Moreover, the exploratory-descriptive nature of psychobiography is mirrored in the first three objectives of the study. Hence, the researcher is further enabled to reach these objectives, as these notions allow the exploration and comprehension of his personhood within his sociohistorical background.

A single case approach, such as psychobiography, is propelled by or always engages theory, as it tests theoretical conceptions, develops new theories and refines existing theoretical frameworks (Edwards, 1990; Denzin & Lincoln, 2008; Hoque, 2018; McAdams, 2006; Willis, 2014). This enables the researcher to carefully select and evaluate psychological theory in the comprehensive analysis and interpretation of the subject's life narrative. For the purposes of this study, Erikson's theory of psychosocial development will be employed in the systematic evaluation and extrapolation of Masekela's life history (secondary objective). Edwards (1990) calls this the descriptive-dialogic approach, as a 'dialogue' between the subject's descriptive and explorative biographical findings and theory is sanctioned.

4.4 The Psychobiographical Subject

This study's psychobiographical subject, Hugh Ramapolo Masekela, was identified and selected through non-probability, purposive sampling. The researcher's judgment is imperative in the identification and selection of subjects who are both historically significant and have ample biographical information (Flick, 2009; Strydom & Delport, 2011). Rich data aids an in-depth and encompassing research analysis and interpretation (Schultz, 2005), as the study is enabled to provide a comprehensive understanding of the selected subject. Correspondingly, Masekela was purposively selected as the psychobiographical subject due to his historical significance as a world-renowned jazz musician and unapologetic anti-apartheid activist (Colburn, 2018; Denselow, 2018).

Masekela's songs were his political voice against the apartheid regime, and his live performances served as a form of protest (Colburn, 2018; Denselow, 2018; H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004). Due to the political climate of South Africa in the 1950s, Masekela went into self-exile for thirty years (Denselow, 2018). More specifically, the researcher seeks to explore the implications of exile on an individual's personhood and character development, and Masekela's experience of exile and rich biographical data make him a suitable psychobiographical subject. Although rich and extensive literature is available on Masekela's life narrative and musical journey, none of it stems from a psychological viewpoint. This was discovered after an extensive search was conducted on various electronic search engines and databases, such as Google Scholar, EBSCOhost, and the University of KwaZulu Natal's Library catalogue search. Therefore, this study also highlights and presents a systematic understanding of his life history using psychological theory.

4.5 Data Collection Procedure

This study employs first-, second- and third-person sources in the systematic delineation of Masekela’s life narrative. According to Ponterotto (2017), first-person sources comprise material produced by the research subject: their spoken words, written lyrics, recorded speeches, autobiography, letters, and diary entries. Second-person sources constitute “documents that are only once-removed from the historic subject: memoir or oral histories of family members, friends, or close associates who had deep personal relationships to the historic figure” (Ponterotto, 2017, p. 256). Third-person sources comprise material that is twice or more removed from the psychobiographical subject, e.g. biographies, academic journals, magazines, and newspaper reports Ponterotto (2017).

Ponterotto (2017) and Yin (2009) argue that strong psychobiographical studies employ and integrate multiple sources, as researcher bias is minimized, and the precision and trustworthiness of the data collection set are enhanced and validated. With the use of multiple sources, an established database is also created for other scholars to access and retrieve for future perusal (Yin, 2009). Lastly, this study aims to make use of the subject’s public biographical information. No interviews were conducted with the subject’s surviving relatives, nor were his personal letters nor diary entries sought. Information that is not of public knowledge forms part of this study’s exclusion criteria.

Table 4.1 comprises some of the sources the study consulted; however, all consulted sources are recorded in the study’s reference list, as this enhances the study’s reliability (Yin, 2009). The University of Kwa-Zulu Natal’s Online Library catalogue, Google Scholar and YouTube videos were consulted for these sources.

Table 4.1: List of First-, Second- and Third-Person Sources

First-person sources	Second-person sources	Third-person sources
Masekela, H. (1974). Stimela (coal train) [Song]. On <i>I am not afraid</i> . Blue Thumb Records.	SABC News. (2018, January 26). <i>Memorial service for Hugh Masekela: 26 January 2018</i> [Video]. YouTube.	Colburn, R. (2018, January 23). R.I.P Hugh Masekela, activist and “Father of South African Jazz”, has died at 78. <i>Consequence of Sound</i> .

Masekela, H. (2016). Exile [Song]. On <i>No Borders</i> . Universal Music.	https://m.youtube.com/watch?v=ee-92T79DXs	https://consequenceofsound.net/2018/01/r-i-p-hugh-masekela-activist-and-father-of-south-african-jazz-has-died-at-78/
Masekela, H., & Cheers, D. M. (2004). <i>Still grazing: The musical journey of Hugh Masekela</i> . Crown.	Denselow, R. (2018, January 23). Hugh Masekela obituary. <i>The Guardian</i> . https://www.theguardian.com/music/2018/jan/23/hugh-masekela-obituary	
		Radithlalo, S. (2009). The self-invention of Hugh Masekela. <i>Journal of Literary Studies</i> , 25(1), 34-52. https://doi.org/10.1080/02564710802261766
		Versola, A. M. (2018). <i>Jazz and apartheid: An analysis of the life and music of Hugh Masekela</i> [Master's dissertation, William Peterson University of New Jersey]. ProQuest.

4.6 Data Extraction and Analysis

According to Alexander (1988), McAdams (2006) and Schultz (2005), the evaluation, extraction, classification and analysis of collected data proves to be the most challenging to confront for psychobiographical researchers. To counter this challenge, the researcher employs Miles and Huberman's (1994) ongoing three-step process to extracting, organising and analysing psychobiographical data, namely:

(a) **Data reduction or condensation** – involves the discarding of or excluding irrelevant information during the data extraction process, while retaining and reorganising significant information. According to Yin (2009), psychobiographers are to employ a theoretical framework – Erikson's theory of psychosocial development – which guides the study's data extraction and analysis procedure. The researcher also uses Ponterotto's (2017)

reflective questions as a means of extracting data that is relevant to the study's research objectives (see Appendix A). For example:

(1) Question 5: Is there enough background information on the subject for me to develop a satisfactory knowledge base from which to proceed?; (2) Question 10: What can this study add to knowledge of this historic subject that is not already available in biographies or documentary films on the subject?; and (3) Question 19: Are my initial operating theories and research questions still the most relevant? Do I need to adapt theory or the goals of the inquiry? (p. 261)

The answers to these reflective questions were substantially addressed earlier in section 4.4 of this chapter.

(b) **Data display** – are visual representations, typically in matrix (tabular) format, of the study's full data set. The researcher established a theoretical or analysis matrix to condense and classify data, as this aids the consistent and systematic interpretation and analysis of the subject's biographical information (Yin, 2009). The study's matrix is established in correspondence to the chosen theoretical framework: Erikson's theory of psychosocial development. Masekela passed on at the age of 78 (Colburn, 2018; Denselow, 2018), in his late adulthood. Consequently, the researcher aligned significant and historical events of Masekela's life narrative (horizontal rows) to Erikson's eight stages of psychosocial development (vertical columns; Table 4.2).

The matrix is developed in consideration of Erikson's epigenetic principle which states that each psychosocial stage is present from birth, but persons are able to revisit and resolve crises at later psychosocial stages (Erikson, 1963, 1977). According to Erikson (1968, 1974), psychosocial development is transgenerational, and this implies that incidents that occur prior to the subject's birth are prone to have a significant impact on their holistic development and functioning. So, the matrix is developed correspondingly, as the events prior to Masekela's birth are considered (i.e. family history).

Sub-themes under 'significant and historical events of Masekela's life narrative', in Table 4.2, were adapted and labelled after adequate data collection – to suit the subject's life narrative. For instance, the period of 'infancy' as per Erikson (1969) was adapted and labelled 'the father of South African jazz is born (1939-1940)'. The conceptual format of findings is elaborated further in Chapter 5.

Table 4.2: Matrix of Hugh Masekela's Psychosocial Development

Significant and historical events of Masekela's life narrative	Erikson's stages of psychosocial development							
	Basic Trust versus Mistrust	Autonomy versus Shame and Doubt	Initiative versus Guilt	Industry versus Inferiority	Identity versus Role Confusion	Intimacy versus Isolation	Generativity versus Stagnation	Integrity versus Despair
The father of South African Jazz is born (1939-1940)								
Uncle Putn's influence (1940 – 1942)								
Music in the air (1942-1945)								
Primary school and parents' marriage (1945-1951)								
'Young Man with a Horn' (1951-1959 years)								
Grazing in the grass (1959-1974)								
The politicization of Masekela (1974-2004)								
A life worthy of honour and remembrance (2004-2017)								

(adapted from Erikson, 1963)

(c) **Conclusion drawing or verification** – the analysis and interpretation process of psychobiographical studies tends to occur earlier, during the data collection phase (Green et al., 2006; Miles & Huberman, 2002). Thus, psychobiographers are to: (a) be open-minded and equally critical, (b) consistently investigate discrepancies, (c) track the patterns of findings, (d) verify data, and (e) consider opposing explanations throughout the analysis process without drawing conclusions prematurely (Green et al., 2006; Huberman & Miles, 2002). Preliminary conclusions are bound to change and adapt accordingly as the researcher is presented with new information and/or during the data extraction or reduction process (Huberman & Miles, 1994).

The aforementioned three steps are interrelated and provide psychobiographers with a predetermined analytical strategy or guide, which enhances the reliability of the research findings (Miles & Huberman, 2002).

4.7 Methodological Limitations of Psychobiography

Various academics have accurately identified the shortcomings of psychobiography as a research method (Anderson, 1981; Elms, 1994; Ponterotto, 2017; Runyan, 1988; Schultz, 2005). These shortcomings are discussed below, along with the corresponding counteractive strategies.

4.7.1 Bias of Psychobiographical Researcher

Erikson (1974) and Meissner (2003) argue that countertransference reactions are unavoidable in psychobiographical research, as the biographical data investigations are long-term, extensive and thorough. Hence, Roets (2015) contends that psychobiographers are to critically self-evaluate and be constantly reflexive throughout the research process. Psychobiographers are to truthfully present their biases, opinions and the strong emotional reactions evoked by the subject's life narrative (Moustakas, 1994; Anderson, 1981). To counter such tendencies, the researcher will later present reflexive passages in sections 4.10 and 6.8. The researcher also consults multiple sources of Masekela's biographical information, during the data collection phase, to reduce subjectivity. Moreover, the researcher obtained objective feedback from the research supervisor which further served to counter researcher bias.

4.7.2 Analysis of an Absent Psychobiographical Subject

Psychobiographical research often studies or explores the life narrative of a past (deceased) historical subject (Ponterotto, 2017; Mayer & Kovary, 2019). Therefore, attaining a holistic view of the research subject proves challenging, as the psychobiographer has little to no contact with the subject (Anderson, 1981). Moreover, the psychobiographer cannot directly question the subject nor obtain their commentary on derived speculations and/or analytical findings and interpretations (Osorio, 2016). However, Elms (1994) and Runyan (1988) reveal ways to counter the difficulties of exploring an absent subject as follows: (a) the thorough consultation, integration, and interpretation of multiple sources; and (b) attaining a subject's biographical information across their lifespan aids psychobiographers to yield balanced,

accurate and objective findings. The researcher consulted and compared multiple sources in the data collection phase of this study (4.5).

4.7.3 Infinite Amount of Biographical Data

Various academics critique psychobiographical studies for the large amounts of biographical information available during the data collection phase (Elms, 1994; Prenter, 2015; Schultz, 2005). Consequently, the researcher is faced with a daunting research process, as they must systematically organise relevant biopsychosocial data from assessing infinite narratives on the chosen subject (Elms, 1994; Kovary, 2011; Schultz, 2005). Thus, and as previously discussed, the study employs a theoretical matrix which defuses this challenge (4.6). This matrix enables the classification of data, and essentially facilitates the consistent and systematic display and analysis of Masekela's biography (Yin, 2009). The matrix is established in correspondence with Erikson's theory of psychosocial development, which enables data condensation along with the extraction of salient information (Erikson, 1963; Prenter, 2015).

4.7.4 Cross-cultural Variations

Anderson (1981) and Prenter (2015) stress that sociocultural and historical differences between the psychobiographer and research subject are to be acknowledged to cultivate cultural empathy throughout the study. Hence, the researcher employs the construct of cultural relativism, as the study's third objective is to provide a comprehensive understanding of Masekela's psychosocial development within his socio-historical context. Cultural relativism emphasises that the understanding and interpretation of beliefs, values, morals, norms, ethics, and behaviours is not universal (Cherry, 2023). Cherry (2023) argues that the understanding of these aspects should stem from their cultural context of origin. This implies that the psychobiographer should respect the subject's beliefs and practices even when they are unfamiliar to them. In this way, the subject's values, beliefs and/or practices are not harmed by the research process. This construct also counters researcher bias (4.7.1) and reductionism (4.7.7). To counter cultural insensitivity and aid contextual understanding, the researcher delineated Masekela's complex sociohistorical context in the next paragraph and extensively in Chapter 5.

Important in Masekela's sociohistorical context were the following (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004): (1) He was a black South African man; (2) He was born on the 4th of April 1939, "against a historical backdrop of white domination and black rebellion" (Masekela &

Cheers, 2004, chapter 1, para. 3); (3) He was raised by his maternal grandmother who was a prominent shebeen owner in Witbank – his autobiographical book describes his maternal family as constant alcohol consumers; (4) His father, Thomas Masekela, was a health inspector and his mother, Pauline Bowers-Masekela, was a social worker; (5) In 1945, he moved to Springs, a mining town, to live with his parents; (6) In 1948, apartheid laws were implemented in South Africa; (7) In 1960, he escaped and went into self-exile in London, England – consequent of the political climate of his home country; and (8) In 1976, Masekela’s global protest songs against the apartheid regime were banned by the South African broadcasting media, further prohibiting his return to South Africa. These aspects will be further discussed in Chapter 5.

To further cultivate cultural empathy, the chosen theoretical framework in the analysis of the subject should be cross-cultural (Anderson, 1981). Erikson’s (1963, 1968, 1974, 1977, 1980) theory stresses that an individual’s external environment and/or socio-cultural context has a vast impact on their personality development. Essentially, this framework places emphasis on the psychosocial – including culture and history – aspects of development (Erikson, 1969). Therefore, the theory is deemed appropriate in the analysis of Masekela’s life narrative.

4.7.5 Inflated Expectations

Psychobiographical research is limited and unable to solely capture or describe holistic human development (Prenter, 2015). According to Anderson (1981), all psychobiographical findings should be considered suggestive or hypothetical rather than conclusively factual. The psychological interpretations of a subject’s life narrative are a single aspect and supplement other existing explanations (Osorio, 2016; Capps, 2004). Psychological explanations should not replace other factored interpretations such as culture, economic circumstances, political climate, social background, and biological composition (Hoque, 2018; Runyan, 1988). To counter inflated expectations, the researcher acknowledges that the interpretation and explanations of Masekela’s life narrative are speculative and limited to the use of Erikson’s theory of psychosocial development. Therefore, these interpretations and explanations are supplementary, and do not entirely uncover the complexity of Masekela’s life narrative or personality development.

4.7.6 Elitism and Easy Genre

Some critics accuse psychobiographical studies of elitism and perceive it as an easy genre (Runyan, 1988; Schultz, 2005). According to Runyan (1988), elitism refers to the tendency of psychobiography to only consider privileged members of society as research subjects, while ignoring the exploration of normal or ordinary individuals. However, Runyan (1988) proceeds to counter that psychobiography primarily focuses on exploring personality development. Therefore, individuals from all social contexts may be sampled as research subjects. Elitism also hinges on the descriptions and explanations presented by the psychobiographer (Osorio, 2016). Hence, research findings should refrain from providing explanations which exalt the subject (Ponterroto, 2017; Runyan, 1988).

Since psychobiographical studies use developmental theories in the understanding of subjects over their lifetime, some scholars declare their predictability and consider the methodology undemanding and easy (Runyan, 1988; Schultz, 2005). However, Elms (1994), Runyan (1988) and Schultz (2005) argue that a well-informed psychobiography comprises: (a) comprehensive consultation of multiple sources in the data collection process; (b) use of evidence-based psychological or developmental constructs in the analysis phase; (c) the incorporation of subject's sociocultural context; and (d) the researcher's considerable literary skills. To counter claims of an easy-going genre, the researcher consulted and compared multiple sources of information, as evident in the 'Data Collection Procedure' section (4.5) of this chapter. Furthermore, Erikson's psychosocial theory – used in the analysis phase – is well-researched and expanded upon in Chapter 3 of this study. Moreover, another objective of this study is to understand Masekela within his sociohistorical context. Lastly, the researcher also presents a literature review on the implications of exile in Chapter 2; thus, showcasing substantial literary skills.

4.7.7 Reductionism

Various scholars argue that psychobiographical studies tend to be reductionistic (Hoque, 2018; Schultz, 2005; Runyan, 1988). Schultz (2005) asserts that reductionism is evident when researchers use insufficient data or a single aspect to explain multifaceted and intricate procedures. Capps (2004) argues that psychobiographers understand adult and personality development as primarily consequential to early childhood experiences. In a knowledgeable psychobiography, significant childhood experiences are considered a single aspect of personality or adult development (Schultz, 2005). Psychobiography tends to ignore

sociohistorical factors which also constitute and impact personality development, while overvaluing psychological factors (Runyan, 1988).

Although the researcher presents a psychobiographical account of the implications of exile on Masekela's psychodynamic life; to counter reductionism, a comprehensive understanding of his personality development within his sociohistorical context is also provided. Therefore, the study acknowledges that Masekela's experience of exile is a single aspect and does not solely influence his lifelong development nor behaviour. The influences of his formative years are also recognized (Schultz, 2005). Moreover, the psychological theory used in the analysis and understanding of Masekela's life narrative places emphasis on the psychological and social aspects of development. To substantiate, Erikson (1963, 1968, 1974, 1977, 1980) argues that one's external environment and/or sociocultural context has an immense impact on their holistic personality development. Furthermore, the researcher acknowledges that a psychobiographical account of Masekela, along with the use of Erikson's theory, constitutes a single viewpoint in the understanding of his life narrative (Anderson, 1981).

McAdams (2005) states that psychobiography further tends to overemphasize subjects' psychopathology or the occurrence of psychological issues in the analysis phase while underestimating their intrinsic strengths and resources. To address this aspect of reductionism, the study attempts to adequately evaluate and highlight both Masekela's adaptive and maladaptive coping mechanisms (or strengths) while experiencing exile and throughout his lifespan (Runyan, 1988). Likewise, Masekela's prominent experiences, which are nontraumatic and normative, are thoroughly considered (Anderson, 1981). To avoid pathologizing the subject, the study provides extensive explanations (in Chapter 3) of the identified psychological theory. Also, the chosen theory is not imposed on Masekela's life narrative, as the findings are suggestive rather than conclusive evidence. The findings are also extracted from his biographical information rather than the theory. Thus, enabling theory flexibility (Anderson, 1981; Hoque, 2018). Overall, the use and integration of multiple sources in the data collection phase impede reductionism (Anderson, 1981; Schultz, 2005).

4.8 Ensuring Trustworthiness

Necessary to all qualitative studies is the assurance of trustworthiness or rigour (Connelly, 2016). The concept of trustworthiness entails the magnitude of confidence in the data collection, analysis and design procedures, which safeguard the quality or value of a study (Connelly, 2016; Polit & Beck, 2014). The criteria or components which constitute trustworthiness include credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Therefore, the study employs these components to ensure and reduce threats against validity, reliability, and rigour (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Each of the aforementioned components is discussed below:

4.8.1 Credibility

Lincoln and Guba (1985) define credibility as the accurate presentation of research results or conclusions. This entails that the concluding results should truthfully or accurately represent data extracted from the psychobiographical subject's biographical information. In a credible study, the subject's original views are also interpreted correctly (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). According to Patton (1999), data triangulation ensures credibility, as the use of multiple sources and methods to cross-check collected data is evident. As previously discussed, this study employs and compares multiple sources in the data collection process. Thus, showing the researcher's commitment to prolonged engagement with the subject's biographical information (Ponterotto, 2017). The study also utilizes a credible psychological theory in the analysis and interpretation of the collected data. The psychobiographical subject is also understood within their sociohistorical context (Schioldann, 2003). The systematic organisation of data – using schemas or themes, a conceptual matrix and/or operational measures – is ensured (Osorio, 2016). Lastly, researcher reflexivity is aimed at reducing or eliminating bias, and inferences are supported by the study's detailed research design (Yin, 2009).

4.8.2 Transferability

Transferability involves the component of applicability (Lincoln & Guba, 1985), wherein the researcher presents an in-depth or holistic description of the data sampling and research procedure (Korstjens & Moser, 2018). In this way, other researchers are able to determine whether the study's conclusions are transferable to their own context (Korstjens & Moser, 2018). The foregoing is also termed 'transferability judgment' or 'external validity' (Korstjens & Moser, 2018; Yin, 2009). So, the use of qualitative inquiry – specifically, life history research interwoven with a single case approach – justifies that the intention of this

study is not to generalize research findings to a larger population (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005). However, analytical generalizations are made when evaluating the chosen theoretical framework or Erikson's notions. Therefore, the study is not concerned with asserting external validity.

4.8.3 Dependability

Korstjens and Moser (2018) note that dependability encompasses the facet of consistency wherein the data analysis procedure aligns with the recognized standards of a specific research design. According to Roets (2013) and Yin (2009), this entails that when a new study repeats the research design and methodology, the yielded conclusions and findings will be identical. To address dependability and reliability concerns, this study utilized multiple sources (first-, second-, and third-person). Moreover, the researcher systematically extracted relevant biographical information in correspondence to the chosen theoretical framework: Erikson's theory of psychosocial development. This was done and presented in the form of an analysis matrix, in the 'data extraction and analysis' section of this chapter (4.6). Evidently, the matrix ensures that the data collection process is consistent with the analysis procedure. Lastly, the study provides a comprehensive methodological delineation; thus, enabling research replication by other scholars.

4.8.4 Confirmability

Confirmability entails the extent to which research outcomes are corroborated by and grounded in collected data, considered as researcher bias free, and can be authenticated by other scholars (Graneheim & Lundman, 2004; Korstjens & Moser, 2018). In essence, confirmability necessitates objectivity, and essentially amplifies trustworthiness (Edwards, 1998). Therefore, this study reduced researcher bias through: (a) data triangulation; (b) presenting a reflexive account of the researcher; (c) the use of multiple sources as addressed in the data collection process; and (d) the use of a data analysis matrix. Furthermore, all consulted data or sources are recorded in the study's reference list for other scholars to access, review and retrieve even for future perusal (Yin, 2009).

4.9 Ethical Considerations

This study explores the life narrative of a past (deceased) historical subject; thus, fewer ethical considerations are posed. However, confidentiality and privacy survive the subject and should be maintained (Ponterotto, 2017). This study only makes use of the subject's public biographical information, as this ensures respect for privacy and limits the potential embarrassment of the subject's surviving family, friends and acquaintances – non-maleficence is guaranteed. Therefore, no informed consent was sought from the subject's surviving relatives.

The subject's right to confidentiality is breached in that a distinctive feature of psychobiography comprises the identification of research subjects (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010). Fittingly, this study identified Masekela as the psychobiographical subject. However, the researcher aims to treat the subject's biographical data with objectivity and empathy.

To the researcher's knowledge, this study marks the first understanding of Masekela's life narrative in light of a psychological viewpoint or framework. So, the study aims to embrace beneficence, as the in-depth analysis and interpretation of Masekela's life narrative within his socio-historical context will contribute to South Africa's progressing field of psychobiography. Lastly, this study is for academic purposes, and the Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee, at the University of KwaZulu Natal, granted the researcher ethical clearance to conduct the psychobiography (Appendix A). This study's research proposal was also initially accessed, reviewed, and approved by two competent researchers at the Department of Psychology, at the University of KwaZulu-Natal. The researcher is also under the supervision of a competent researcher and/or professional: Professor Duncan James Cartwright (Ph.D.). Thus, further ensuring that the study adheres to and upholds appropriate ethical standards.

4.10 Reflexivity

Prenter (2015) argues that the researcher and research process, along with the subject and collected data, are symbiotic or interlinked entities which impact one another. According to Whitaker and Atkinson (2019), the researcher and study subject have a mutual or collaborative relationship wherein knowledge, explanations and findings are co-constructed. Acknowledgement and awareness of the aforementioned are central to reflexivity.

In psychobiographical studies, reflexivity is fundamental to the reduction or elimination of researcher bias (Yin, 2006). The psychobiographer must be aware of and understand their own biases or blind spots – perceptions, preconceived notions, or expectations – which

influence the research process and inferences (Roets, 2015; Whitaker & Atkinson, 2019). Willig (2013) highlights two modes of reflexivity, explicitly: (a) epistemological reflexivity; and (b) personal reflexivity. Epistemological reflexivity implores scholars to acknowledge and reflect upon the assumptions which formed during the research process, along with the effects of said assumptions on the research procedure and results (Willig, 2013). While personal reflexivity implores researchers to reflect upon the subjective experiences, values, social identities, pursuits, and beliefs which impact the research procedure (Willig, 2013).

Prenter (2015) states that reflexivity is fortified when researchers intentionally create suitable times and secure spaces for reflection throughout the research process. There are various ways of ensuring reflexivity, including:

- (a) Process diary – a form of journaling which aids researchers in maintaining objectivity by continuously producing descriptive and written accounts of personal reflections throughout research conduction (Woll, 2013).
- (b) Cognizance of language use – researchers should critically evaluate and recognize how the use of language, throughout the research proceedings, has an impact on the construction of knowledge or meaning-making, and essentially study findings (Willig, 2013).
- (c) Collaborative explanatory talks with colleagues or during supervision to minimize subjectivity (Mann, 2016).

Therefore, the researcher considerably evaluated their countertransference reactions and/or personal experiences, assumptions, decisions, pursuits, and speculations by keeping and constantly updating a process diary throughout the study. The researcher also continually assessed their use of language throughout the study. They employed neutral language to maintain impartiality, evade researcher bias and exaggeration while showing respect for the research subject (Grossmann, 2019). The researcher ensured to use succinct, structured and understandable language throughout this study, as these language qualities are imperative to scientific research (Grossmann, 2019). Moreover, the researcher had informal literary review discussions, pertaining to the study, with a few colleagues. The foregoing undertaken procedures further ensure or enhance this study's credibility. Lastly, the researcher gives a further and detailed reflexive account in Chapter 6 of this study.

4.11 Chapter Summary

This chapter provided a description of the research design and/or methodological procedures that were utilized in the psychobiographical study of Hugh Masekela. Firstly, the research objectives of the study were presented. Secondly, the research design was outlined, followed by information pertaining to the psychobiographical subject. The fourth point of discussion consisted of the data collection procedures, the fifth comprised data extraction and analysis, and the sixth included the methodological limitations of psychobiography. Thereafter, the significant measures that ensured the study's trustworthiness were reported along with ethical considerations. The researcher's reflexive passage was presented last. The next chapter provides a discussion of the research findings.

Chapter 5

Research Findings and Discussion

5.1 Chapter Preview

This chapter presents a discussion of Hugh Masekela's psychosocial personality development. Firstly, a conceptual format will be delineated to guide the presentation of the research findings. Thereafter, Masekela's biographical data will be deliberated in correspondence to Erikson's psychosocial developmental stages.

5.2 Conceptual Format of the Research Findings

Masekela passed on in his late adulthood, at 78 years old (Colburn, 2018). Therefore, each of the eight stages of Erikson's psychosocial development is applicable in analysing and interpreting Masekela's narrative. The researcher uses the analysis matrix presented in Chapter 4 to discuss Masekela's psychosocial development. The research findings will be categorised into eight sections in accordance with the psychosocial stages. Each section will commence with a brief discussion of the relevant psychosocial stage, followed by biographical findings on Masekela during each specified period or stage. A further and elaborate discussion of Erikson's theory, including psychosocial stages, was presented in Chapter 3. At the end of each section, the researcher will present an analytical discussion integrating theory and the biographical findings, specifically Masekela's psychosocial development within each stage.

As highlighted in Chapter 4, the reader should consider the psychobiographical findings (or discussions) as suggestive or hypothetical rather than conclusive. In all discussions of findings, the researcher will employ the epigenetic principle, which states that "while each psychosocial stage is dominated by a unique crisis, the resolution or nonresolution of a developmental crisis may be revisited or modified in forthcoming psychosocial stages" (Erikson, 1963; Zimbaye, 2020, p. 4). This is because components of each developmental stage exist from birth and differentiate over time in correspondence to biopsychosocial factors (Peedicayil, 2012; Prenter, 2015). Moreover, Erikson (1968) maintains that the way in which persons resolve crises during specific psychosocial stages is neither fixed nor immutable.

Erikson (1968, 1974) further asserts that psychosocial development is transgenerational, implying that incidents prior to the subject's birth – but within their

sociohistorical context – are prone to impact their holistic development and functioning significantly. Therefore, the events prior to Masekela’s birth are considered important in his psychosocial development and will be relevantly elaborated upon in the delineation of his biographical information. Lastly, unless referenced otherwise, the research findings of this study stem from Masekela’s memoir, ‘Still Grazing: The Musical Journey of Hugh Masekela’ (2004), written by Hugh Masekela and Professor D. Michael Cheers.

5.3 The Psychosocial Development of Masekela

5.3.1 Stage 1: Basic Trust versus Mistrust – Hope

The first developmental crisis of *Basic trust versus Mistrust* primarily occurs from birth to approximately 18 months (Erikson, 1976; Hamachek, 1990). Infants develop *basic trust* when caregivers respond to their basic needs in a predictable and consistent manner (Carr & McNulty, 2006); they are essentially empowered to establish a sense of *hope*, facilitating endurance amid adversity (Carr & McNulty, 2006; Erikson, 1959). Alternatively, *mistrust* manifests when infants experience a sense of abandonment and deprivation of basic needs (Erikson, 1980; Nel, 2013). Such infants tend to perceive their environment as unsafe or threatening (Erikson, 1963). The successful resolution of this psychosocial stage results in the emergence of the ego strength of *hope* (Erikson, 1964).

5.3.1.1 Findings: The father of South African Jazz is born (1939-1940)

Masekela was born on the 14th of April 1939 in KwaGuqa, a township in Witbank, South Africa [SA] (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004; Versola, 2018). This was in the haze of “the pre-apartheid segregation period” in RSA (Helliker, 2015, p. 376) or, as Masekela described, “[I was born] against a historical backdrop of white domination and black rebellion” (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004, p. 2).

Prebirth factors and historical context (1867-1939). According to Clark and Worger (2004), the political and economic climate of SA drastically changed after diamonds and gold were discovered in 1867 and 1886, respectively. The British colony invested foreign capital into SA’s gold industry, eventually dominating their market (Cueva, 2020). The gold market was initially controlled by white Dutch settlers, known as ‘Boers’, who became disturbed by Britain’s extensive influence on the gold market, as they felt shortchanged of potential proceeds

(Clark & Worger, 2004). Consequently, the Second Boer War emerged between SA (specifically the Orange Free State and Transvaal, which were Boer or Afrikaner republics) and the United Kingdom in 1899 (Levie, 1979). On the 31st of May 1902, the Peace Treaty of Vereeniging was signed to end this war (Clark & Worger, 2004; Levie, 1979). So, SA became self-governed while forming part of the British empire (Clark & Worger, 2004). According to Cueva (2020), this initiated the capitalistic exploitation and systemic segregation of non-white people in SA, especially Black people. The British and Boers planned and proceeded to maximise profits from the mining industry through cheap labour (Clark & Worger, 2004) and employed African mineworkers to replace Indian and Chinese immigrants since Africans had a subordinate socioeconomic status and were therefore easier to exploit (Cueva, 2020).

In 1910, the Union of South Africa, created by white British representatives, came into political power (Clark & Worger, 2004) and formally initiated and sanctioned racial segregation and the national institutionalisation of white supremacy (Helliker, 2015). This union set the basis for the apartheid regime, which came into rule in 1948 (Cueva, 2020). The initial apartheid stage involved passing legislation to formally categorise the population into three socio-racial groups, according to skin colour, namely “whites, Africans (blacks), and coloured (mixed)” (Cueva, 2020, p. 18). The Mines and Work Act was then passed in 1911, restricting Africans to unskilled and low-wage labour (Clark & Worger, 2004).

In 1913, the Native Land Act was passed, enabling the massive dispossession of land which was once wholly owned by Africans (Cueva, 2020; Helliker, 2015). The Act designated 87% of South African land (including urban centres) to white people, leaving Africans with 13% ownership (Helliker, 2015). Consequently, the small-scale agricultural system developed by African farmers weakened (Helliker, 2015), as their designated lands were unsustainable and of poor quality for harvesting (Cueva, 2020), worsening their economic instability. This forced Africans, specifically black men, to work in the mining industry or on white-owned commercial farms at lower wages and under poor working conditions in urban centres (Clark & Worger, 2004; Cueva, 2020; Helliker, 2015).

Land dispossession also led to the relocation of African mineworkers to the inner city of Johannesburg (Cueva, 2020). This resulted in the establishment of overcrowded informal settlements and townships, along with the rise of *shebeen* culture (Ballatine, 1993). Shebeens were illegal bars which sold homemade beer and operated from the garages or backyards of Africans, as they were banned from public bars and alcohol consumption (H. Masekela &

Cheers, 2004; Versola, 2018). Shebeens became integral to Africans, both socio-politically and historically, since they: (a) served as meeting places for black anti-apartheid activists (Ballantine, 1993), (b) were frequented by mineworkers to distract themselves from the adversities of life and work (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004), (c) provided African households with a stable income (Masola et al., 2019), and (d) fostered the development of the *marabi* music genre in the 1920s, which is the foundation of South African jazz music (also called *mbaqanga*; Ansell, 2004). Marabi music was trademarked by the keyboard's interpretation of repeated chord progressions (Andersson, 1981) and additional musical improvisations of "African traditional inspired inflections [while] playing" (Versola, 2018, p. 25). Moreover, the development of marabi was heavily attributed to African American jazz – from the 1920s and 1930s – which primarily infiltrated and influenced black South African culture through illegal social gatherings often hosted at shebeens (Andersson, 1981; Versola, 2018). Marabi musicians also incorporated African Christian hymns into the genre (Ansell, 2004).

By the 1920s and 1930s, African American culture through their film and music industry had a tremendous impact in South African townships and the economy thereof, as the formation of local swing bands, use and commoditisation of gramophones (record player), dance music and vaudeville entertainment became important and popular features of shebeen culture or social events, called 'Concert and Dance', in townships (Ballantine, 1991; H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004; Raditlhalo, 2009). Although curfew regulations and the pass law system restricted the mobility of Africans (Helliker, 2015), they strategically planned indoor concerts, often hosted at shebeens, throughout the night (Ballantine, 1991). Local musicians or bands who played at these concerts lacked formal musical training and acquired their repertoire or skillset by listening to African American discs (Cueva, 2020). The concerts also provided African musicians income – the longer their performances, the higher their earnings were (Cueva, 2020), thus, encouraging them to improve their musical skills. Concerts also generated more alcohol sales at shebeens, further progressing the informal township economy. Lastly, the visual component of film became significant in sourcing African American culture, as "adding visuals to music inflected a sense of style that heavily influenced African attire and musical attitudes" (Cueva, 2020, p. 22).

Family history and infancy. Masekela had three younger sisters, Barbara, Elaine and Sybil, born in 1941, 1947 and 1953, respectively (B. Masekela, 2021). His father, Thomas Masekela, was a sculptor and later became a health inspector, while his mother, Pauline Bowers-Masekela, studied social work (Denselow, 2018; B. Masekela, 2021). Pauline was

racially classified as Coloured, and Thomas as African (Denselow, 2018). Masekela's maternal grandparents were Walter Bowers, a Scottish man who was a high-fashion shoemaker and initially a mining engineer, and Johanna Mabena-Bowers, an African descendant of the Mahlangu Ndebele royal family (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004; Versola, 2018). Walter passed on a year before Masekela's birth.

During the Second Boer War, the Dutch dispossessed the Ndebele kingdom of land – situated northeast of South Africa – and murdered any resisters, leaving a young Johanna, along with her people, destitute and landless. After the Peace Treaty of Vereeniging was signed, Johanna and her siblings moved to Witbank, a coal mining town near Johannesburg, and established various shebeens to earn a living (Denselow, 2018; H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004).

In Barbara Masekela's autobiography, 'Poli Poli' (2021), she highlighted that it was family custom for children to be weaned off breast milk at nine months old and then sent off to live with Johanna. Masekela lived with Johanna in a two-bedroom concrete house from 9 months to 5 years. Barbara later came to live with them in 1942. Masekela noted that it was typical for African grandparents to raise grandchildren while parents sought better employment opportunities, as they were left with "little time to raise their offspring properly" (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004, p. 4). Pauline was employed as a social worker and lived in Payneville, a modern South African township in Springs City (Cueva, 2020). Thomas operated the municipality's first milk depot and his own fruit and vegetable market.

Johanna's endearing nickname for Masekela was 'Minkie', as he was short in stature and as adorable as the cartoon character Mickey Mouse (B. Masekela, 2021; H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004). Johanna was described as affectionate, kind, and equally fierce, which earned her respect in the townships (Versola, 2018). Mineworkers frequented Johanna's shebeen on weekends, earning her more profit. They often fought each other once drunk; a fierce Johanna always intervened by beating these masculine and strong built men, sending them "staggering out of her yard" (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004, p. 13).

Masekela was a sickly child, often diagnosed with either pneumonia, bronchitis, or influenza; on sickly days, Johanna spent sleepless nights beside him, rubbing Masekela's chest with Vicks, giving him medication and native concoctions, wiping his eyebrows, and wrapping him in hot towels. Johanna once thought that Masekela was near death, so she summoned her prayer friends from the Lutheran church to an all-night prayer for his recovery. Johanna usually carried Masekela on her back wrapped in a blanket, while she brewed homemade alcohol,

cleaned, and cooked. Even when Johanna was in the middle of a physical fight, Masekela was still hung on her back.

In his memoir, Masekela stated that he maintained a good relationship with Johanna until her demise in 1994, and emphasised the following:

[my grandmother] showered me with much love — more than I received from anybody except my mother... She loved me dearly, always inquired after me, and stood up for me when anybody would try to put me down. Johanna was deeply proud of my achievements, but always encouraged me to pray for humility. Her memory will always remain with me. (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004, p. 18)

5.3.1.2 Discussion

Masekela's biographical information during the first five years of his life is insufficient. Therefore, inferences drawn by the researcher at this stage of his psychosocial development are highly speculative, including the next two stages. As previously highlighted, the researcher employs the epigenetic principle and will revisit *Basic trust versus Mistrust* in Masekela's forthcoming psychosocial developmental stages.

Masekela's initial development of basic trust or mistrust occurred between April 1939 and approximately November 1940 (birth to 18 months). During this stage, infants are entirely dependent on their primary caregivers, specifically mothers, for survival or their basic needs (Erikson, 1980; Nel, 2013). Nonetheless, Erikson (1963) places emphasis on the quality of the relationship between a primary caregiver and an infant, as it determines the outcome of this psychosocial stage. The research findings suggest that Pauline breastfed Masekela for nine months, making her the primary caregiver during this period. After that, the responsibility of his care completely shifted to his maternal grandmother, from 9 months to 5 years. Even so, the findings indicate that within Masekela's sociohistorical context, it is typical for grandparents to provide primary care for grandchildren (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004).

Erikson (1963) argues that breastfeeding emanates nourishment and reassurance of the mother's constant presence. So, when infants are weaned off breastfeeding, the mother's physical and nurturing presence should remain to reassure infants of a safe and dependable environment (Erikson, 1993). However, a proper substitution of the primary caregiver by another reliable one – who is “pretty much like the mother” – also reassures the infant, as observed in communal cultures (Erikson, 1993, p. 69). Although the findings do not specify

Pauline's consistency in providing care, nor are there records on Masekela's relationship with his parents during the first nine months of infancy, Pauline is later described as a loving and nurturing woman (B. Masekela, 2021). The researcher infers that Masekela had an apparent strong attachment to Pauline. They maintained a good relationship and even continued to communicate via letter writing throughout Masekela's years in exile until Pauline's untimely death. Also, Masekela only became aware of Johanna as his maternal grandmother (instead of mother) later on, suggesting that Johanna provided care which was consistent with Pauline's dependability. This is further evident in Masekela's statement, "[my grandmother] showered me with much love — more than I received from anybody except my mother" (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004, p. 18), inferring that Masekela was also strongly attached to his grandmother and vice versa. Moreover, issues of domestic violence were not raised at this stage, so the researcher refrains from making inferences on Pauline's experience and wellbeing thereof – until later on in the chapter – which would typically affect the infant's development, as per Erikson (1963).

Various findings further suggest that Johanna was a reliable, attentive, and caring maternal figure to Masekela, therefore harbouring a sense of basic trust in Masekela's primary environment (Erikson, 1980). For example, she operated a shebeen which generated good income (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004), implying that she had the financial means to meet Masekela's basic physiological needs. The needs include shelter, as Masekela lived in Johanna's two-bedroom house, and food, as there were records of Johanna cooking meals while carrying Masekela on her back. She was also described as an affectionate grandmother who cared for and loved Masekela dearly (Versola, 2018). Since Masekela was a sickly child, Johanna often spent sleepless nights by his bedside nursing him back to health – e.g. giving him medication and applying Vicks on his chest – and praying for his recovery (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004).

According to Hook (2002), children who are constantly exposed to violence within their primary environment struggle to resolve this phase and develop a sense of mistrust. Mistrust manifests when infants experience a sense of abandonment and deprivation, as their needs are constantly unmet or neglected by their primary caregivers (Erikson, 1980; Nel, 2013). Such infants tend to perceive their environment as unsafe or the world as threatening (Erikson, 1963). Since fights occurred frequently at Johanna's shebeen, Masekela might have felt confused by the occurrences of his primary environment, thus perceiving it as unsafe or threatening, possibly leading to the manifestation of mistrust.

Even so, Johanna always successfully intervened whenever the shebeen fights occurred (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004). Since these fights occurred frequently, this further implies that she may have often left Masekela unattended to intervene, leading to the experience of a sense of abandonment in Masekela and therefore the emergence of mistrust. Contrariwise, trust develops when caregivers reassure infants whenever they feel scared, creating a safe and secure environment for them (Cherry, 2022). Thus, an infant's first emotional challenge "is to learn to trust the primary caregiver" (Roets, 2015, p. 24). So, Johanna's intervention reassured Masekela's safety and security, which likely aided his development of basic trust amid discomfort or the experience of confusion.

This example possibly facilitates and initiates the development of Masekela's sense of *hope* and endurance amidst adversity, which is evident at later stages. For instance, Masekela established and maintained hope for the eradication of the apartheid system in South Africa despite strong opposition. He also made continuous efforts to develop as a professional musician despite the limited resources and opportunities afforded to Africans at the time. Further evidence is illustrated in his pursuit of personal development, as Masekela later sought rehabilitation for his struggle with substance abuse. To further substantiate, Masekela was hardly intimidated by others in adolescence and accredited this to witnessing Johanna thrash rowdy drunkards, indicating his continued trust in Johanna as a caregiver and protector.

There is insufficient evidence at this stage which shows a lack of attachment or parental neglect, which could have resulted in Masekela developing a lasting sense of mistrust. However, later findings depict Masekela's battle with establishing a sense of trust in himself and his primary environment. The researcher hypothesises that his later display of mistrust was due to the following: (1) witnessing his parents' dysfunctional marriage from middle childhood and (2) the occurrences of his exosystem (or external environment) – the structural violence of the apartheid government toward Africans. Masekela's mistrust was also evident in his inability to maintain long-term romantic relationships, as he divorced four times. These aspects will be elaborated upon in later findings.

Meyer and Viljeon (2008) argue that caution arises when infants maintain a healthy sense of trust regulated by the experience of mistrust to an extent, leading to the emergence of the ego strength of *hope*. Evidence indicates that Masekela had a strong attachment to his mother and grandmother and experienced instances that led to the emergence of trust and mistrust. However, there is currently insufficient data to confidently infer whether Masekela

successfully resolved the first developmental crisis or experienced a healthy balance between the emergence of trust versus mistrust.

5.3.2 Stage 2: Autonomy versus Shame and Doubt – Willpower

The second psychosocial stage emerges when toddlers are between the ages of 18 months to 3 years old (Hamachek, 1990). *Autonomy* describes a toddler's ability to become self-reliant, meaning to think independently and act confidently (Erikson, 1965; Roets, 2015), and empowers toddlers to attain a sense of goodwill and protects their sense of assertiveness (Erikson, 1963; Nel, 2013). Toddlers experience feelings of *shame and doubt* towards their abilities when their attempts at autonomous behaviour are constantly discouraged, punished or ridiculed by their primary environment (Erikson, 1976; D. A. Louw & Louw, 2014). Toddlers develop the ego virtue of *willpower* at the successful resolution of this psychosocial stage (Fouché et al., 2019).

5.3.2.1 Findings: Uncle Putu's influence (1940 – 1942)

The first-, second- and third-person sources the researcher consulted placed more emphasis on South Africa's sociopolitical climate and the systematic oppression during Masekela's earlier years instead of his upbringing. Detailed descriptions of his upbringing and development are only available from the age of five years. Even so, literature recorded no significant life changes on Masekela between 18 months to 3 years, as he continued to live with Johanna as his primary caregiver.

In his autobiography, Masekela highlighted Lincoln Putugwana, his maternal grandaunt's son – Johanna's sister, Martha Motsoene – as “the greatest influence on his singing style” (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004, p. 8). Masekela endearingly referred to him as ‘Uncle Putu’ from toddlerhood. Martha lived a few houses away from Johanna's house and her daughter Tinnie helped Johanna run the shebeen business. Putu was only home during his recess since he studied teaching at Kilnerton Training Institute near Pretoria. Although Johanna operated a shebeen, it purposed to generate income, as she was a devout Christian who considered playing records in her house blasphemous. However, Putu and Tinnie loved music and habitually played records on the 78rpm gramophone (Raditlhalo, 2009). Putu danced the jitterbug, sang along full-throated with a beautiful baritone voice, and repeated records so often that Masekela started singing along at the age of three years. Masekela highlighted these

instances as his initial obsession with music and fascination with the gramophone, as he would wind it up whilst Putu held it steady for him. In later years, as an established musician, Masekela stated that his singing was still an imitation of Putu's breathing, phrasing and pronunciations. He further reported to consume music in his adulthood "with the exact disposition [he] had toward it as a child" (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004, p. 8).

5.3.2.2 Discussion

Although Masekela's biographical information during this psychosocial developmental stage was insufficient, no significant changes occurred during this period.

This phase is primarily characterized by toddlers' conflicting urges to either gain independence or remain dependent (Erikson, 1968, 1974, 1980), as they become cognisant of their separateness from their primary caregiver and thus attempt to develop personal autonomy and agency (Roets, 2015). Evidence shows that Masekela was able to separate himself from Johanna during this phase, as he seems to have spent most of his time with Putu during recess. This enabled him to develop and experience a sense of self that is apart from Johanna. Moreover, Johanna considered playing records in the house, aside from her shebeen, blasphemous since she was a devoted Christian. However, Masekela enjoyed listening to the records Putu and Tinnie played, and even learned how to operate the gramophone, indicating his attempt at developing personal autonomy and agency.

This stage is eminent for increased societal expectations and salient physical development (Prenter, 2015). Toddlers are required to learn how to walk, talk, dress and eat independently, as well as regulate their excretory functions (Hook, 2002). Unfortunately, there are no records indicating Masekela's developmental milestones during toddlerhood. During this stage, toddlers are also required to make sense of and gain control over their environment (Roets, 2015). According to Erikson (1995), boundary setting protects toddlers from avoidable instances of shame and doubt while providing space for the freedom of their curiosity or autonomous behaviour. Findings suggest that Masekela was enabled to explore his environment within safe boundaries, as Putu allowed him to wind up the gramophone while holding it steady. The researcher interprets the act of Putu holding the gramophone steady as a set boundary, suggesting that Masekela was possibly not allowed to wind up the gramophone unsupervised. Therefore, he was protected from avoidable instances of shame and doubt. For instance, possibly breaking or damaging the gramophone while learning to use it alone, leading to self-doubt and the fear of tackling new tasks in the future. Hoque (2018) argues that toddlers

who experience excessive feelings of shame and doubt refrain from tackling new tasks or challenges, as they tend to experience an overwhelming sense of fear over perceived imperfection or failure (Hoque, 2018).

As per Erikson (1963), shame entails intense and excessive self-consciousness. Masekela often sang along to records and imitated Putu's singing from the age of three years, suggesting that he was neither extremely nor shamefully self-conscious about his singing ability. Moreover, Masekela became a renowned musician who enjoyed performing for vast audiences, indicating that he did not fear public scrutiny which is contrary to the experience of shame and doubt, even in adulthood.

Boeree (2006) states that the maladaptive tendency of autonomy is impulsiveness [excessive autonomy or shameless wilfulness], which is evident when toddlers persistently act on impulse or without assessing the implications of their actions nor acknowledging their capabilities and limitations. There are no records portraying Masekela as impulsive during this period. However, Masekela succumbed to peer pressure and became rebellious in adolescence. His academic performance deteriorated, and he disobeyed teachers. He also began shoplifting from White-owned shops, was addicted to nicotine, experimented with alcohol, and was sexually promiscuous. He later became addicted to alcohol and cocaine and squandered money. His decision to get married and remarry was often based on impulse. These instances depict Masekela's behaviour as impulsive and delinquent, as seen from adolescence to middle adulthood.

Even so, the researcher interprets Masekela's delinquent behaviour during adolescence as retaliation. He never wanted to attend boarding school, but his parents insisted. So, he rebelled in the first few years of high school to maintain his sense of autonomy against authoritative figures. Hence, he also disobeyed his teachers. Furthermore, Sadock and Sadock (2007) argue that the experience of excessive control and inhibition in early childhood may cause delinquency in later years. There is no evidence of Masekela experiencing extreme inhibition and control during this period. However, he witnessed and experienced the harsh realities of being an African before and during the apartheid era. So, shoplifting from white-owned stores was his way of attaining control over his environment and an indirect resistance of the apartheid government. To substantiate, Masekela narrated the following:

For decades the only thing blacks controlled, to a great extent, was the underworld. It was heroic for a black person to be good at theft, drinking, burglary, bank robbery, bootlegging,

selling drugs, and being in a gang whose specialty was robbing white people. (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004, p. 60)

Erikson (1964) defines the ego strength of willpower as “the unbroken determination to exercise free choice [and] self-restrain”, despite inevitable occurrences of past shame and doubt (p. 119). Hamachek (1988) states that the development of autonomy and willpower often manifest as assertiveness and one’s ability to abide by their own moral judgement in later years. Masekela’s autonomy is especially highlighted in the *Generativity versus Stagnation* stage, as he portrayed assertiveness by challenging the apartheid regime in his protest songs and performances (Cueva, 2020). For instance, he exercised his moral judgement by paying tribute to African learners who refused to accept the Bantu Education Act by writing the song ‘Soweto Blues’ – detailed in later findings (H. Masekela, 1977; H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004; Versola, 2018). Masekela continued to raise global awareness against the apartheid regime through print and broadcast interviews, despite having his music banned by the South African broadcasting media and later being tortured and almost killed by the police for his activism. This further highlights his unbroken determination to contribute to the fall of apartheid.

Toddlers with willpower maintain a healthy balance between personal agency and doubt (Erikson, 1997; Prenter, 2015). From the foregoing discussion, the researcher hypothesises that Masekela exercised personal agency and thus attained the ego strength of autonomy. However, there is insufficient evidence to suggest that he experienced any instances of doubt during this stage. So, one cannot infer that Masekela attained a healthy balance between autonomy and doubt during this developmental phase. Thus, the epigenetic principle is again employed, as the second psychosocial stage will also be highlighted in upcoming stages.

5.3.3 Stage 3: Initiative versus Guilt – Purpose

The third psychosocial typically emerges between ages 3 to 6 years (Erikson, 1976; Hamachek, 1990). A sense of *initiative* encompasses a child’s “willingness to try new things and to handle failure” (D. A. Louw et al., 2014, p. 22). *Initiative* encourages a child’s capacity to perform tasks independently or based on their convictions (Erikson, 1963). Children experience and internalise feelings of *guilt* toward their actions, goals and behaviours when parental figures criticise, discourage or punish them for developing initiative (Erikson, 1968,

1976; A. E. Louw & Louw, 2014b; Prenter, 2015). A sense of *purpose* is attained when children establish a healthy balance between initiative and guilt (Erikson, 1963, 1978).

5.3.3.1 Findings: Music in the air (1942-1945 years)

Even without records at Johanna's house, Masekela was always surrounded by music, especially on weekends, as mineworkers who came to the shebeen often sang sad folk, traditional songs passed down orally to generations through small sociocultural groups or families which portray their harsh lived experiences and associated negative emotions, while drinking and socializing (Groucutt & Chouiniere, 2023; H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004).

On weekends, Masekela and Gigigi, the grandson of Johanna's brother – Jacob Mabena, often sat under the apple and apricot tree in Johanna's backyard, watching drunk mineworkers as they sang. On Sundays, migrant labourers typically gathered at different parks or open fields across Witbank, dancing in knee-rubber boots – gumboot dance performances – accompanied by war chants, guitars and hollered commands. Oblivious to curfew, Masekela, Gigigi and their friends sought these venues, observed the dance styles in wonder and later imitated every dance move to remembrance (B. Masekela, 2021; H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004). They also went to ethnic dance carnivals formed by thousands of Venda, Swazi, Sotho and Karanga warrior ensembles, to name a few, and went street-to-street marching behind singing choirs and brass bands from various religious dominations, for instance, Methodist, Zion Christian Church, Assembly of God, etc. Masekela, Gigigi and friends enjoyed the weekend commotions Witbank offered, with different competing sounds, from blaring gramophones, and wedding choirs, township bands to children's troupes playing in the streets. On days Johanna sent Masekela on errands, he leaned against neighbours' fences, listening to their loudly played records for over an hour. Upon arriving at an appointed destination, Masekela had already forgotten Johanna's message or request.

Masekela, Gigigi and friends often played football with worn tennis balls on weekday afternoons, climbed trees, swam in dirty dams and rivers, or slid "down grassy hills in sleds made from old car fenders, all the while singing children's street songs" (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004, p. 7). By the age of 4 years, Masekela got into constant trouble, as Gigigi persuaded him to steal money from Johanna's pouch, which served as the shebeen's cash register. They both spied on Johanna to see where she placed the money, and Masekela often snuck into her bedroom to steal her silver coins. After that, he bought fish, chips, and fat cakes for his friends. Whenever Johanna discovered Masekela's thievery, she gave him thrashings

with a twig from her apricot tree for several days, leaving him to sleep outside through the night. A terrified Masekela banged on the front door begging Johanna to let him in, while promising to change his behaviour, as his mind paced with previously heard witchcraft and ghost stories of Witbank. Johanna unleashed thrashings for Masekela's misbehaviour as equally as she gave him rewards and sang his praises for good conduct.

When Masekela and Barbara grew older, they helped Johanna brew homemade beers. Witbank was a known drinking town wherein every street had several operative shebeens. So, Masekela and Barbara often watched out for the police and “threw stones on tin rooftops to warn” shebeen owners and alcohol drinkers of raids (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004, p. 14). From early childhood, both Masekela and Barbara knew “that being black meant [getting] harassed by white folks all our lives” (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004, p. 13). Whenever Johanna went to town to shop with them, Masekela observed how fear overcame her fierceness in the presence of white people. Johanna scolded them for complaining about being called ‘little baboons’ by white people during their town errands (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004).

In 1945, Masekela moved to Payneville to live with his parents and begin preschool attendance, leaving Barbara behind (B. Masekela, 2021). Masekela was excited about the relocation, as he could finally live with his parents (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004). Thomas was described as a self-made man and notable self-taught sculptor (Sack, 1988); he independently learned horticulture, landscape design, architecture, and carpentry (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004). His original sculptured works were later exhibited in eminent art galleries across South Africa (Sack, 1988). Thomas also had a personal library containing books across genres, including science, fiction, poetry, philosophy, global history, autobiographies, politics, etc. (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004). Pauline was calm in demeanour and fluent in various indigenous languages (B. Masekela, 2021). She was described as a peacemaker, great cook, skilled organiser, qualified teacher, and leader for the African community (B. Masekela, 2021). Pauline opted to serve the African community instead living a semi-privileged life as many coloured people did (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004). Pauline was later appointed “president of the National Council of African Women” (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004, p. 20).

Thomas and Pauline had a difficult marriage given the occurrences of domestic violence (discussed in later findings) and their racial differences, with several opposing family members and friends from each side, fuelled by “racial restrictions of South Africa's social and

legislative environment” (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004, p. 20). Opposition to their union haunted Masekela and his siblings throughout their lives; Masekela highlighted the following:

My sisters and I were never considered black enough to be seen as African, nor light enough to be totally accepted by our coloured relatives and their friends. Throughout my childhood, adolescence, and early adulthood, many times I’ve been asked the same question: “Hugh, tell me really, what are you people, Africans or coloured or in between?” Angered by the question, I usually tempered my response: “We’re just human beings.” Our parents taught us to be proud of what we were, [and helped us] trace our family roots. (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004, p. 20)

5.3.3.2 Discussion

This stage is characterised by children’s “willingness to try new things [or take initiative] and to handle failure” (D. A. Louw et al., 2014, p. 22). According to Erikson (1963), ego initiative heightens ego autonomy, as initiative encourages a child’s capacity to perform tasks independently or based on their convictions (Erikson, 1963). This stage is also termed the play age and emerges during preschool years (Erikson, 1977; Hamachek, 1990). Erikson (1963, 1968) asserts that children vigorously employ their freedom to participate in motor and fantasy play as they initiate the exploration of their social environment and learn to trust their abilities in the process.

Findings show that Masekela spent his early childhood engaging in motor play such as tree climbing, football, swimming in dirty rivers, and sliding down hills with Gigigi and friends (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004). Masekela also engaged in fantasy play, as Barbara highlighted her fondest childhood memory as Masekela continuously narrating regale tales (B. Masekela, 2021; SABC News, 2018). Storytelling is a form of dramatic ritualisation (Erikson, 1963), and is evident in Masekela’s early childhood. Dramatic ritualisation enables children to learn societal order and apply moral rules (Prenter, 2015; Stevens, 2008), and facilitates emotional regulation and amplifies the development of empathy (Nel, 2013). Children are further enabled to determine how their actions and conduct influence their surroundings (Prenter, 2015).

Children use language to reason, imagine, strategize, and evaluate their world, which aids the attainment of *intellectual initiative* (Stevens, 2008). Storytelling requires the use of language and thus portrays one’s imaginative abilities, capacity to reason and perception of the world. Therefore, Masekela’s continuous narration of tales further depicts his developing sense

of intellectual initiative. Moreover, he was fluent in Afrikaans, IsiZulu and Sesotho from early childhood, as his primary and social environment – Johanna, Putu, Tinnie, people who frequented the shebeen, and friends – used the three languages interchangeably (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004), which further highlights his language ability and therefore a sense of intellectual initiative. An integration of motor and fantasy play is also evident in Masekela's childhood, as Masekela and his friends often imitated mineworkers' gumboot performances to their remembrance (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004). Observing mineworkers' dance moves stimulated his learning and creativity.

According to Hook (2002), it is imperative for parental figures to guide and encourage children's imagination and curiosity while teaching them discipline. Moreover, children develop a positive self-concept when parental figures are supportive of their developing initiative (Erikson, 1968). The findings above indicate that Johanna allowed Masekela the freedom to explore his physical and mental capabilities while teaching him discipline, as Masekela was given a curfew and punished for crossing boundaries (B. Masekela, 2021). For instance, Johanna used corporal punishment whenever Masekela stole from her shebeen earnings, played in restricted areas – places only reserved for White people, and did not keep to his curfew (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004).

Conversely, the researcher hypothesises that, at times, Johanna used a punishment technique that exceeded Masekela's undesirable attempts at initiative, especially for his age. For example, he was thrashed and locked outside the house throughout the night whenever he stole from Johanna's shebeen earnings (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004). Being locked outside and alone may have exacerbated his feelings of abandonment and, therefore, mistrust in his primary environment, and established a sense of guilt. However, it could also be argued that Johanna's choice and severity of punishment were due to the intensity of the negative implications of Masekela's attempts at initiative. Erikson (1959) argues that this stage initiates the process of self-discovery, wherein parental figures also notice the emerging signs of the kind of person the child will become in adulthood. Therefore, Johanna tried to tame Masekela into a law-abiding citizen from childhood, as criminals face severe legal punishment.

Stevens (2008) emphasises that listening to stories during early childhood offers toddlers "cultural templates for initiatives they themselves may someday sustain" (p. 49). Masekela spent his early childhood listening to sad folk songs sung by the mineworkers who frequented Johanna's shebeen (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004). Sad folk music is understood as

a form of storytelling (Groucutt & Chouiniere, 2023), implying that Masekela listened to stories during this stage, which offered a cultural template for his later established initiatives. For instance, Masekela took the initiative to write about the lived experiences of mineworkers during the apartheid era in his song, *Stimela* (Versola, 2018; elaborated in the *Generativity versus Stagnation* stage). The success of his song increased public awareness of apartheid in the U.S. in the mid-1970s (Cueva, 2020). To date, *Stimela* remains one of Masekela's most well-known songs (Bezuidenhout, 2018). This shows that Masekela was able to learn and then sustain the sociocultural template provided by the mineworkers to future generations through songwriting. Moreover, raising awareness of the working conditions of the mineworkers during apartheid highlights qualities of empathy and thoughtfulness in Masekela, which are evident in individuals who have successfully resolved this stage (Nel, 2013).

At age five, Masekela's primary and social environment changed as he moved from Witbank to live with his parents in Payneville and began preschool. The researcher hypothesises that the preschool environment was conducive to Masekela's developing initiative, as he would have been exposed to new and challenging activities (different to his play activities at Witbank), thus enhancing his physical and mental capabilities (Stevens, 2008).

Scholars maintain that children experience and internalise feelings of guilt toward their actions, goals and behaviours when parental figures criticise, discourage or punish them for developing initiative (Erikson, 1968, 1977; A. E. Louw & Louw, 2014b; Prenter, 2015). When parental figures fail to model appropriate responsibility and conscience, children may experience crippling feelings of guilt (Gross, 1987). Evidence shows that Masekela's present primary environment protected him from the experience of avoidable guilt, as both his parents were well-educated and emphasised the importance of education (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004), essentially strengthening Masekela's intellectual initiative. This is further proved by his parents enrolling him into preschool to aid his foundational learning (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004). His parents' educational background along with Pauline's sociopolitical views and engagements laid a good foundation for Masekela's career identity as a protest musician (see 5.3.7.1). This also suggests that Masekela identified with or modelled both his parents, portraying an established sense of initiative. Also, Masekela's later artistry as a songwriter and musical composer aligns with Thomas as a creative artist or sculptor.

Findings show that Masekela also learned cultural and religious tolerance during this stage, as he enjoyed attending ethnic dance and music festivals formed by multicultural groups

and often marched behind singing choirs and brass bands from various religious dominations. Moreover, these childhood experiences later influenced and stimulated his musical compositions and singing style: his take on African infused jazz (Versola, 2018). He also hung around the shebeen observing and listening to mineworkers from various ethnic and demographic upbringings, either from different parts of South Africa or neighbouring African countries (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004). Such experiences were vital to Masekela's eventual ability to adapt during his years in exile. Most importantly, his parents came from different ethnic and racial backgrounds and taught him to be proud of his family roots despite their experience of social and legislative discrimination (Cueva, 2020; H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004). This further protected Masekela from the experience of guilt and later role confusion.

A sense of purpose is attained when children establish a healthy balance between initiative and guilt (Erikson, 1963, 1978). Purpose refers to children's ability to confidently develop initiative and a sense of direction toward achieving set goals (Erikson, 1964, 1977; Stevens, 2008). According to H. Masekela and Cheers (2004), Johanna unleashed thrashings for Masekela's misbehaviour as equally as she gave him rewards and sang his praises for good conduct. This suggests that Masekela attained a healthy balance between the experience of initiative and guilt, as his positive initiatives were encouraged and undesirable ones (e.g., stealing) were punished. Durrant (2008) states that corporal punishment is an appropriate form of punishment among certain ethnic populations. Moreover, corporal punishment was only abolished in South Africa in 1997 (Pete, 1998). This implies that prior to 1997, it was a morally and legally acceptable form of punishment within Masekela's sociohistorical context. In later years, Masekela emphasised that Johanna's teachings stuck with him throughout adulthood, as he knew Johanna was not beyond thrashing him to keep him in line, even in adulthood (NTV Kenya, 2016).

Overall, Masekela's primary and social environment were conducive for the establishment of initiative and, therefore, purpose. These ego strengths enabled Masekela to become resilient in the face of later challenges.

5.3.4 Stage 4: Industry versus Inferiority – Competence

This fourth stage occurs from ages 6 to 12 years (Erikson, 1997; Hamachek, 1990). *Industry* is attained when children master new competencies learned at school and receive

recognition or validation from teachers and peers (Nel, 2013). Conversely, a sense of *inferiority* emerges when children are unable to master new skills in relation to their peers (Carr & McNulty, 2006). Children develop the virtue of *competence* “in useful skills and tasks” (A. E. Louw and Louw, 2014c, p. 255) when they have a favourable ratio of egos *industry* and *inferiority*, wherein industry is prevalent with a small dose of inferiority to facilitate humility (Boeree, 2006; Hoque, 2018; Prenter, 2015).

5.3.4.1 Findings: Primary school and parents’ marriage (1945-1951)

In 1946, Masekela began standard 1 (first grade) at St. Andrew’s Anglican Primary School at six years old. He obtained excellent grades and was immediately promoted two grades ahead – to Sub A (third grade). Masekela quickly made friends and was best friends with Washa. They often watched English movies on Saturdays, which they had little understanding of since they only spoke Sesotho, IsiZulu and Afrikaans. However, they memorised and recited the dialogues, enabling Masekela to expand his English vocabulary, including singing along to American records played on the gramophone.

Once Masekela’s parents realised his obsession with the gramophone, they hired a piano teacher, Madevu, to help wean him off. After months of afternoon piano lessons, he began to excel and became Madevu’s favourite student. At his school’s year-end recital, Masekela performed an English nursery rhyme, ‘Lavender Blue’, with the school choir. An audience of teachers, parents and schoolmates applauded them. However, his friends mocked him for performing ‘square white music’ (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004, p. 22). Pauline affirmed his abilities and told Masekela that his friends were jealous because they could neither sing nor play an instrument. Barbara described Masekela and Pauline’s relationship as close-knit, loving, nurturing and friendly (B. Masekela, 2021).

In 1947, Thomas obtained a Health Inspection diploma from Johannesburg Technical College. After that, he got a well-paying job as a health inspector in Alexandra, a South African township in Johannesburg, meaning the whole family had to relocate which Pauline was against (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004; Sacks, 1988). Pauline argued that Masekela recently adjusted to living in Payneville, performed well in school, and had piano lessons. Moreover, she was the chief social worker, and Thomas’ business was doing well. Her opposition enraged Thomas, leading to constant arguments. One night, after a heated argument, Thomas beat and kicked Pauline around the house. She became semiconscious, lying in the pool of her blood. When Masekela tried to intervene, Thomas slapped him and left the house. In his

autobiography, Masekela highlighted that the incident still baffled him even years later. After Johanna intervened, along with Thomas' promise to manage his anger, the family moved to Alexandra in mid-1947.

Masekela enrolled at St. Michael's Primary School and became lifelong friends with the principal's son, Rose-Innes Phahle. Pauline became "head social worker at Alexandra's Entokozweni Family Welfare Center" (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004, p. 39). Moreover, Alexandra was rife with gang violence, street fighters and township bullies. So, Pauline encouraged Masekela to take afternoon boxing lessons to protect himself from possible harm or bullying.

Throughout the 1940s, Masekela, along with his parents and siblings, frequently visited his paternal grandparents, Hopane and Mamoshaba Masekela, "on their farm in Walmaanstal, north of Pretoria" (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004, p. 36). In 1948, the National Party (NP) came into political power, leading to the institutionalisation of apartheid – a "political system which [separated] persons according to their race" (Helliker, 2015; Stewart & Zaiman, 2015, p. 579). In May 1948, the NP abolished the African Children's Feeding Scheme (Chipenda et al., 2021). In response, thousands of Africans, including a young Masekela (his first of many), joined a protest (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004). In 1950, the Group Areas Act was implemented, leading to the separation of races, especially in urban areas, and the relegation of Africans to a small portion of South African land (Helliker, 2015; Maharaj, 1997). Consequently, in 1951, Masekela's paternal grandparents lost their farm, as it was "proclaimed a 'black spot' in an area designated 'for whites only'" (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004, p. 36). After that, Hopane and Mamoshaba moved in with Masekela and his parents, witnessing Thomas' angry outbursts and Pauline constantly receiving thrashings from him. Masekela always tried to intervene. On another occasion, Hopane, paternal grandfather, reprimanded Thomas after he battered Pauline. After this incident, Thomas became withdrawn and almost a stranger.

After losing the farm, Hopane became withdrawn, angry, ate less, and eventually fell ill, leading to his demise in 1951. After that, Mamoshoba became a shadow of herself with her husband gone. A year later, she fell ill and died. Masekela believed that they both died from heartbreak. In his autobiography, Masekela highlighted that the destruction of Hopane's legacy due to land dispossession, along with the social uprising which occurred in Alexandra during the apartheid era – between the late 1940s and early 1950s – initiated and shaped his racial and political ideology (Cueva, 2020; H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004).

5.3.4.2 Discussion

Saccaggi (2015) acknowledges this stage as the decisive period of formalised learning. Children become exposed to a wider environment – outside their primary one or home perimeters – as educators and peers begin to hold imperative roles in their development (Nel, 2013; Stevens, 2008). Nel (2013) highlights that ego industry is attained when children master new competencies learned at school and receive recognition or validation from teachers and peers. Moreover, children’s performance, essentially development, is typically evaluated in relation to their peer group during this stage (Erikson, 1963). Evidence suggests that Masekela was more industrious in comparison to his peers, as he was promoted two grades ahead – from the first to the third grade – due to his excellent academic performance. Also, Masekela’s academic promotion suggests that his schoolteachers recognised and validated his academic competence, thus aiding the manifestation of his sense of industry.

Various findings portray Masekela as industrious. For instance, he maintained excellent grades throughout primary school and good relations with his peers (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004), implying that he acquired new competencies, technical skills and social proficiency primarily through classroom learning during this stage (Nel, 2013). Masekela expanded his English vocabulary by memorising and reciting movie dialogues, highlighting language proficiency.

Instances in Masekela’s home environment facilitated and maintained the manifestation of his industry. For example, once his parents recognised his obsession with music, they hired a piano teacher, Madevu. Masekela showed great skill within months of piano lessons and became Madevu’s favourite student. Madevu’s favouritism toward Masekela suggests that Masekela was more skilful at playing the piano than Madevu’s other students, further implying that he was more industrious in comparison to his peers in this regard as well. Furthermore, Masekela received praise and recognition for his excellent piano skills after performing at his school’s year-end recital. However, Masekela’s close friends teased him for performing “square white music” (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004, p. 22). Mockery for acquiring a new skill, different from his peers, may have left Masekela feeling humiliated, discouraged and lacking the motivation to improve his performance or exhaust his musical capabilities (Carr & McNulty, 2006). This may have further led to a sense of insecurity and ego inferiority in Masekela, along with the dislike of learning new skills (Carr & McNulty, 2006; Hamachek, 1990). Even so, Pauline countered the possible emergence of ego inferiority from this instance

by affirming Masekela's musical abilities. She also emphasised that his friends mocked him because neither of them were skilled singers nor piano players, highlighting their jealousy and own sense of inferiority manifesting as jealousy (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004). So, the researcher infers that his parents' interest in his musical abilities, continuous piano lessons, and attaining recognition from Madevu, schoolteachers and peers increased his enthusiasm toward music.

Although Masekela witnessed and was a victim of domestic violence during this stage (B. Masekela, 2021; H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004), he remained resilient as his parents' conflictual marriage did not seem to affect his academic competence nor musical capabilities. Masekela's resilience in this regard further highlights the presence of ego initiative attained in the previous psychosocial stage. To qualify, Nel (2013) argues that a well-established sense of initiative tends to manifest as resilience along with one's ability to refrain from stagnation despite the experience of hostile conditions. Children who are exposed to domestic violence struggle to resolve the first psychosocial stage (Hook, 2002; Prenter, 2015). They also have difficulties trusting their role within the family, experience a sense of abandonment, and view their home environment as threatening and unsafe (Priyadharshini, 2020), and most likely develop ego mistrust (Erikson, 1963; Hook, 2002). Employing Erikson's (1963) epigenesis, the emergence of *Basic trust versus Mistrust* is thus evident during Masekela's middle childhood.

The researcher hypothesises that observing his father's anger outbursts, his parents' constant arguments, and the domestic violence led to Masekela's development of lasting mistrust. During these instances, Masekela perceived the occurrences of his home environment as confusing, threatening and unsafe (Erikson, 1963). Hence, he felt the need to interject whenever Thomas was beating Pauline (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004). Masekela was forced to take the role of a protector, typically taken by caregivers, leading to difficulties trusting his role within the family, even in adulthood. This is evident during the *Intimacy versus Isolation* stage, as Masekela mistrusts his role as a father in that doubts his ability to provide nurturance, security, and stability to his children; hence, he was less involved in the earlier stages of his children's lives. He also mistrusted his role as a husband, evident in his multiple failed marriages and promiscuity. Moreover, in later interviews, Masekela often spoke of maintaining good relationships with his mother and grandmother (NTV Kenya, 2016), and hardly mentioned his relationship with his father. He also did not maintain contact with his father while in exile and mentioned that even in adulthood, Thomas' earlier violence against Pauline

still baffled him. The preceding infers that they did not maintain a good relationship. These aspects will also be highlighted in upcoming psychosocial stages.

Overall, Masekela's academic success and extracurricular achievements – joining the school choir, singing and playing the piano – show his industrious development, and he most probably acquired ego competence during this phase. The researcher proposes that Pauline's affirmative and supportive nature, along with Masekela's apparent strong attachment to her, countered the experience of domestic violence and essentially aided or sustained Masekela's resilience and competence during this stage. As previously stated, Masekela also received adequate support from his schoolteachers and Madevu, including the recognition of his capabilities. Additionally, he maintained good relations with his peers. These findings thus serve as protective factors. The researcher further hypothesises that Masekela's continued sense of competence throughout his lifespan is later sustained by his numerous accolades in the music and arts industry and honorary recognition in academia. An example of Masekela's experience of ego competence is evident in his desire to study music abroad, breaking the barriers placed by the apartheid system, as he did not want his life as an African man to amount to nothing.

5.3.5 Stage 5: Identity versus Role Confusion – Fidelity

The fifth stage mainly manifests during adolescence, ages 12 to 20 years (Erikson, 1997; Hamachek, 1990). Erikson (1959) describes identity as “accrued confidence that one's ability to maintain inner sameness and continuity is matched by the sameness and continuity of one's meaning for others” (p. 89). Adolescents are usually required to make decisions concerning their sexuality, occupation, and social circle (Erikson, 1963; Stevens, 2008). *Role confusion* occurs when individuals fail to explore new social roles and establish a sense of belonging while consolidating the roles acquired from previous stages (Prenter, 2015). The ego strength of *fidelity* is attained when adolescents successfully balance *identity* and *role confusion*.

5.3.5.1 Findings: ‘Young Man with a Horn’ (1951-1959)

In 1952, Masekela enrolled in St. Peter's Secondary School (or St. Peter's), a boarding school governed by missionaries. A few months before turning 13 years old, Masekela started growing pubic and armpit hair and noticed changes in his body odour and

likening for girls. He eventually became friends with Stompie, Monty and Lawrance. Masekela admired their fashion sense, primarily influenced by their consumption of African American culture through music, dance and film. The boy trio thought Masekela dressed like a ‘country bumpkin’, which they found embarrassing, and offered him friendship on the condition that he change his fashion sense. Although impressed by them, Masekela knew his school fees were costly. So, he did not want his parents to spend more money on clothing, especially since he already had clothes. Masekela was not intimidated by them and accredited this to witnessing Johanna thrash rowdy drunkards and exposure to Alexandra’s streetfighters and gangs.

As the school year progressed, Masekela bonded with the trio, ensuring that he iron-pressed his clothes and polished his shoes, every time they hung out. He also began to idolise African American fashion and movie stars as much as the trio. Stompie and Monty utterly loved music – mainly South African and American productions – and dancing, just as Masekela. School authorities often caught them dancing. Masekela also joined the school’s choir, often leading soprano solos. He noted that studying even became secondary to music. However, Masekela achieved excellent academic results, finishing in the top 10 of his class.

In 1953, Masekela eventually succumbed and tried to fit in; he followed everything Stompie said, and often got into trouble with teachers. Occasionally, Masekela and friends stole sweets and other items from the tuckshop. He also started smoking and became hooked on nicotine, from smoking a single cigarette to a whole pack. Since Masekela could not afford to dress like Stompie, they shoplifted him a jacket. Masekela highlighted that although he felt ashamed for becoming a thief, he did not regret stealing from white shop owners. Masekela also started drinking alcohol at the age of 14 years, the beginning of his substance addiction. He stated that most of his maternal family consumed alcohol. So, he learned to accept alcohol as a way of life from an early age, especially after having watched coal miners drink their sorrows away at Johanna’s shebeen. Years later, while Masekela was in therapy, his “counsellors asked [him and his] fellow junkies to chart [their] family histories and circle the drinkers in red” (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004, p. 6). Masekela’s diagram was covered with red circles.

In September, Stompie and Masekela snuck out of school to watch a movie titled ‘Young Man with a Horn’, “starring Kirk Douglas as Leon “Bix” Beiderbecke, the talented jazz cornet virtuoso, who died in 1931 at the age of twenty-eight years, from bootleg gin and other addictive habits” (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004, p. 60). Masekela was fascinated by the

film and immediately purposed in his heart to become a trumpeter. He highlighted the following:

Kirk's portrayal of a jazz man was brilliantly precocious and arrogant. In the film, Kirk stood in front of the band in his snazzy threads, playing all the solos. He didn't take any [nonsense] from anybody, and the women were crazy about him... I was so totally [mesmerised] that I suddenly couldn't imagine myself doing anything else but playing the trumpet for the rest of my life. To be that independent, in demand, and virtually self-employed, never having to work for a white [boss] for the rest of my life; that is what the life of a trumpet player seemed to hold in promise for me. I wanted this with all my heart and being—nothing else would do! (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004, p. 60).

Masekela barely passed his second year of high school. However, his teachers recommended that he repeat the grade due to his continuous misconduct. In January 1954, Father Trevor Huddleston, the school superintendent, asked Masekela about his life goals and plans, as he was disappointed by Masekela's waywardness (Honigmann, 2010; H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004). In response, Masekela promised to be of good conduct on the condition that Huddleston bought him a trumpet (Vandiver, 2018). One Saturday morning, Huddleston gave Masekela money, affording him a second-hand trumpet at a music instrument store. Huddleston also asked Uncle Sauda, a brass band leader, to give Masekela trumpet lessons on Saturdays. Masekela further practised every day after school. His previous piano lessons familiarised him with music scales and keys, making grasping the trumpet's mechanisms and lessons easier. In the same year, Masekela and his male schoolmates obtained passbooks (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004), as the Pass Laws Act of 1952 required all non-white males in adolescence and older to always carry their identification documents (Frankel, 1979; Posel, 1991). These laws enraged Huddleston as he was an anti-apartheid activist (Villa-Vicencio, 1996).

Eventually, Masekela and several other boys – including Stompie – formed a musical band called 'The Huddleston Jazz Band' (Honigmann, 2010; Vandiver, 2018). Huddleston helped the band members to attain a suitable rehearsal venue within school premises and supplied them with various instruments, including three saxophones, the tambourine, trumpets, cymbals, tom-tom drum, etc. The band members shared similar musical tastes. Huddleston threatened to confiscate their instruments should they misbehave or fail to focus on their studies. The band vowed to prioritise their schoolwork and set to rehearse during spare time. One Sunday afternoon, Huddleston took the band to a jazz performance, whereby Miriam

Makeba – an internationally renowned South African songstress – mesmerised them with her singing. She later married Masekela, which will be discussed in the subsequent section. With time, Huddleston approached white liberals who became donors to support the band further. These donations helped sustain the band.

During the school holidays, Masekela joined and played with a township orchestra, ‘Merry Makers’. The orchestra’s trumpeters, Banzi Bangani and Elijah Nkwanyana, mentored and helped Masekela refine his skills. Masekela mimicked Elijah’s trumpeting style and used the acquired elements when composing music in adulthood. His parents and Johanna noticed his musical development. Johanna called him ‘Pu-Pu-Ru-Pu-Pu’, imitating the sound of the trumpet. Moreover, Masekela’s academic results significantly improved, as he passed the 9th grade at the second top of his class.

In December 1955, St. Peter’s closed due to the enactment of the Bantu Education Act in 1953 (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004; Rugunanan, 2015). This Act purposed for African children to receive an inferior education taught in their native language, massifying and training them for unskilled labour, to essentially keep Africans subservient (Bauer, 2023; Rugunanan, 2015). Before the Act’s enactment, African schools were primarily governed by missionaries, with limited state funding; African children were provided a reasonable basic education affording them access to a skilled workforce (Rugunanan, 2015). The 1953 Act required all African schools to register with the state and closed all missionary-governed schools (Denniston, 1999; Villa-Vicencio, 1996). Unlike other missionaries, Huddleston decided against handing over St. Peter’s to be state governed and closed the school as an act of protest. He considered the Bantu Education Act the most iniquitous of all apartheid laws, as it was intended to destroy the potential of innocent children systematically (Villa-Vicencio, 1996). Huddleston’s anti-apartheid activism and continuous involvement in township protests infuriated the state (Vandiver, 2018; Villa-Vicencio, 1996). So, in 1956, Huddleston moved back to his home country, England, since he was no longer safe in South Africa (Denniston, 1999; Vandiver, 2018).

The Huddleston Jazz Band continued to thrive and receive bookings nationwide, from weddings to concerts, earning money. This band and the Merry Makers gained Masekela popularity, which minimized his dread of talking to attractive girls, and he started dating and engaging in consensual sex at the age of 15 years. At 17 years, Elijah exposed Masekela to more alcohol and “older, [sexually] experienced women” (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004, p. 82).

So, Masekela had multiple girlfriends, including Miriam, and spent various nights employing the services of prostitutes (Cueva, 2020). Masekela and Miriam kept their romantic affair private, as Miriam also had multiple lovers, was seven years older than Masekela, and needed to cement her reputation as a musician (Cueva, 2020). They knew and were unbothered about each other's promiscuity (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004). However, in Miriam's memoir, 'Makeba: My Story' (1988), their affair remained unmentioned, as she only described Masekela as a friend then. Media outlets speculated that Miriam wanted to maintain a respectable reputation and "avoid the stigmatization of their age differences" (Cueva, 2020, p. 37).

In January 1956, Masekela started attending Holy Cross High School in Alexandra. Before Huddleston left for England, Masekela asked him for assistance in securing a musical scholarship abroad (Cueva, 2020). In April 1956, Louis Armstrong – a famous American jazz musician – mailed Masekela his trumpet after Huddleston told Louis about Masekela and the band while in New York. Masekela was overjoyed and perceived this as "a sign [that his] direction in life was cemented" (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004, p. 84). Masekela and Huddleston continuously maintained contact through letter writing. Masekela dropped out in July 1956 to focus on refining his musical abilities and establishing his career (Cueva, 2020). In 1958, Masekela was cast as the third trumpet player in the orchestra of 'King Kong: All African Jazz Opera', earning him a big break in the South African jazz industry (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004; Walker, 2017).

5.3.5.2 Discussion

Erikson (1959) emphasises the importance of continuity in understanding identity formation, as the competencies and technical abilities adolescents acquire earlier stages integrate during this current stage. During this stage, adolescents are required to make decisions concerning their social, occupational and sexual identity (Erikson, 1963; Stevens, 2008).

Evidence suggests that Masekela took a likening to African American fashion and movie stars to form a shared (or social) identity with Stompie, Monty and Lawrance and consequently join their social group. Social identity refers to "the loss of aspects of identity through the idealisation process directed at leaders of certain groups and cliques in an attempt to feel included into these groups", as per Erikson (1963, as cited in Hoque, 2018, pp. 52-53). According to Erikson (1968), adolescents have the need to belong, which drives their pursuit of a social identity. Erikson (1963) further highlights this stage as a socially ratified period of

experimentation or psychosocial moratorium, wherein adolescents are free to explore new social roles – trial and error – until they form a crystalised identity.

In further attempts to feel included or belong, Masekela started experimenting outside of societal norms by engaging in disruptive behaviours, often getting into trouble with authoritative figures (Sadock & Sadock, 2007). For example, Masekela started smoking cigarettes and cannabis and consuming alcohol at the age of 14 years. These experimentations mark the beginning of his prolonged battle with substance addiction. Masekela later noted that before his rehabilitation in 1997, he was intoxicated during all musical performances, even during adolescence. Masekela also bunked school, his academic performance declined, and he disobeyed schoolteachers. The instance Masekela and his social group shoplifted a jacket, as Masekela could not afford to purchase new clothing, suggests that Masekela engaged in thievery to transform his appearance – from that of a ‘country bumpkin’. This, therefore, officiated and sustained his shared social identity with the boy trio, as they initially offered him friendship on the condition that he change his fashion sense. Seligman and Reichenberg (2010) argue that adolescents often change their appearance when searching for an identity. Thus, this shows that Masekela was searching for his social identity.

Scholars argue that role confusion is expressed as people-pleasing behaviours (Erikson, 1979; Kroger, 2005; Nel, 2013). Masekela conformed to the conditions and behaviours of his social group by following everything Stompie said, as he essentially sought acceptance, therefore highlighting the manifestation of role confusion. Earlier findings possibly depict Masekela’s initial and persisting battle with identity and acceptance – consequent to his racial background. He emphasised that his African surroundings “never considered [him] black enough to be seen as African, nor light enough to be totally accepted by [his] coloured relatives and their friends” (Masekela & Cheers, 2004, p. 20). The researcher hypothesises that these instances or rejection from his exosystem facilitated his conformity to counter any sense of abandonment, as the need to belong and for acceptance is salient during this stage (Erikson, 1963). It is further inferred that the racially discriminatory and divisive policies institutionalised by the apartheid government (macrosystem) also affected Masekela’s identity development negatively (Fouché, 2019). Moreover, McCormack (2023) argues that conformity behaviours are apparent in persons from dysfunctional families, wherein children either mediate between caregivers or take on the caregiver role. As previously discussed, Masekela mediated between his parents during domestic violence altercations, thus highlighting another predisposing factor.

Findings show that Masekela's social group was primarily inspired by American culture, especially fashion and jazz music, which then influenced their ideologies. The researcher suggests that Masekela's fascination with renowned American jazz musician Bix Beiderbecke – after watching 'Young Man with a Horn' – highlights both the manifestation of a career identity and role confusion, including the ritualisation of totalism. Career or occupational identity refers to a person's ability to choose and settle on an occupational path and is carried into adulthood (Erikson, 1963, 1976; Hoque, 2018). While watching the film, Masekela purposed to become a skilled trumpeter like Bix and of good conduct on the condition that Father Huddleston buys him a trumpet. Moreover, Bix sharpened Masekela's perception of what a male trumpeter (and essentially jazz musician) should be, as he stated:

“[Bix] didn't take any [nonsense] from anybody, and the women were crazy about him... to be that independent, in demand, and virtually self-employed, never having to work for a white [boss] for the rest of my life; that is what the life of a trumpet player seemed to hold in promise for me” (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004, p. 60)

Bix also battled with alcohol addiction, leading to his early demise at 28 years old (Youngren, 1975).

Since children learn societal order and apply moral rules through storytelling during the third psychosocial stage (Prenter, 2015), Masekela became aware of the harsh experiences of Africans and their lower hierarchal societal position by listening to mineworkers during his early childhood. So, the researcher proposes that Bix embodied autonomy and liberation, a continuous yearning for Masekela. To Masekela, becoming a trumpeter – instead of a mineworker – was to raise him above the adverse circumstances Africans faced during apartheid and to attain independence and liberation from systematic oppression essentially. Hence, Masekela failed to recognise Bix's faults and conformed to his identity.

Freiberg (1987) and Nel (2013) argue that role confusion is apparent when adolescents conform to the identities and ideals of other acquainted or known persons, as their sense of individuality is unstable or unestablished (Freiberg, 1987; Nel, 2013). Such adolescents also have trouble identifying personal faults and those of others (Hamachek, 1990). Adolescents tend to overidentify with or excessively imitate their heroes to counter role confusion and adopt other peoples' worldviews (Erikson, 1963; Hook, 2002; Nel, 2013). Erikson (1963) refers to this overidentification or excessive imitation as the ritualisation of totalism. The abovementioned suggests that Masekela overidentified with Bix. To further substantiate,

Masekela battled substance addiction for over 40 years. He reported to being intoxicated during all his musical performances from age sixteen years and engaged in sexual escapades with various women after most performances. These behaviours aligned with Masekela's ideology of the life of a trumpet player as modelled by Bix. This shows that Masekela failed to identify Bix's faults while mesmerized by his sense of autonomy, which borders on totalism and an unstable sense of identity. This discussion also indicates that Masekela experimented sexually, as he started engaging in sex at 15 years old. Even so, his intimate relationships will be discussed in the next psychosocial stage. Substance use also highlights the manifestation of the maladaptive tendency of impulsivity during Masekela's adolescent years (*Autonomy versus Shame and Doubt*).

Hook (2002) argues that principal interpersonal relationships with significant adults facilitate the formation of a stable identity along with social functioning. Evidence portrays Huddleston as the significant adult during this phase, as he: (1) bought Masekela his first trumpet; (2) found him a trumpet teacher; and (3) formed 'The Huddleston Jazz Band' to keep Masekela, including his social group, busy and out of mischief. Huddleston (through these instances) fostered Masekela's musical ability, leading to a crystalised occupational identity, as Masekela later became a world-renowned trumpeter and jazz musician. Moreover, Masekela's social and academic functioning improved. He also maintained a good relationship with Huddleston throughout the years and credited Huddleston as one of the reasons behind his success in the music industry. This further highlights Huddleston as a significant adult who aided the development of his career identity.

Hook (2002) argues that the competencies and technical skills attained in prior stages must be cultivated for possible use in prospective careers. Masekela noted that his previous piano lessons familiarised him with music scales and keys, making it easier to grasp the trumpet's mechanisms and lessons. This shows his continuity of experience: cultivating musical skills acquired in earlier stages. Masekela also joined the high school choir and performed for various audiences while in *The Huddleston Band*. Furthermore, Stevens (2008) argues that adolescents require reassurance from their primary environment while exploring their sense of identity. Masekela's primary environment inspired, cultivated, and reassured his musical interests from early childhood – from singing with Putu to roaming the streets of Witbank following various bands around, having piano lessons with Madevu and receiving constant affirmation from Pauline for his talent.

Ego fidelity manifests when the psychosocial stage of *Identity versus Role confusion* is successfully resolved (Hoque, 2018; Nel, 2013). Fidelity refers to an adolescent's ability to: (a) establish a clear and stable sense of identity; (b) remain committed to their chosen beliefs, affiliations, and roles; and (c) counter unavoidable contradictions which are inherent to dissimilar belief systems (Hoque, 2018; Nel, 2013; Prenter, 2015; Stevens, 2008). From the preceding, Masekela attained a crystalised career identity, as he remained committed to refining his musical abilities and establishing his career in the jazz industry. Therefore, he established the ego strength of fidelity concerning his career. However, Masekela's experimentation with substances persisted till the seventh psychosocial stage, resulting in an extended psychosocial moratorium (M. Montgomery, 2005). This further suggests that Masekela was still searching for a stabilized identity (Montgomery, 2005), indicating the malignant tendency of *repudiation* (Stevens, 2008).

Repudiation implies the "excessive experience of role confusion" (Hoque, 2018, p. 54), wherein adolescents reject their need to establish an individual identity (Prenter, 2015). Such adolescents often engage in delinquent or maladaptive behaviours to overcompensate (Erikson, 1963; Nel, 2013). Repudiation may also lead to the development of psychopathologies such as substance abuse, social withdrawal, Antisocial Personality Disorder, delinquency, and psychotic episodes (Hook, 2002; Stevens, 2002). Overall, Masekela struggled to balance identity and role confusion, implying the unsuccessful resolution of this current stage. Therefore, the researcher will continue to explore Masekela's identity development in forthcoming stages, including behaviours bordering on overidentification, struggling to belong, and deviation. Masekela's exile experience begins in the next stage, so the implications of exile on his identity development will also be highlighted. Moreover, Masekela appears to have established a stronger sense of identity later in life.

5.3.6 Stage 6: Intimacy versus Isolation – Love

This sixth psychosocial stage occurs during early adulthood from ages 20 to 35 years (Erikson, 1988; Hamachek, 1990) and is characterized by "an individual's willingness or unwillingness to commit to another in a loving [or intimate] relationship" (A. E. Louw, 2013, p. 146). *Intimacy* entails one's ability to commit to interpersonal relations, even amidst demanding, significant compromises and sacrifices (Erikson, 1963). *Ego isolation* is the antithesis of intimacy, which manifests when individuals perceive that their sense of personal

identity is endangered or under scrutiny and, therefore, resort to self-seclusion (Erikson, 1963). The ego strength of *love* manifests when one successfully maintains a balance between their capacity for intimacy and the simultaneous need for isolation from time to time (Erikson et al., 1986).

5.3.6.1 Findings: Grazing in the grass (1959-1974)

Exile. In 1959, Masekela and three counterparts co-founded a band called ‘The Jazz Epistles’ (Rentner, 2017). In 1960, They released an album, which became iconic in South Africa, ‘The Jazz Epistles Verse 1’ (Cueva, 2020; Rentner, 2017). The band infiltrated and performed at “white-only” spaces – clubs, restaurants, jazz parties, etc. – and equally to an African audience (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004). According to Rentner (2017), jazz symbolized what the apartheid government “feared the most: the social mixing of racial groups” (para. 8). Cueva (2020) states the following:

The creative work of The Jazz Epistles became something of a rebellious act, as it represented not only diversity among races, but constituted the reality that South African musicians could play as well as their American counterparts... The success of the album posed a threat for the government and the apartheid regime, especially since the work was completely original. (p. 44)

As per musicologist and journalist, Gwen Ansell (2004):

[The Jazz Epistles were] a collection of black musicians who were saying very defiantly: “We are here, we are modern-city people. There is no way you are going to exclude us from modern life.” And that is the beautiful undertone in that music. Basically, for the apartheid regime, this very kind of modern, non-tribal urban music was something they couldn't cope with. It didn't fit into their perception of what Africans should be doing.

To retaliate, the government enacted laws barring Africans from performing for white audiences (Cueva, 2020). Moreover, after the Sharpeville Massacre in 1960, gatherings of more than ten persons were outlawed (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004; Rugunanan, 2015). So, the Jazz Epistles could no longer perform and essentially produce music, leading to their separation (Cueva, 2020). Also, the apartheid government investigated Masekela – seeking to either sentence him to life imprisonment or death by hanging – just as other anti-apartheid activists, for their rebuttal of racial norms and outspoken activism (Cueva, 2020; H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004). In a 2016 interview, Masekela revealed that he was also involved in various protests

against the apartheid regime during his teenage years (NTV Kenya, 2016). Nonetheless, Huddleston – through his connections – had already organised an acceptance letter to the Guildhall School of Music in London, which Masekela used to escape authorities, including the country, and go into exile (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004; Rentner, 2017). Masekela arrived in London on the 18th of May 1960 (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004).

Upon his arrival in London, Masekela struggled to adjust and mentioned the following:

[wherever I went], I wouldn't leave my passport behind, and every time I saw an English policeman, I reached for my back pocket, [presenting my passport]... [However], in England the police were there to protect and not harass me, something that took me a very long time to get used to. Being able to walk around freely, enter any establishment, not worry about curfew, socialize with anybody—all this was new to me. The apartheid laws had become etched into my subconscious. I lived with a private fear of [police] uniforms, [even at 65 years]. (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004, p. 137)

In September 1960, Masekela relocated to the United States of America, as he was accepted into the Manhattan School of Music [MSM] in New York. Masekela initially experienced the following challenges: (a) learning and using English as the main medium of communication and understanding American slang; (b) felt overwhelmed by America's freedom of expression during the 1960 elections portrayed via televised debates, character assassinations, campaigns, etc. – only white people were allowed to vote back in South Africa; and (c) significant weather differences, especially the experience of snow during December (Dalamba, 2006; H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004). Furthermore, the MSM specifically taught classical music, so his lecturers often reprimanded him for practising jazz, instead of classical compositions (Cueva, 2020). Masekela gradually improved and maintained good grades (H. Masekela & Cheers).

Although Masekela struggled financially, Miriam offered him shelter and paid for his living expenses and tuition. By 1960, Miriam was already an established musician in America; she fled South Africa in 1959 (Makeba, 1988). Masekela further highlighted the following:

I would get terribly homesick at times, and there was still a dark cloud over my memories of home. I had lost touch with all my Alexandra and St. Peter's friends, [as most of them including relatives either faced detention, were murdered or imprisoned by the apartheid government]. The only person who was writing to me was my mother... I would often...

talk to myself in all the different home languages I could muster [whenever I missed home].
(H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004, pp. 173-174)

Moreover, Masekela came to the realisation that racial violence and discrimination were also rampant in the USA (Cueva, 2020). He emphasised that “the methods of racial terrorism [were] applied differently, but the disposition was similar to South Africa – apartheid wearing a different hat; [so, he still] needed to watch for his black back” (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004, p. 151). As he later looked for an apartment to rent, Masekela noticed that his applications were constantly rejected, mainly because he was a black foreigner. With these experiences, he felt caged in and wondered whether moving to USA instead of staying in England was wise (Cueva, 2020).

Music. In 1961, Masekela worked for a music publishing company – the Library of Harbel and Clara Music of Belafonte Productions – as a music transcriber for copywriting purposes. In 1962, Harry Belafonte, owner of Belafonte Productions, encouraged Masekela to release his first album, ‘Trumpet Africaine’ (Cueva, 2020). Masekela described the album as disastrous, generating poor sales and reviews, as he tried to copy American jazz instead of developing his personal style – African-infused jazz music. However, Miriam continued to believe in Masekela’s abilities and asked him to compose two of her albums: ‘Makeba sings’ and ‘Voice of Africa’ (Makeba, 1988).

Masekela’s passion for studying was then negatively impacted by constant club hopping, dalliances with multiple women, increased alcohol intake and cannabis use. He noted that he was becoming reckless. Moreover, “the pain of being unable to return home was becoming unbearable [and his] parents’ recent divorce triggered a new restlessness in” him (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004, p. 189). Even so, Masekela graduated “with a Bachelor of Arts in Music with a focus in classical trumpet” in 1964 (Cueva, 2020, p. 57).

Marriage. In January 1964, Masekela and Miriam rekindled their love affair. A few months later, they got married (Cueva, 2020). Weeks before the wedding, Masekela and Miriam vowed to break up with other romantic partners (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004). Masekela remained faithful throughout the tenure of their marriage. However, Miriam maintained an extramarital affair with an unnamed Latin movie star, leading to the end of their marriage in March 1966. At the time, Miriam had a 16-year-old daughter, Bongki (Makeba, 1988). Masekela felt that Miriam needed to perform motherly duties more, as Miriam was constantly touring various countries, giving musical performances (H. Masekela & Cheers,

2004). This was also a contributing factor to their divorce. Overall, Masekela and Bongi maintained a loving relationship. He often assisted Bongi with homework and drove her to school in the mornings. They always washed the dishes and sang together in their home. Bongi lovingly referred to Masekela as ‘Malome Hugh’, meaning ‘Uncle Hugh’. After Masekela and Miriam’s marriage ended, Bongi occasionally visited Masekela during her school holidays.

Miriam stated contradictory reasons for their divorce in her memoir. Makeba (1988) highlighted that Masekela was jealous of her career, immature and too young; hence, their marriage could not work out. In response, Masekela stated the following in his autobiography:

I was never jealous of Miriam. She was one of my greatest inspirations, both as an activist and a professional artist. If it hadn’t been for her belief in my talents and her generous assistance to get me a music education, I could never have reached the place where I am today. But I don’t know many marriages that could have survived that degree of daring infidelity. Although Miriam and I remain dear friends, and occasionally shared intimacy for many years after our breakup, I never regretted divorcing her. But I will always love her. (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004, p. 206)

Addiction, more music, and remarriage. In April 1966, Masekela started using cocaine. He also continued being promiscuous and later started using lysergic acid diethylamide [LSD]. In his memoir, Masekela noted:

When I was offered a new drug, a new high, a new indulgence, I took it. I was thousands of miles from home, as displaced as the miners I grew up with in Witbank, and eager to find a way to forget a home I wasn’t sure I’d ever see again. I was drunk on money—when I could find it—drugs, which were never hard to find, love, lust, and music, and in no hurry to sober up. (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004, p. 220).

In 1968, Masekela’s album, ‘The Promise of the Future’ – especially album single: ‘Grazing in the Grass’ – reached mainstream audiences, gaining him international recognition as a South African icon (Cueva, 2020). The single chartered number 1 on various US radio stations and gained him bookings all over the US. He was then nominated for a Grammy Award for Best Contemporary Pop Performance – Instrumental (Richards, 2018).

In June 1968, Masekela married Chris Calloway, a fellow musician (Raditlhalo, 2009). They divorced three months later, in August 1968 (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004). Their marriage was described as extremely turbulent and characterized by substance abuse. Chris

also used cocaine and alcohol. Although Masekela wanted to have intimacy and build security with one person during this time, he later admitted that his decision to marry Chris was impulsive.

Masekela was later arrested for illegal drug possession and use. The U.S. newspapers reported his arrest. Thereafter, Masekela lost lucrative engagements. He felt guilty, angry and ashamed of himself for his reckless behaviour. However, “all these feelings were powerful catalysts for deeper addiction” and vice versa (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004, p. 253). The court sentenced Masekela to a two-year probation. In 1970, Masekela’s girlfriend, Jessie La Pierre, fell pregnant and later miscarried. Masekela admitted to pressurising her into occasionally snorting cocaine during her pregnancy. In August 1971, Jessie gave birth to their first son, Selema Masekela (Denselow, 2018). Shortly after, Jessie chose a different path as a Jehovah’s Witness, became drug-free and moved away with Selema. Masekela felt more like a failure. He felt too reckless, selfish, immoral, and insensitive for another marriage. No information concerning Masekela’s relationship with Selema was available during this time, as Masekela also moved to Conakry, Guinea, in 1972.

5.3.6.2 Discussion

During this psychosocial stage, persons tend to seek independence from their primary caregivers as they start exploring their environment as autonomous and mature adults (Schultz & Schultz, 2009). Although Masekela went into self-exile to escape apartheid authorities, his departure is also interpreted as his way of attaining independence from his primary environment, especially his exosystem. To substantiate, Masekela stated the following:

I asked Huddleston to help me secure a scholarship to further my music studies [abroad], because I knew that if I stayed in South Africa, my career would be doomed. With escalating repression by the apartheid government, and with resistance against it growing every day, I could envision myself being swept away by the powerful currents of radical activism and—given my big mouth and general fearlessness around authority figures—my chances of living very long were rather slim. To progress in my musical career, I would have to get out of South Africa. (H. Masekela & Cheers, p. 103)

Masekela’s goal to further his musical studies and career in a foreign country illustrates his willingness to explore his environment as an autonomous and mature adult. This goal also

depicts Masekela's commitment (or fidelity) to his career identity, consolidated by a Grammy nomination for Best Contemporary Pop Performance – Instrumental in 1968.

According to Roets (2015), unresolved crises from previous stages are bound to reemerge during this current developmental phase. Erikson (1980) argues that a stable sense of identity enables young adults to develop intimate relations with others. As previously established, Masekela struggled to develop a crystalised sense of identity in his fifth psychosocial stage. So, evidence further suggests that his failure to form healthy interpersonal relations or intimacy results from his experience of role confusion. Moreover, his prolonged experience of psychosocial moratorium and identity confusion is exacerbated by his exile experience. These aspects are expounded below.

Masekela's marital life or romantic relations are significant in portraying his experience of the *Intimacy versus Isolation* stage. Erikson (1963) argues that ego intimacy entails one's ability to commit to interpersonal relations, even amidst demanding, significant compromises and sacrifices (Erikson, 1963). During this phase, persons also search for a shared identity within their interpersonal connections (Erikson, 1963). The commonality between Masekela and Miriam includes their careers as jazz musicians, thus facilitating the development of a shared identity. They were also both South Africans in exile, living in America at the time. Dalamba (2006) describes their exile experience as sometimes "a complete disintegration of the self" (p. 61), highlighting another shared identification.

Dalamba (2006) further underscores the politicization of their departure – previous involvement in protests, refutation of apartheid norms and escaping the implications of structural violence upon their musical careers as Africans – thus making their return to South Africa potentially dangerous and forbidden. For Miriam, exile embodied "the loss of everything that has gone into the making of oneself" (Dalamba, 2006, p. 60), as she emphasised: "My family. My home. Everything that has ever gone into the making of myself, gone!" (Makeba, 1988, p. 98). While Masekela felt as displaced as the mineworkers from his childhood. In 2016, Masekela released a song titled 'Exile', which narrates his experience of and feelings toward exile: "I was in underground, running away from the blood house, I never got a chance to say goodbye... exile is a traumatising horror; a nightmare full of terror; a destabilizing drama; a suicidal downer; a dehumanizing outrage; a continuous bondage" (see appendix C for full lyrical content; H. Masekela, 2016). Both Masekela and Miriam revealed the destabilizing nature of exile on personhood: their experience of disintegration (of the self)

was intensified by Miriam's inability to attend her mother's funeral in 1960 and Masekela learning of his parents' divorce in 1962 (Dalamba, 2006).

Masekela and Miriam also have a history of promiscuity and were in various relationships with other people before getting married, inferring their lack of loyalty or commitment to romantic partners (shared identification) and, therefore, a sense of instability (Erikson, 1980). Even so, the researcher suggests that Masekela remained faithful to Miriam throughout their marriage in an attempt to attain ego fidelity and establish a stable identity – creating a stable environment to reintegrate the self. This is further evident in his nurturing and affectionate relationship with Bongi. To substantiate, Erikson (1963) states that intimacy expands beyond sexual relations and encompasses friendships and other forms of authentic interpersonal connections. Moreover, Erikson (1980) maintains that persons may seek to establish concrete partnerships as a way of achieving personal stability.

Masekela's shared identification (musically) with and fidelity to Miriam fortified his occupational identity and later sociopolitical ideology, as he regarded Miriam as one of his greatest inspirations, both musically and as an activist. Also, with Miriam's constant encouragement and financial aid, Masekela completed his musical studies. Since Miriam was already an established jazz musician in America, she introduced Masekela to industry pioneers such as Louis Armstrong and Dizzy Gillespie. She further gave Masekela various occupational opportunities – songwriting and album compositions – thus introducing his credentials to larger and global audiences. Moreover, Masekela highlighted that he drank less alcohol during their marriage, signifying his attempt at forming a stable identity. The foregoing discussions suggest that Masekela's first marriage countered his sense of destabilization (an implication of exile) and provided primary social support since Masekela lost contact with his friends and relatives, except for Pauline.

Although Masekela and Miriam continued their relationship as musical counterparts and later had an extramarital affair together, their divorce ruptured or disrupted in their shared identification. This exposed Masekela's fragile individual identity, revealing his social identity as rebellious. His rebellion is evident in the use of substances and continued engagement in the maladaptive tendency of promiscuity (evident since his adolescence). According to Erikson (1963), promiscuity manifests when persons attempt to counter an overwhelming sense of isolation. Persons with an unstable identity will likely experience ego isolation (Erikson, 1974, 1977).

Masekela perceived his current environment as threatening and unsafe, expressing a sense of mistrust towards it, as he felt the need to “watch for his black back” when he realised that racial violence and discrimination were also rampant in the USA during the 1960s (Cueva, 2020; H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004, p. 151). Consequently, Masekela expressed an overwhelming sense of isolation, stating that he felt caged in by his environment, sometimes regretting his decision to live in the USA. It is suggested that his feelings of isolation intensified after the divorce in that he lost Miriam as his primary social support. Also, Miriam’s infidelity possibly led to Masekela feeling rejected and abandoned: a marital environment he knew as safe became unreliable and unpredictable. This indicates an imbalance of the conflicting forces of *Basic Trust versus Mistrust*, with mistrust as the dominating force at this point, implying that his ego hope has declined. For Masekela, these experiences led to a disintegration of the self, which was previously countered by the stability their marriage provided.

Masekela used substances to self-soothe, resulting from his inability to cope with reality (Sadock & Sadock, 2007), evident in his statement: “when I was offered a new drug, a new high, a new indulgence, I took it. I was thousands of miles from home... eager to find a way to forget a home I wasn’t sure I’d ever see again” (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004, p. 220). Moreover, his substance use increased after his first divorce, as he started experimenting with hard substances such as cocaine and LSD. He later used substances to cope with pain and loss, as seen when Pauline passed away (next psychosocial stage) and his perceived failure at fatherhood. Masekela’s statement further indicates the loss of self-control, resulting from living in a foreign land and uncertainty about the future – a revisitation of the stage 2 crisis. Also, Masekela’s self-soothing behaviours also illustrate that his coping mechanisms were informed by his identification with or modelling of the mineworkers he observed during early childhood. To justify, the mineworkers frequented Johanna’s shebeen to drown their sorrows in alcohol, distracting themselves from the adversities of life and occupational stressors (Cueva, 2020; H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004).

The malignant tendency of this stage is exclusion, which describes one’s excessive capacity to isolate and behave in a spiteful manner. Exclusion manifests when persons are unable to form nor maintain meaningful or intimate connections with others, and reject their initiation thereof (Erikson, 1963; Prenter, 2015; Stevens, 2008). At the end of stage 6, Masekela displayed signs of the malignancy of exclusion. He desired intimacy with one person and a stable home environment, hence his second marriage to Chris. Even so, their shared identity, aside music, was disruptive (i.e., substance abuse). Masekela described their marriage as

extremely turbulent since they were often intoxicated, leading to constant conflicts and their short-lived marriage. Masekela later admitted that his decision to marry Chris was impulsive.

Masekela later illustrated malicious behaviour by pressurising his girlfriend, Jessie, into snorting cocaine while pregnant, causing her to miscarry. His behaviour indicates unconscious feelings rejecting the transition to fatherhood (Stevens, 2008), rooted in the experience of domestic violence from his father in middle childhood, resulting in the mistrust of his role as husband and father. Hence, he expressed feelings of inferiority and an inability to provide a stable home environment. Moreover, he was less involved in the earlier stages of his children's lives (discussed in the *Industry versus Inferiority* stage). The aforementioned shows that Masekela was unable to maintain meaningful relationships during this stage.

The manifestation of the maladaptation of promiscuity and exclusion shows that Masekela struggled to resolve or balance the opposing forces of intimacy and isolation, implying that he did not attain the ego strength of love during this stage (Erikson et al., 1986).

5.3.7 Stage 7: Generativity versus Stagnation – Care

This stage emerges during middle adulthood, at approximately 35 years until the age of retirement, typically 65 years (Hamachek, 1990). Nel (2013) defines *generativity* as “involvement in and contribution to one's environment or the welfare of future generations” (p. 105). For example, through childrearing, teaching others, etc. (Erikson, 1963). An alternative to generativity is *stagnation* (Erikson, 1963), which refers to individuals who are self-indulgent and inconsiderate of how their inactions or actions shape society's future (A. E. Louw (2013). The successful resolution of this stage leads to the ego virtue of *care* (Erikson, 1978).

5.3.7.1 Findings: The politicization of Masekela (1974-2004)

According to Cueva (2020), Masekela's music transitioned into the political realm in the 1970s, as he challenged the apartheid regime in his songs. Some musical scholars referred to Masekela as a *protest musician*, an artist who employs their talent and creativity to expose or raise awareness of sociopolitical inequalities (Dalamba, 2006; Versola, 2018). Masekela's music further conveyed the experience of exile and *unhomeliness* (Dalamba, 2006). Versola (2018) defines *unhomeliness* as “the experience of feeling like a foreigner in one's own land,

or the inability to return to one's homeland" (p. 78). In 1974, Masekela returned to the US and released an album titled *I Am Not Afraid*, featuring one of his most recognized songs to date, *Stimela*, meaning 'steam train' in isiZulu (Bezuidenhout, 2018; H. Masekela, 1974; Versola, 2018). The lyrical content of *Stimela* (see appendix D) portrays the exploitation of mineworkers by the apartheid government, including the displacement of Africans, leading to the legacy of a dismantled black family structure and essentially the African population (Cueva, 2020; Erlmann, 1995; Versola, 2018). Cueva (2020) states that the success of *Stimela* also increased public awareness of apartheid in the U.S.

In 1976, wrote a song titled *Soweto Blues* (see appendix E) as a tribute to African learners who refused to accept the Bantu Education Act and/or in response to the Soweto uprisings (H. Masekela, 1977; H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004; Versola, 2018). Miriam performed the song to international audiences (Versola, 2018). After that, Masekela's protest songs were banned by the South African broadcasting media. Masekela continued to condemn the apartheid regime in broadcast and print interviews. Consequently, his parents and relatives were continuously pressured and interrogated by the government's intelligent police force. Their homes were often raided as police agents searched for evidence concerning treasonable activities.

In January 1978, Masekela's girlfriend, Tshidi Ndamase, gave birth to their daughter, Motlalepula Masekela. Masekela stayed home for the first three months after Motlalepula's birth, taking care of her without taking international bookings. After that, he worked on releasing more music, constantly partied, maintained sexual relations with multiple women, drank alcohol and used substances while on tour. However, Masekela, highlighted that he felt most pathetic, as he was 39 years old yet still failing to perform fatherly duties to all his children. He acknowledged the necessity of a lifestyle change. Even so, on some school holidays, Masekela taught Selema to swim. In the early 2000s, Selema became a surfing champion and a water and winter sports commentator for the Entertainment and Sports Programming Network [ESPN] (Pierson, 2023; Weprin, 2023). Masekela linked Selema's success to his earlier swimming lessons. Later in the year, Pauline lost her life in a car accident, and Masekela recounted the following in his autobiography:

I have never been able to cry for my mother [since her passing]. The fact that ... I could not fly home to bury [my] mother really hardened my emotional reaction to her demise. My hatred for the apartheid government reverberated through my body. I swore to myself that I

would not rest until it was brought down. I would do all that I could do to assist those elements that were engaged in bringing about its eventual elimination... My mother's demise radicalized my political activism even more. I never believed the official explanation given about the car accident, [that] while crossing a railroad track, her car stalled and a train hit it. I'll go to my grave believing the South African government was involved in my mother's death. (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004, p. 365)

On the 14th of August 1981, Masekela married Jabu Mbatha. Their marriage was considered strenuous, as Masekela often disappeared "from time to time, only to return after a few days from a booze, sex, and cocaine binge", leading to marital conflict (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004, p. 403). At the beginning of 1985, Masekela composed the protest song, 'Bring Him Back Home, Nelson Mandela' (see appendix F; H. Masekela, 1987; Versola, 2018). The song was used by anti-apartheid movements as a rallying cry to have Mandela released from Robben Island Prison (Versola, 2018). This infuriated the apartheid government even further (Cueva, 2020; Versola, 2018). When Masekela was later booked to perform at a concert in Lesotho, the South African Defence Force death squads raided various neighbouring countries and massacred over 40 exiled anti-apartheid activists (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004). They also arrested, tortured and threatened to kill Masekela. The next day, Masekela was rescued by the leader of the Lesotho army (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004). The same year, Masekela and Stewart Levine, co-founded and launched the Botswana International School of Music (Denselow, 2018).

On the 4th of April 1985, Mandela "had a birthday card smuggled out of Pollsmoor Prison" sent to Masekela, supporting his musical career, the launching of the music school and sociopolitical activism (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004, p. 393). In 1987, Masekela and Mbongeni Ngema, a South African playwright and musician, composed music for *Sarafina!*, a theatrical musical (Smith, 2018). The musical "was a dramatization of the political coming of age of a high school girl, and her schoolmates, at the forefront of the student protests in confrontation with government troops during the 1976 Soweto uprisings" (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004, p. 387). According to Smith (2018), *Sarafina!*, attained five Tony Award nominations, including Best Original Musical Score and Best Musical, and was later adapted into a movie starring Miriam and Whoopi Goldberg, the American actress.

In 1988, Masekela, including other South African artists in exile and international musicians, performed at the *Nelson Mandela 70th Birthday Concert* in London (Versola, 2018;

Veas, 2013; Anti-Apartheid Movement, 2013). The concert served to promote “Nelson Mandela internationally as the central symbol in South Africa’s liberation struggle, and further raised the awareness of the world concerning the outrageous barbarism of the apartheid regime” (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2002, p. 385). The concert drew a global audience of 600 million persons (Versola, 2018; Anti-Apartheid Movement, 2013). By 1990, international pressure from the United Nations, including internal conflicts, led the apartheid regime to relinquish political power (Cueva, 2020; Versola, 2018). Mandela was released from prison in February 1990 (SABC News, 2020). After that, exiles were officially allowed to return home to South Africa (Dalamba, 2006). In September 1990, Masekela returned to South Africa after 30 years in exile and reunited with his family, including 99-year-old Johanna (Colburn, 2018; Denselow, 2018; H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004). Masekela narrated the following upon his return:

while trying to settle down in South Africa and relearn the country from scratch. So much had changed, so many friends and relatives had died or settled elsewhere. If I had idealized a return to South Africa at all during my exile, my actual return was a sobering—if not depressing—experience... It was going to take many generations for [many] whites to accept reality, and for transformation to trickle down to the poor, unskilled, formerly oppressed millions. (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004, pp. 411-416)

On the 27th of April 1994, South Africa held its first democratic elections, wherein Masekela voted for the first time, and Nelson Mandela was elected the first African president of RSA (Dizikes, 2022). In 1995, he became the deputy director of the Performing Arts Council at Pretoria State Theatre. During his tenure, Masekela helped African performers like Brenda Fassie and Rebecca Malope showcase their musical abilities, mainly because the apartheid regime barred their performances (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004). In 1997, Masekela and Jabu divorced. Shortly after, Masekela voluntarily admitted himself into Clouds House, a substance abuse rehabilitation facility in England. He successfully stopped abusing substances and attended Alcoholics Anonymous meetings upon returning from rehab (Independent Online, 2003). After that, Masekela – with the help of his cousin, Mfundu Vundla – formed the Musicians and Artists Assistance Program of South Africa (MAAPSA), a substance abuse awareness and recovery programme (Independent Online, 2003; H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004).

In February 1999, Masekela married Elinam Cofie, of Ghanian descent, and they lived on a farm (Smith, 2018). At this stage, Masekela described their lives as quiet compared to his past. They also spent much time together when Masekela was not recording new music

or performing at events globally (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004). Masekela also rebuilt his relationship with both his children. Motlalepula worked closely with Masekela at his recording company, Chisa Group, which specialised in artist and events management, as well as theatre and film production. Masekela and Selema visited each other occasionally, as Selema lived in the United States, but maintained a good relationship (SABC News, 2018). In 2004, Masekela became an HIV/AIDS [Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome] awareness activist, propelled by his sister's, Sybil, demise due to the disease and the stigmatization she faced from relatives (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004; Ramaru, 2021).

5.3.7.2 Discussion

Erikson (1978) argues that previous psychosocial conflicts must be balanced to resolve the *Generativity versus Stagnation* stage successfully. Therefore, Masekela's unresolved crises will be revisited during this discussion.

Various factors from previous psychosocial stages influenced Masekela's sociopolitical ideology, leading to his eventual radicalization as a protest musician, to outline a few: (a) listening to the lived experiences of mineworkers during his early childhood in Witbank; (b) observing Pauline's radical support for the African community against apartheid, instead of choosing to live a semi-privileged life as a coloured woman; (c) his paternal grandparents' experience of land disposition; (d) active involvement in township protests against the apartheid regime during his adolescence; (e) having Huddleston, an anti-apartheid activist, as an influential adult during adolescence; and (f) his lived experiences as an African (jazz musician) during apartheid.

Cueva (2020) states that the radicalisation of Masekela manifested when he found his personal sound which is African-fused jazz music (incorporation of the marabi and/or mbaqanga music Masekela grew up listening to with modern jazz), instead of copying American jazz. Here, Masekela merged his career identity with his South African heritage, including sociopolitical ideology, "which formed the root of his protest" against the apartheid regime (Cueva, 2020, pp. 91-92). In other words, Masekela finding his authentic sound led to the manifestation of his generative acts. According to Erikson (1963) and Zimbaye (2020), this current stage involves persons' generative behaviours (or acts), implying their positive and impactful contributions to: (a) younger people in general; (b) persons with less experience and expertise; and (c) society through outreach and voluntary work. D. A Louw et al. (2013) and

Nel (2013) state that productive and creative work are generative acts, along with childbearing and childcare practices.

Findings highlight Masekela's primary generative act as the politicization of his music. His songs (e.g., *Soweto Blues*, *Stimela*, etc., as outlined in 5.3.7.1) were his political voice against the apartheid regime, with live performances as a form of protest (Colburn, 2018; Denselow, 2018). Masekela took on the social responsibility of raising global awareness of the occurrences of structural racism in South Africa at the time, exhibiting obligation and concern for the wider community, therefore making him generative (Erikson, 1978). Masekela also co-founded the Botswana International School of Music "to inspire and cultivate aspiring musicians from Africa" (Rahman, 2020, para. 9), displaying generative concern for persons with less musical expertise.

Masekela consolidated his career identity as an accomplished protest musician when he received a birthday card (smuggled out of prison) from Nelson Mandela, acknowledging his musical career and activism. Masekela's music also conveyed the experience of exile and unhomeliness, meaning "the experience of feeling like a foreigner in one's own land, or the inability to return to one's homeland" (Dalamba, 2006; Versola, 2018, p. 78), suggesting that his prolonged state and feeling of unhomeliness precipitated and perpetuated his identity as a protest musician. To substantiate further, Masekela highlighted that Pauline's demise radicalised his political activism even more because he could not return home for her burial. Arguably, receiving affirmative support from Mandela, prolonged unhomeliness, and Pauline's demise led to Masekela revisiting his sense of basic trust in society. He started believing that the eradication of the apartheid system was possible, resulting in the liberation of non-white South Africans. This highlights a regaining of his ego virtue of hope, as he perceived the future of his home country as stable, safe and unthreatening. To an extent, Masekela also regained his agency and exerted assertiveness, as he willed to use his capabilities to aid the downfall of apartheid. Therefore, this indicates his ego strength of willpower, and it is another revaluation of *Autonomy versus Shame*.

The preceding is evident in Masekela's statement,

I could not fly home to bury [my] mother really hardened my emotional reaction to her demise. My hatred for the apartheid government reverberated through my body. I swore to myself that I would not rest until it was brought down. I would do all that I could do to assist

those elements that were engaged in bringing about its eventual elimination. (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004, p. 365).

Also, merging his musical heritage with his career identity suggests his attempt at establishing a crystallised identity. Even so, Masekela displayed behaviours indicating self-absorption until the last five years of this psychosocial stage. Contrary to generativity is stagnation (Erikson, 1963). According to A. E. Louw (2013), self-absorbed individuals are essentially stagnant, as they are inconsiderate of how their actions or lack of shape the future of society or other persons. Erikson (1964) defines *stagnation* as “the mental deformation of self-absorption” (p. 130), implying that individuals regress to pass conflicts due to unresolved crises. Stagnation often unfolds as pseudo-intimacy, wherein persons coddle or indulge themselves like they are their own child (Erikson, 1968).

According to Roets (2015), stagnation may be disguised as infidelity and substance abuse and result in the experience of a mid-life crisis. Although Masekela remained a productive and creative musician, he carried the maladaptive tendency of promiscuity into this psychosocial stage and continued to use substances to self-soothe. Therefore, displaying his disguised stagnancy during this phase. By indulging in self-absorbing behaviours, intensified by his inability to grieve Pauline’s death at this point, Masekela disregards the biopsychosocial damage of substance use in the long term (Griffiths, 2005; Hoque, 2018). For instance, his generative act, in the form of childcare, declined three months after Motlalepula’s birth, as he engaged in self-disruptive behaviours (e.g., spending money on substances) while on tour. Sadock et al. (2015) state that addiction is connected to an environment linked with substance use, such as the music industry. So, his continued use of substances can also be attributed to his career identity. Masekela may have also used substances as a way of altering his “consciousness to be able to access [his] creativity without becoming overwhelmed by [his negative] emotions” (Hoque, 2018, p. 151; Napier-Bell, 2017).

Erikson (1963, 1968) argues that stagnant persons are predisposing factors to the development of malignant tendencies in their offspring. The continuous absence of Masekela’s nurturing presence in various psychosocial stages of his children’s lives deems him stagnant. He also disregarded the negative implications of promiscuity on the success of his marriage to Jabu, eventually contributing to their divorce. Nevertheless, the researcher maintains that Masekela had two significant experiences which led to his catharsis and the eventual resolution of previous psychosocial crises, namely: (1) his return from exile and (2) rehabilitation from

substance use. Masekela's return from exile eventually led to the stabilization of his identity and precipitated his rehabilitation as he gradually reintegrated into his home country. Upon returning, he continued to battle feelings of unhomeliness and struggled to adjust for the following reasons: (1) many of his friends and family either died or relocated while he was in exile; (2) the effects of structural racism were still eminent and transforming the socioeconomic state of Africans would take decades. Consequently, Masekela repeated the pattern of self-absorption to avoid reality.

However, upon returning from exile, he also regained significant interpersonal relationships, which improved his social support and functioning, thus facilitating the formation of a stable identity (Hook, 2002). For instance, Masekela reunited with Johanna, who reprimanded his self-destructive behaviours, reminding him of his roots (childhood in Witbank), her continuous prayers for his safety and the essence of humility despite the limelight (NTV Kenya, 2016). Masekela and Thomas also worked on their relationship, and Masekela was introduced to Thomas' new wife along with his half-siblings. Moreover, Barbara urged Masekela to seek therapy and rehabilitation. The researcher suggests that these instances enabled Masekela's successful reintegration, as his family embraced his return and displayed concern for his wellbeing. This reignited his sense of affection and acceptance, reestablishing his sense of basic trust (Erikson, 1980). Also, Masekela's appointment as deputy director of the Performing Arts Council at Pretoria State Theatre signifies the acceptance and affirmation of his career identity by societal structures – which previously worked against his musical career. Thus, igniting Masekela's sense of hope in his exosystem and his perception of the world as less threatening and safer to exist in as an African.

The researcher concludes that Masekela's voluntary admission into rehab strengthened his attempt at attaining a stable identity. While attending regular Alcoholics Anonymous meetings prevented his relapse, thus maintaining his stability. Also, time spent in rehab allowed Masekela to process unresolved issues and repressed emotions without self-destructing. Evident in his statement,

group therapy sessions... involved intense and helpful truth-seeking exchanges but were sometimes very confrontational, with the entire group scolding you if they felt that you were lying, secretive, isolating, or in denial. Everybody broke down in tears at one time or another. We had to write our life stories, critique each other, and have regular one-on-one

sessions with our individual counsellors... All these sessions forced me to share my demons and look where the debris lay, deep inside my soul. (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004, p. 443).

After rehab, Masekela embraced family life and married Elinam. There were no records of promiscuity henceforth, indicating his commitment to another person and the manifestation of intimacy. Masekela also reconnected and formed intimate relations with his children, suggesting an established sense of trust in himself as a father. Based on these instances, Masekela has acquired the ego virtue of fidelity and love. Also, rehabilitation sustained his sense of generativity, as Masekela co-founded MAAPSA to assist and rehabilitate musicians battling substance abuse.

The ego strength of this stage is care, implying concern for other persons, manifesting as the need to impart knowledge and aid those in need while preserving one's personal identity (Erikson, 1964, 1980). In essence, individuals acquire ego care when a good balance between self-care and contributing to the welfare of others is maintained (Erikson et al., 1986). From the foregoing discussions, Masekela established a sense of generativity and appears to have resolved various psychosocial crises – (re)acquired the ego strengths of hope, willpower, fidelity and love. He attained the ego strengths of purpose and competence in previous psychosocial stages, which is evident in his continued productive work and activism throughout this stage. As previously mentioned, the resolution of prior crises is a prerequisite to the successful resolution of this stage (Erikson, 1978), inferring that Masekela acquired of the ego strength of care. Moreover, Masekela seeking rehabilitation can be interpreted as self-care which counters previous forms of self-stagnation.

5.3.8 Stage Eight: Integrity versus Despair – Wisdom

This final psychosocial stage occurs at the commencing age of retirement or in late adulthood (Hamachek, 1990). Ego *integrity* is attained when individuals are generally satisfied with their holistic life narrative, as they meaningfully acknowledge and integrate personal life experiences which are both favourable and adverse (Erikson, 1980; Prenter, 2015). A counter to integrity is *despair*, experienced by individuals with a sense of life dissatisfaction, as they tend to ponder upon past failures, missed opportunities and current shortcomings (Erikson, 1980). The successful resolution of this phase results in the ego strength of wisdom.

5.3.8.1 Findings: A life worthy of honour and remembrance (2004-2018)

In the final chapter and acknowledgement section of his memoir, at approximately 65 years old, Masekela emphasised that he always remembered individuals who had a tremendous impact upon his life, during his habitual meditation and journaling sessions. Masekela stated that:

... My deepest and sincerest gratitude goes out to [Uncle Putu, Father Huddleston, Bongi and Miriam Makeba, Pauline, Johanna, Thomas, Sybil, Harry Belafonte, etc.] and the many others who helped me to make a life out of my compulsive nature and all my crazy notions. I am truly lucky to be around. (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004, p. 434)

Masekela also reflected that his previous addiction to substances led him to squander over 50 million dollars, something which he was unproud of (Smith, 2018).

In 2007, Masekela attained the African Music Legend award at the Ghana Music Awards. In 2010, Masekela “was the opening performer in the globally transmitted concert that kicked off the football World Cup finals in South Africa” (Denselow, 2018, para. 21). In the same year, the South African government, in acknowledgement of his excellent achievements in the music and arts industry, presented Masekela with the “Gold medal of the Order of Ikhamanga” (University of York, 2018, para. 19). Moreover, Masekela received several honorary doctorates – in music and human sciences – from various academic national and international institutions, including Vaal University of Technology, University of York, University of KwaZulu Natal, University of the Witwatersrand to name a few, during the 2010s (Independent Online, 2017; Times Live, 2018; University of Pretoria, 2018; University of York, 2018). In 2013, an online news publication reported Masekela and Elinam’s divorce, with the following speculated reasons: (a) Masekela spent much of his time touring in the U.S., leaving his wife lonely; and (b) inconsolable age differences, as Masekela was approximately over 35 years older (News24, 2013). The couple refrained from commenting on the matter (News24, 2013).

In 2012, Masekela was again “nominated for a Grammy, for best world music album with record *Jabulani*” (Smith, 2018, para. 28). In the same year, Masekela presented a TEDx talk on the perseveration of African heritage and ethnic identity, in London (TEDx Talks, 2012). Masekela highlighted the implications of colonisation and globalisation on the “loss” of African culture and that the revival of African arts is essential in the portrayal and preservation of African history (NTV Kenya, 2016; TEDx Talks, 2012; Versola, 2018). According to Masekela, this revival provides a means to diversify South Africa’s economy and essentially

moderate poverty, more especially demystify African culture as pagan and inferior (London School of Economics [LSE], 2014; TEDx Talks, 2012; Versola, 2018). So, in 2015, Masekela founded the Hugh Masekela Heritage Foundation, which was created to promote African heritage and preserve or restore African identity (Darangwa, 2023).

In 2016, Masekela released his final album, 'No Borders', which portrays the history of Africa pre-colonisation (Versola, 2018; Pashaliev, 2018). In October 2017, Masekela revealed the following in a public statement:

I have been in treatment for prostate cancer since 2008 when doctors discovered a small 'speck' on my bladder. The treatment seemed to be successful, but in March 2016, I had to undergo surgery as the cancer had spread... I have cancelled my commitments for the immediate future... I'm greatly supported by the good wishes of family, friends and everyone who has supported my musical journey... I'm in a good space as I battle this stealthy disease, and I urge all men to have regular tests... learn everything you can about this cancer and tell others to do the same. (Malatji & Khaliyanyane, 2017, para. 3-7)

On the 23rd of January 2018, Masekela lost his battle against cancer (Denselow, 2018). News outlets across the globe headlined 'The father of South African jazz dies at 78' or 'A leading voice in the anti-apartheid dies' (Colburn, 2018; Denselow, 2018; SABC News, 2018; Smith, 2018). During Masekela's memorial service, Barbara paid him tribute:

Perhaps, for the past year, my brother has been training us to be brave... and strong. He told us, I do not want to see any tears... and long faces around me... But he was in training too, because... he was leaving us and this world... My brother always had a quick, funny, and intelligent answer to everything... He was afraid of nothing, even bad things. He had to try everything, because he always knew he could fight back and, in the end, he could win... (SABC News, 2018, 43:03)

In 2023, Masekela "was inducted into the Ertegun Hall of Fame in New York" (Darangwa, 2023, para. 1). His children accepted and celebrated his induction award, while Motlalepula affirmed that "in the five years since [Masekela's] passing the Hugh Masekela Heritage Foundation has continued to devote energy and time to maintaining and motivating projects that [he] initiated, [and] new initiatives that fit within our mission statement" (Darangwa, 2023, para. 7). The former acting CEO of South African Tourism, Themba Khumalo, labelled Masekela a cultural ambassador for South Africa, due to his foundation's

work which set the country as a cultural destination (Darangwa, 2023). Versola (2018) highlighted that Masekela's legacy will live on, as "he represents a symbol of hope across the world" (p. 105). Masekela released over 40 albums and was featured in many more songs during his lifetime, with a solo music career spanning over five decades (Clarke & McKenzie, 2018). To date, many academic scholars across various disciplines have employed Masekela's work in their research prospects, from the school of music to political sciences, economics, anthropology, journalism (Dalamba, 2006; LSE, 2014; Red Bull Music Academy, 2017; Versola, 2018) and now psychology.

5.3.8.2 Discussion

During this stage, individuals holistically evaluate their positive and negative life experiences (Erikson, 1980). They further reflect upon and recognize how their actions and/or inactions have influenced the outcome or trajectory of past events and experiences (Erikson, 1980). Basically, older adults assess the meaning of life and/or life satisfaction, as precipitated by the eminence of the reality of death during this stage (Cherry, 2022; Erikson, 1963). According to Prenter (2015), ego integrity is attained when individuals are generally satisfied with their holistic life narrative. These individuals meaningfully acknowledge and integrate personal life experiences, which are both favourable and adverse (Erikson, 1980). This self-evaluation enables people to cope fearlessly with the reality of death (Prenter, 2015). Persons with ego integrity also recognise other individuals' significant roles and influence on their lives (Erikson, 1959).

Masekela received various international accolades during this period, including honorary doctorates, numerous awards, and nominations for his contributions to the music and entertainment industry. So, the continuous acknowledgement of his lifelong work, both as a musician and an activist, can be viewed as a positive life experience. Thus, facilitating a sense of his integrity and satisfaction with his career identity. Erikson (1963) argues that the acceptance of one's past choices and holistic life experiences is attained through the necessary process of reflection. Masekela's rehab experience facilitated his reflective process. Evident in his autobiography, "we had daily writing assignments [in rehab], which we had to submit at the end of the evening, and the mornings began with a short reflective prayer, meditation" (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004, p. 443). Masekela highlighted his meditations as reflective, substantiated by his account,

During my meditation time, I wrote letters to just about everyone I could think of whom I had offended over the years... I asked for their forgiveness. In my deep, private thoughts and in accordance with my upbringing, I released my spirit. I prayed to my ancestors to intercede on my behalf and beseech the Creator to help me be restored to sanity and health in order for me to lead a better life... I often contemplated and got lost in thinking about Witbank, Johanna Bowers, my first years on this earth, Springs, my first piano lesson, Alexandra, the township carnival weekends, St. Peter's, Huddleston, the Huddleston band... America... Botswana... my late friends, my family, my wives, and many women. I had come a long way and was very lucky to be alive (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004, p. 443)

Masekela portrayed his “ability to integrate [his] past experiences into a coherent [and reflective] narrative” through the production of his autobiography and letter writing in rehab (Nel, 2013, p. 239). The release of his autobiography for public consumption portrays Masekela as transparent and non-defensive regarding his past failures (and holistic experiences), possibly aided by his regained sense of autonomy in dealing with failed attempts at autonomous behaviour (Erikson, 1963). The researcher argues that Masekela's reflective accounts demonstrate his ability to acknowledge, integrate, and accept his positive and negative life experiences and/or choices. This is evident in his sense of gratitude, expressed towards individuals and encounters that had a significant and positive impact on his life. He was also grateful to remain alive at 65 despite various negative past choices and experiences (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004). The foregoing illustrates his sense of integrity.

A counter to integrity is despair, experienced by individuals with a sense of life dissatisfaction (Erikson, 1980). Such persons tend to ponder upon past failures, missed opportunities and current shortcomings (Osorio, 2016). As highlighted in the previous psychosocial stage, time spent in rehab allowed Masekela to process unresolved issues and repressed emotions. This suggests that Masekela managed to acknowledge and integrate legitimate feelings of despair associated with his negative past experiences and choices. Further evidence is in his ability to seek forgiveness through letter writing and his improved character development after rehab (e.g., he became a present father), including the successful resolution of previous crises. Therefore, the researcher argues that the rehab experience countered his possible dissatisfaction with life.

During this period, Masekela embraced and consolidated his individualised identity as an African. This was possibly in response to a question Masekela described as haunting, asked

by persons who could not seem to place his racial identity throughout his childhood to early adulthood (see 5.3.3.1 findings). The presiding question: “Hugh, tell me really, what are you people [inferring his sisters], Africans or coloured or in between?” (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004, p. 20). It was previously highlighted as predisposing to his battle with role confusion. To Masekela, identifying as African was beyond racial identity and rather about embracing and preserving his cultural background, being fluent in his native language, acknowledging his ancestry, and appeasing his ancestors (Pashaliev, 2017). The researcher thus argues that Masekela’s crystallised identity as an African maintained his generativity during this stage. This is evident in his formation of the Hugh Masekela Heritage Foundation, purposed to promote, preserve and restore African heritage and identity (Darangwa, 2023).

This period also witnessed Masekela revisiting the *Intimacy versus Isolation* stage, which alludes to his divorce from Elinam. The researcher argues that although Masekela struggled to maintain romantic intimacy, his sense of intimacy was evident in his other interpersonal relations, including with children, siblings and industry colleagues (SABC News, 2018). Arguably, he still retained the ego strength to experience meaningful intimacy and love. Also, Masekela was surrounded by his immediate family and friends in his final battle with prostate cancer (Malatji & Khaliyanyane, 2017).

According to Erikson (1963), the “lack or loss of this accrued ego integration is signified by fear of death: the one and only life cycle is not accepted as the ultimate of life” (Erikson, 1963, p. 260). The researcher hypothesises that receiving support from immediate relatives enabled Masekela to cope fearlessly with the reality of death, thus sustaining his sense of integrity (Erikson, 1963; Prenter, 2015). This was also observed in his ability to remain positive while encouraging other men to get regular prostate checkups (Malatji & Khaliyanyane, 2017).

The successful resolution of this stage results in the acquisition of the ego strength of wisdom (Erikson, 1968). According to Erikson (1964), wisdom is “the detached concern with life itself, in the face of death itself” (p. 133). Erikson (1978) argues that persons with a sense of integrity, and essentially the ego strength of wisdom, can endure death’s closeness by establishing a disconnected but active concern with life. Masekela cancelled his occupational commitments (his attempt at disconnecting), ensuring that he spent most of his time with close relatives (his attempt at retaining active concern). Moreover, during Barbara’s tribute at

Masekela's memorial, she noted that Masekela "trained" his relatives and himself, to accept the inevitability of his death (SABC News, 2018).

It is also suggested that Masekela's legacy activities facilitated his ability to feel accomplished (life satisfaction) and, therefore, endure the closeness of death. Legacy activities are essential to the *Generativity versus Stagnation* stage (Erikson, 1963), and refer to "an individual's projects, actions or creations that are to be reviewed and enjoyed by family, friends and other members of society prior to and after the individual's passing" (Allen et al., 2008; Zimbaye, 2020, pp. 26-27). His legacy activities include his songs, autobiography, recorded guest lectures, print and audio interviews, sociopolitical activism, and the Hugh Masekela Foundation.

Erikson et al. (1986) argue that the ego strengths from the previous developmental stages comprehensively integrate into the virtue of wisdom. Based on Masekela's acquisition of previous ego strengths and his demonstrated sense of integrity during this stage, Masekela resolved this stage successfully and, therefore, attained the ego strength of wisdom.

5.4 Chapter Summary

This chapter presented a discussion of Hugh Masekela's psychosocial personality development. Firstly, a conceptual format guiding the presentation of the research findings was delineated. Thereafter, Masekela's biographical data was deliberated in correspondence to Erikson's psychosocial developmental stages. The next chapter comprises the conclusion, limitations and recommendations of this study.

Chapter 6

Concluding Perspectives on Exile: Masekela's Psychobiography

6.1 Chapter Preview

This sixth chapter sets to conclude this psychobiographical study. Firstly, the researcher will present a summation of the research findings, followed by a concluding discussion of the implications of exile on Masekela's personhood. Thirdly, the study's research objectives will be revisited, and then a delineation of the value of the study and recommendations for future research will be provided. Lastly, the researcher will present their reflexive or personal passage as part of the reflexivity process.

6.2 Summation of Research Findings

As noted in Chapter 5, the implications of exile on Masekela's personhood, along with his holistic life narrative, were explored according to Erikson's theory of psychosocial development. Masekela passed on in his late adulthood, at the age of 78. So, all psychosocial stages were employed in the analysis and interpretation of his life narrative. During the first psychosocial stage, Masekela developed strong attachments to his mother and then grandmother, leading to his sense of basic trust. Masekela was also frequently exposed to shebeen violence during this period, resulting in the manifestation of mistrust, as he felt confused and threatened by the occurrences of his primary environment. During the second stage, Putu exposed Masekela to jazz music and allowed him to explore his environment within safe boundaries. This, in turn, initiated his sense of autonomy. No experience of shame and doubt was illuminated during this period. Even so, Masekela's biographical information was insufficient during the first five years of his life. Therefore, the researcher could not determine whether Masekela successfully resolved his first and second crises at this point.

Masekela attained a healthy balance between the experience of initiative and guilt (stage 3), as his positive initiatives were encouraged, while undesirable ones were punished. His primary and social environments were conducive to the establishment of initiative and therefore his sense of purpose. This laid a good foundation for his career development or identity. Epigenetically, Masekela's first crisis emerged during the fourth psychosocial stage,

wherein he was exposed to domestic violence perpetrated by his father, leading to the manifestation of persisting mistrust. He experienced feelings of abandonment and viewed his home environment as threatening and unsafe. Nevertheless, various protective factors (e.g., his relationship with Pauline, piano lessons, etc.) mitigated his negative experience at the time and essentially aided or sustained Masekela's resilience and industrious development during the fourth stage. He received recognition for his excellent academic and musical abilities, which countered any sense of inferiority, resulting in his acquisition of the ego strength of competence.

Masekela struggled to balance ego identity and role confusion during his fifth psychosocial stage, implying its unsuccessful resolution thereof. Masekela conformed to the identity and ideologies of his social group and overidentified with his hero (i.e., Bix), which highlighted the emergence of role confusion, the ritualisation of totalism, and the malignant tendency of repudiation. Masekela also revisited his second crisis, wherein his experimentation with substances and delinquent behaviours demonstrated the maladaptive tendency of impulsivity. The occurrences of Masekela's exosystem – the structural violence of the apartheid government toward Africans – complicated his identity development. Nonetheless, Masekela's continuing sense of purpose and competence facilitated the development of his career fidelity.

The following section concludes the implications of exile on Masekela's personhood and, therefore, highlights his sixth, seventh and eighth psychosocial stages.

6.3 Understanding the Implications of Exile

This section highlights the implications of exile on Masekela's personhood. These implications are discussed in consideration of the exilic literature presented in Chapter 2 in conjunction with the psychosocial findings and discussion of Chapter 5. The researcher summarises the determinants of exilic outcomes (or implications) from the findings of the literature review as follows: (a) reason for exilic departure and the possibility of returning to one's home country; (b) exile's sociohistorical background or pre-exilic experiences; (c) exile's age or life stage at departure; (d) coping mechanisms or resources; (e) level of social support; (f) internal psychological processes and early childhood experiences; (g) level of cultural differences between an exile and their host country; (h) sociopolitical climate of host country;

and, (i) socioeconomic status and educational background, including the degree to which an exile can use their vocational competencies in host country (Ahktar, 1995; Álvarez, 1999; Camurri, 2014; Freire, 1995; Halperin, 2004; Kerrisk, 2010; Muchova, 2006; Okolie, 2018).

These findings further infer that the exilic experience does not solely impact one's identity development. However, the interaction between an exile's unique internal, developmental and external factors (abovementioned determinants) influences their unique exilic experience, perception, outcome and, consequently, identity development. Hence, different exiles have dissimilar experiences (Muchova, 2006; Rojas et al., 2015). These findings are also consistent with Erikson's theorizations. Erikson (1963, 1974) placed emphasis on the psychological and social aspects of development, as he argues that one's external environment and/or socio-cultural context has an immense impact on their holistic personality development. So, Erikson's theory allowed the researcher to understand and explain Masekela's exilic experiences, including their outcome or implications thereof.

Masekela went into self-exile in escape from apartheid authorities, including the implications of structural violence on his musical career, highlighting the politicization of (and reason for) his departure (Dalamba, 2006; H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004). Moreover, Masekela's return to South Africa was forbidden and considered life-threatening due to his previous involvement in protests and refutation of apartheid norms (Rentner, 2017; Cueva, 2020). Masekela went into exile at the age of 21 years and, thus, the beginning of his sixth psychosocial stage, namely, *Intimacy versus Isolation*. The research findings (discussed in section 5.3.6.2) revealed that Masekela's sociohistorical context, including his early life and the occurrences of his exosystem (or external environment), complicated his identity development and, subsequently, his ability to cope and adapt during exile. The findings also indicate that Masekela experienced *exilic trauma*, which fractured his ego structure further and, subsequently, hindered his initial resolution of the *Intimacy versus Isolation* stage, wherein his unresolved crises from previous stages reemerged.

As previously stated, exilic trauma is a prevalent psychological implication of exile, which refers to a feeling of uprootedness, and uprootedness entails the forceful removal or uprooting of an individual from their usual or home environment (Hosin et al., 2006; E. Montgomery, 2011; Muchova, 2006; Sachs et al., 2008). This description of uprootedness is similar to Versola's (2018) explanation of *unhomeliness*, which is conveyed in Masekela's music (Dalamba, 2006). Versola (2018) defines unhomeliness as "the experience of feeling

like a foreigner in one's own land, or the inability to return to one's homeland" (p. 78). So, the researcher consolidates Masekela's experience of exilic trauma as a state or sense of uprootedness and/or unhomeliness. Moreover, Masekela (2016) specifically referred to the experience of exile as "a traumatizing horror, a nightmare of terror, a destabilizing drama, a suicidal downer, a dehumanizing outrage, a continuous bondage".

Masekela's inability to return home after his parents' divorce and mother's demise perpetuated and exacerbated his personal disequilibrium or identity crisis and experience of exilic trauma. The researcher further argues that Masekela's experience of exile perpetuated his psychosocial moratorium and identity confusion (seen during his adolescence, prior to his departure to exile), including prior unresolved crises. This is evident in the regression of his social and emotional adjustment to earlier psychosocial stages, as he failed to form healthy interpersonal relations or intimacy during the sixth stage. Exilic literature also indicated that exilic trauma manifests as intimacy issues (Bailey, 2004). Furthermore, his social identity was also revealed as rebellious, which is an indication of role confusion and regression to a past conflict (fifth psychosocial stage). Masekela felt destabilized by the exile experience and engaged in self-soothing behaviours to avoid coping with reality. His experimentation with substances and the maladaptive tendency of promiscuity intensified. These behaviours were also evident prior to his exilic departure.

Masekela's self-soothing behaviours also illustrate that his coping behaviours were informed by his identification with or modelling of the mineworkers he observed during early childhood. The mineworkers frequented Johanna's shebeen to drown their sorrows in alcohol, distracting themselves from the adversities of life and occupational stressors (Cueva, 2020; H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004). Masekela gave a further description of his exilic experience in relation to the mineworkers: "I was thousands of miles from home, as displaced as the miners I grew up with in Witbank, and eager to find a way to forget a home I wasn't sure I'd ever see again" (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004, p. 220). Masekela's statement further highlights his experience of anxiety, which corresponds to Chapter 2's literary findings. To substantiate, Marchetti-Mercer and Roos (2006) state that anxiety is a common psychological implication of exile, as exiles have an intense fear of the future – not knowing when they will return to their home countries or how they will generate income in host countries. Masekela's statement further indicates the loss of self-control resulting from living in a foreign land and uncertainty about the future – a revisitation of the stage 2 crisis.

Masekela's lack of adequate or healthy social support during exile contributed to his overwhelming sense of isolation. At the end of stage 6, Masekela displayed signs of the malignancy of exclusion. Exilic scholars noted that a decline in social functioning, or social withdrawal, is another prevalent implication of exile because exiles have difficulties trusting and relating to others in a new environment (DRC, 2013; Marchetti-Mercer, 2006; Ruwanpura et al., 2006). Moreover, the sociopolitical climate of Masekela's host country mirrored the occurrences of Masekela's home country. Hence, Masekela perceived his host country as threatening and unsafe, expressing a sense of mistrust towards it, as he felt the need to "watch for his black back" when he realised that racial violence and discrimination were also rampant in the USA during the 1960s (Cueva, 2020; H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004, p. 151). Also, this statement, including Masekela's social withdrawal, indicates his unconscious resistance to identity reconstruction and/or adaptation to the host culture.

Masekela further stated that he felt caged in by his environment, sometimes regretting his decision to live in the USA (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004), which explains his description of exile as a "continuous bondage". The foregoing shows that the sociopolitical climate of Masekela's host country negatively affected his exilic experience, including the resolution of his psychosocial crises and development.

Exilic scholars also highlighted the significant role language acquisition and usage play in constructing and reconstructing identity, including the destabilization and regression of exiles (Ainslie et al., 2013; DRC, 2013). Ainslie et al. (2013) state that language is used to represent people's identity (the self), ideologies and feelings. So, exiles whose mother tongue is dissimilar from that of the host culture or society tend to experience feelings of inferiority and a sense of loss, as they cannot effectively convey their feelings and experiences in a secondary language (Ainslie et al., 2013). This implies that exiles cannot use language to represent their identity or worldviews, which thus disintegrates or destabilizes the self. Masekela recounted that he often spoke to himself "in all the different home languages [he] could muster" whenever he missed home (H. Masekela & Cheers, 2004, p. 174). Masekela's host country was culturally and linguistically different from his home country. This possibly contributed to his sense of mistrust, loss of security and destabilisation, negatively impacting his adaptability. So, his statement suggests his attempt at maintaining the utility of his native South African languages and, therefore, a representation of his identity.

Even so, Masekela's exilic departure provided opportunities for his career development and contributed toward or perpetuated the reconstruction of his career identity as a protest musician. The researcher further argues that Masekela eventually kept aspects (or representations) of his native culture or society in his musical compositions, as he incorporated the marabi and/or mbaqanga music he grew up listening to with modern American jazz, which became his personal sound. This musical adaptation facilitated his breakthrough into the American, eventually global, music and entertainment industry.

Return from exile. Masekela established a sense of generativity and appears to have resolved prior psychosocial crises – (re)acquired the ego strengths of hope, willpower, fidelity and love – at the end of stage 7. He, therefore, acquired the ego strength of care. The researcher maintains that Masekela had two significant experiences which led to his catharsis and the eventual resolution of previous psychosocial crises, namely: (1) his return from exile, and (2) rehabilitation from substance use. Upon returning from exile, Masekela regained significant interpersonal relationships, which improved his social functioning and facilitated the formation of a stable identity. His admission into rehab strengthened his attempt at attaining a stable identity. Coming to the final psychosocial stage, Masekela embraced and consolidated his individualised identity as an African. Masekela's legacy activities facilitated his ability to feel accomplished (life satisfaction), including his sense of integrity. He resolved the eighth stage successfully and attained the ego strength of wisdom.

The foregoing summation of findings and conclusions, including Chapter 5, highlights the significance of Masekela's childhood experiences and interpersonal conflicts in understanding his later functioning during exile and adulthood. His early experiences continued to influence his functioning, which revealed his regression to past conflicts. Nonetheless, Erikson's life cycle theory enabled Masekela to revisit and resolve his past conflicts (highlighted in section 6.5.2). Lastly, the research findings – Masekela's exilic experience – were consistent with the exilic literature outlined in Chapter 2.

6.4 Research Objectives Revisited

This study primarily aimed to give a psychobiographical account of the implications of exile on Hugh Ramapolo Masekela's psychodynamic life. So, the researcher employed Erikson's theory of psychosocial development in the systematic evaluation and extrapolation

of Masekela's life history, including the implications of exile on his personality development (second objective). Moreover, employing Erikson's theory enabled the researcher to provide a comprehensive understanding of Masekela's psychosocial development within his socio-historical context (third objective). Therefore, the primary research objective was successfully achieved along with the study's second and third research objectives. Chapter 5 which accounts for a discussion of Masekela's biographical data in correspondence to Erikson's eight stages of psychosocial development ratifies that these objectives were accomplished. As previously established, fewer South African studies give a psychobiographical account of the implications of exile. Moreover, to the researcher's knowledge, this study marks the first understanding of Masekela's life narrative in light of a psychological viewpoint or framework. So, this study embraces beneficence and contributes to South Africa's progressing field of psychobiography (final objective). The study will also be available on UKZN's repository, making it accessible to other interested academics and/or prospective psychobiographers.

6.5 The Value of the Study

6.5.1 The Value of Psychobiographical Research

This study accounts for the first understanding of Masekela's life history in light of a psychological framework, including the implications of exile on his psychosocial personality development. Longitudinal studies, such as psychobiography, enable researchers to identify changes over time, which allowed the study to track the implications of exile over time. The study explored how long Masekela exploited constructive and maladaptive coping strategies, along with how the implications of being in exile altered his personhood over time.

The psychobiographical approach allowed the evaluation of existing psychological theory, consequently revealing the value and limitations of Erikson's theorizations (see 6.5.2 and 6.6.2). Psychobiographical research is morphogenic in nature, which allowed the exploration and understanding of Masekela's holistic functioning and development over time and within his sociohistorical context. Also, the unique nature and complexity of Masekela's sociohistorical context enabled the researcher to evaluate the relevance and applicability of Erikson's theory of psychosocial development to a real-life scenario. This evaluation further informs the study's recommendations concerning theory (see 6.7). Lastly, the study provides a

comprehensive methodological delineation (chapter 4), thus enabling research replication by other scholars.

6.5.2 The Value of Erikson's Theory of Psychosocial Development

The use of Erikson's theory of psychosocial development enabled the systematic evaluation and extrapolation of Masekela's life history. In turn, this enhanced the study's dependability and assisted the researcher in presenting a consistent and longitudinal analysis of the research findings. Erikson's (1963, 1974) theory places emphasis on how historical, social, cultural, and external environmental factors have an impact on an individual's personality development. So, this facilitated the comprehensive understanding of Masekela's complex socio-cultural context and environmental influences, thus enabling the study to emphasize the longitudinal and developmental aspects of Masekela's exile experience. Since Erikson's theorizations also recognize normal and abnormal ego development, the researcher was able to focus on how Masekela's ego interacts within a facilitating versus impeding environment at each psychosocial stage. This further allowed the researcher to present descriptions of Masekela's adaptive and maladaptive characteristics and simultaneously provide insight into their origination thereof. Erikson's epigenetic principle acknowledges the complexity of development as an ongoing process, therefore allowing Masekela to revisit and resolve earlier maladaptation (or psychosocial crises) at later stages (or changed environments). Overall, this study's discussion of findings was consistent with Erikson's proponents, which consequently supports the continuing relevance and applicability of the theory of psychosocial development.

6.5.3 The Value of the Psychobiographical Research Subject

This study purposed to explore the implications of exile on an individual's personhood, and Masekela's experience of exile and rich biographical data made him a suitable psychobiographical subject. Although rich and extensive literature is available on Masekela's life narrative and musical journey, none of it stemmed from a psychological viewpoint. Also, no psychobiographical research has been produced on Masekela's life narrative. Therefore, this study contributes to the body of knowledge available on Masekela and presents the opportunity for further research on his life history.

6.6 The Limitations of the Study

6.6.1 The Limitations of Psychobiographical Research

This study's possible shortcomings inherent to the psychobiographical research design, along with the corresponding mitigating strategies, were extensively delineated in Chapter Four. During this study, the researcher experienced difficulties extracting data since Masekela's biographical information was infinite, resulting in a prolonged or time-consuming data collection process. Also, the scope of a minor dissertation (such as word count) led to the exclusion of some significant aspects of Masekela's biography and limited the number of psychological theories used in the analysis phase. So, research outcomes – the implications of exile on Masekela's personhood – were restricted to Erikson's theory of psychosocial development. In this light, the researcher recommends a further and more extensive analysis of Masekela's biography. Doctoral scholars should consider expanding on this research endeavour. Further recommendations are presented in section 6.7.

This study primarily aimed to explore the implications of exile on Masekela's personhood, thus portraying the reductionistic tendency of psychobiographical studies. Even so, Chapter 5 presented a comprehensive understanding of Masekela's personality development within his sociohistorical context, which mitigates reductionism. The further study acknowledges that Masekela's experience of exile is a single aspect and does not solely influence his lifelong development or behaviour. Moreover, the psychological theory used in the analysis and understanding of Masekela's biography illuminated the psychosocial aspects of his development. As highlighted in Chapter 4, this study does not intend to generalize its findings, i.e. the implications of exile on Masekela's personhood, to a larger population.

6.6.2 The Limitations of Erikson's Theory of Psychosocial Development

The limitations of Erikson's theory of psychosocial development were presented in Chapter 3. Even so, the researcher identified one limitation which is relevant to this study, namely cross-cultural pertinence. It is supposed that Erikson's theorizations did not adequately account for Masekela's sociohistorical context since he was a black South African man. This may have impacted the analysis and interpretation procedure negatively. Nonetheless, the researcher acknowledges that this study's psychobiographical findings are suggestive or hypothetical rather than conclusive because the psychosocial interpretation of Masekela's personhood remains a single aspect.

6.6.3 The Limitations of the Psychobiographical Research Subject

Although rich and extensive literature is available on Masekela's life story and musical journey, none of the multiple sources the researcher consulted provided substantial information pertaining to his early childhood, including the period of infancy and toddlerhood. Consequently, inferences drawn by the researcher during the earlier years of his psychosocial development were highly speculative. Also, most of the consulted sources place emphasis on Masekela's latter years, along with his rise to fame, musical abilities, and sociopolitical activism. So, elaborate details pertaining to Masekela's former years, immediate family, marriage, fatherhood, battle with substance addiction, and experience of exile were primarily extracted from his autobiography, 'Still Grazing: The Musical Journey of Hugh Masekela' (2004), written by Hugh Masekela and Professor D. Michael Cheers.

The foregoing hindered the researcher from comparing and cross-checking certain aspects of Masekela's biography during the data collection process, which compromised the credibility of the consulted sources and highlighted the presence of bias. Even so, the researcher's prolonged engagement with the subject's biographical information and commitment to understanding Masekela within his sociohistorical context retains the study's credibility, including the use of a credible theoretical framework in the analysis stage.

6.7 Recommendations for Future Research

The researcher recommends the use of alternative psychological theories in the exploration and analysis of Masekela's life narrative. This will allow an in-depth understanding and a more detailed description of his personality development. Moreover, the availability of various psychobiographical explorations of Masekela's biographical data will facilitate a comparative analysis of the research findings, thus enhancing the reliability of said studies.

Also, the use of alternative theories could prove invaluable and illuminate the implications of exile on Masekela's personhood from another psychological perspective, beyond this study's scope. For this reason, the researcher further recommends that future studies explore different extraordinary psychobiographical subjects with the experience of exile using Erikson's theory of psychosocial development in their analysis. The research findings of such studies could also be contrasted, therefore increasing their reliability and aiding the formation (or adaptation) of psychological interventions for individuals experiencing maldevelopment as an implication of exile (or forced displacement). Moreover, this enables a

further evaluation of the relevance and applicability of Erikson's theorizations in various sociohistorical contexts and across time, including the exile experience. Lastly, since this study's research objectives were all accomplished, the research design and methodological procedures employed and meticulously outlined in Chapter 4 may benefit future research studies with similar objectives.

6.8 Reflexive Passage: Personal Thoughts and Final Remarks from the Researcher

I believe that conducting this research project has improved my clinical (or case formulation) skills as a novice psychologist. The project has cultivated my research and narrative abilities. Engaging with Masekela's biographical data for a prolonged period and understanding his personality development within his sociocultural background enabled me to empathise with him. I was also quite intrigued to find out more personal and intricate details surrounding his life. I also started listening to more of his music during this research endeavour.

Masekela's narration of his childhood experiences during apartheid resonated with my parents' own experiences, recounted to my brother and me during our childhood. So, to minimize researcher bias and guard against projecting my personal ideologies during the analysis phase, I engaged in collaborative explanatory talks with some of my colleagues (see 5.10). I also maintained a process diary throughout my data collection and analysis procedures, as recommended by Woll (2013), where I wrote personal reflections and questions. For instance, during my data collection procedure on the 22nd of March 2024 I wrote, "Masekela's biography leaves me conflicted, was this man truly a hero or was it a stroke of luck?"

At times, I felt a little frustrated by the complexity of his biography. I have read quite a few psychobiographical studies and autobiographies in the past few years. Even so, Masekela's life narrative appears to be more multifarious and, therefore, challenging to extract. From focusing on his life as a musician to the experience of apartheid, then the exile experience, followed by his struggle with substance addiction, unhealthy relational patterns, and living in post-apartheid South Africa. I believe that the further exploration of his life narrative could prove invaluable to various intellectual disciplines, especially subdisciplines within psychology – developmental, personality, addiction studies, positive and so on.

6.9 Chapter Summary

This sixth chapter concluded this psychobiographical study. Firstly, the researcher presented a summation of the research findings, followed by a concluding discussion of the implications of exile on Masekela's personhood. Thirdly, the study's research objectives were revisited, and then a delineation of the value of the study and recommendations for future research was provided. Lastly, as part of the reflexivity process, the researcher presented their reflexive or personal passage.

REFERENCE LIST

- Ainslie, R. C., Tummala-Narra, P., Harlem, A., Barbanel, L., & Ruth, R. (2013). Contemporary psychoanalytic views on the experience of immigration. *Psychoanalytic psychology, 30*(4), 663.
<https://www.doi.org/10.1037/a0034588>
- Akhtar, S. (1995). A third individuation: Immigration, identity, and the psychoanalytic process. *Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association, 43*(4), 1051-1084.
<https://www.doi.org/10.1177/000306519504300>
- Alexander, I. E. (1988). Personality, psychological assessment and psychobiography. *Journal of Personality, 56*(1), 265- 294. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-6494.1988.tb00469.x>
- Allen, B. P. (2006). *Personality theories: Development, growth and diversity* (5th ed.). Pearson/Allyn & Bacon.
- Allen, R. S., Hilgeman, M. M., Ege, M. A., Shuster, J. L., & Burgio, L. D. (2008). Legacy activities as interventions approaching the end of life. *Journal of Palliative Medicine, 11*(7), 1029-1038. <https://doi.org/10.1089/jmp.2007.0294>
- Allport, G. W. (1937). *Personality: A psychological interpretation*. Holt.
- Álvarez, M. (1999). The experience of migration: A relational approach in therapy. *Journal of Feminist Family Therapy, 11*(1), 1-29.
- American Psychiatric Association [APA]. (2019). *Mental health on refugees, asylum-seekers, and survivors of forced displacement*.
<https://www.psychiatry.org/File%2520Library/Psychiatrists/Cultural-Competency/Mental-Health-Facts-for-Refugees.pdf>

- Anderson, J. W. (1981). The methodology of psychological biography. *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 11(3), 455-475. <https://doi.org/10.2307/203628>
- Andersson, M. (1981). *Music in the mix: The story of South African popular music*. Raven Press.
- Ansell, G. (2004). *Soweto blues: jazz politics and popular music in South Africa*. Continuum.
- Anti-Apartheid Movement. (2013). *Mda40. Nelson Mandela: 70th birthday tribute concert programme*. <https://aamarchives.org/archive/history/1980s/mda40-nelson-mandela-70th-birthday-tribute-programme.html>
- Austrian, S. G. (Ed.). (2008). *Developmental theories through the life cycle* (2nd ed.). Columbia University Press.
- Badat, S. (2013). *The forgotten people: Political banishment under apartheid*. Brill.
- Bailey, G. T. (2004). *The impact of trauma on the psychosocial development in refugees according to Erikson's psychosocial theory*. Walden University.
- Bakar, N. R. H. A., & Abdullah, M. Y. H. (2008). The life history approach: Fieldwork experience. *e-Bangi: Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities*, 3(1), 1-9.
- Ballantine, C. (1991). Concert and dance: The foundations of black Jazz in South Africa between the twenties and early forties. *Popular Music*, 10(2), 121–145.
- Ballantine, C. (1993). *Marabi nights: Early South African jazz and vaudeville*. Raven Press.
- Barresi, J., & Jukes, T. J. (1997). Personology and the narrative interpretation of lives. *Journal of Personality*, 65(3), 693-719. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-6494.1997.tb00331.x>

- Batra, S. (2013). The psychosocial development of children: Implications for education and society – Erik Erikson in context. *Contemporary Education Dialogue*, 10(2), 249–278. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0973184913485014>
- Bauer, P. (2023, December 23). Bantu education act. *Encyclopedia Britannica*.
<https://www.britannica.com/event/Bantu-Education-Act>
- Benveniste, D. (2000). Review of the book *Identity's Architect: A biography of Erik Erikson* by Lawrence J. Friedman. *The Psychoanalytic Review*, 87(6), 1–6.
- Bergset, K. (2020). Parenting in exile: Narratives of evolving parenting practices in transactional contact zones. *Theory & Psychology*, 30(4), 528-547.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0959354320920940>
- Bernard, W. S. (1979). Immigrants and refugees: Their similarities, differences and needs. *International Migration*, 14(4), 267-280.
- Bezuidenhout, A. (2018, April 18). The best anthem for workers' day? 'Stimela' – a tale about apartheid's migrant labour system. *The Conversation*.
<https://theconversation.com/the-best-anthem-for-workers-day-stimela-a-tale-about-apartheids-migrant-labour-system-95794>
- Bhugra, D. (2004). Migration, distress and cultural identity. *British Medical Bulletin*, 69, 1-13.
- Bjorklund, D. F., & Hernández Blasi, C. (2012). *Child & adolescent development: An integrated approach*. Wadsworth Cengage Learning.
- Boeree, C. G. (2006). *Erik Erikson*. http://www.socialpsychology.de/do/pt_erikson.pdf

- Bowlby, J. (1980). *Attachment and loss, volume 3: Loss, sadness and depression*. Hogarth Press.
- Brearley, J. (1995). *Counselling and social work*. Open University Press.
- Brearley, J. (2007). A psychodynamic approach to social work. In J. Lishman (Ed.), *Handbook for learning practice in social work and social care: Knowledge and theory* (2nd ed., pp. 86-93). Jessica Kingsley Publishers.
- Brothers, D., & Lewis, J. (2012). Homesickness, exile, and the self-psychological language of homecoming. *International Journal of Psychoanalytic Self Psychology*, 7(2), 180-195.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/15551024.2012.656350>
- Brown, C., & Lowis, M. J. (2003). Psychosocial development in the elderly: An investigation into Erikson's ninth stage. *Journal of Aging Studies*, 17(4), 415-426.
- Camurri, R. (2014). The exile experience reconsidered: A comparative perspective in European cultural migration during interwar period. *Transatlantica*, 1.
<https://doi.org/10.4000/transatlantica.6920>
- Capps, D. (1979). Erikson's theory of religious ritual: The case of the excommunication of Ann Hibbens. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 18(4), 337-349.
- Capps, D. (2004). The decades of life: Relocating Erikson's stages. *Pastoral Psychology*, 53(1), 3-32.
- Carr, A., & McNulty, M. (Eds.). (2006). *The handbook of adult clinical psychology: An evidenced-based practice approach*. Routledge.
- Caruana, E. J., Roman, M., Hernández-Sánchez, J., & Solli, P. (2015). Longitudinal studies. *Journal of Thoracic Disease*, 7(11), 537.

Castles, S., & Davidson, A. (2000). *Citizenship and migration: Globalization and the politics of belonging*. Palgrave.

Cherney, K. (2020, April 9). What is considered a psychotic disorder and is that an appropriate term? *Healthline*. <https://www.healthline.com/health/psychotic-disorder>

Cherry, K. (2022, August 3). Erikson's stages of development. *Verywell mind*.
<https://www.verywellmind.com/erik-eriksons-stages-of-psychosocial-development-2795740>

Cherry, K. (2023, February 23). Biography of Erik Erikson (1902-1994). *Verywell mind*.
<https://www.verywellmind.com/erik-erikson-biography-1902-1994-2795538#toc-the-life-of-erik-erickson>

Cherry, K. (2023, July 07). Understanding cultural relativism and its importance. *Verywell Mind*. <https://verywellmind.com/understanding-cultural-relativism-7549709>

Chipenda, C., Veit, A., & Pauly, J. (2021). *Working papers no. 9*. Socium.

Clark, N. L., & Worger, W. H. (2004). *South Africa: The rise and fall of apartheid*. Pearson Education Limited.

Clarke, H., & Mckenzi, D. (2018, January 18). *Hugh Masekela, South African jazz legend, dies at age 78*. Cable News Network.
<https://amp.cnn.com/cnn/2018/01/23/africa/hugh-masekela-dies-intl/index.html>

Colburn, R. (2018, January 23). R.I.P Hugh Masekela, activist and “Father of South African Jazz”, has died at 78. *Consequence of Sound*.
<https://consequenceofsound.net/2018/01/r-i-p-hugh-masekela-activist-and-father-of-south-african-jazz-has-died-at-78/>

- Connelly, L. M. (2016). Trustworthiness in qualitative research. *Medsurg Nursing*, 25(6), 435-436.
- Cueva, R. (2020). *Hugh Masekela: The long journey 1959-1968* [Master's thesis, Rutgers University]. RUcore. <https://rucore.libraries.rutgers.edu/rutgers-lib/64862/PDF/1/play/>
- Dalamba, L. (2006). *Writing against exile: A chronotopic reading of the autobiographies of Miriam Makeba, Joe Mogotsi, and Hugh Masekela* [Master's thesis, University of KwaZulu Natal]. CiteSeerX. <https://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/document?repid=rep1&type=pdf&doi=6a1d-dea4a0bce894f-b36bc1c813c86afe6655c1f>
- Danish Refugee Council [DRC]. (2013). *Voices from exile: Daily realities and future prospects of Congolese and Burundian refugees in the Great Lakes Region*. https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/Voices_from_exile%20En.pdf
- Darangwa, S. (2023, April 19). Hugh Masekela inducted into Ertegun Hall of Fame in New York. *Discount Mags*. <https://www.discountmags.com/magazine/star-south-africa-April-19-2023-digital/in-this-issue/10>
- Darling-Fisher, C. S., & Leidy, N. K. (1988). Measuring Eriksonian development in the adult: The modified Erikson psychosocial stage inventory. *Psychological Reports*, 62(3), 747-754.
- Denniston, R. (1999). *Trevor Huddleston: A life*. St. Martin's Press.
- Denselow, R. (2018, January 23). Hugh Masekela obituary. *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.com/music/2018/jan/23/hugh-masekela-obituary>

- Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (Eds.). (2008). *The landscape of qualitative research*. Sage Publications.
- Dizikes, P. (2022, May 19). From South Africa, a success story for democracy. *Massachusetts Institute of Technology News*. <https://news.mit.edu/2022/Lieberman-south-africa-democracy-book-0519>
- Domino, G., & Affonso, D. D. (1990). A personality measure of Erikson's life stages: The Inventory of Psychosocial Balance. *Journal of Personality Assessment*, 54(3-4), 576-588.
- Douvan, E. (1997). Erik Erikson: Critical times, critical theory. *Child psychiatry and human development*, 28, 15-21. <https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1025188901554>
- Dudovskiy, J. (2018). *The ultimate guide to writing a dissertation in business studies: A step-by-step assistance*. Sage Publications.
- Dunne, M., & Hamzawy, A. (2019, March 29). *Egypt's political exiles: Going anywhere but home*. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. https://carnegieendowment.org/files/Dunne_Hamzawy_EgyptExiles_final.pdf
- Durrant, J. E. (2008). Physical punishment, culture, and rights: Current issues for professionals. *Journal of Developmental and Behavioral Pediatrics*, 29(1), 55-66. <https://doi.org/10.1097/DBP.0b013e318135448a>
- Edwards, D. J. A. (1998). Types of case study work: A conceptual framework for case-based research. *Journal of Humanistic Psychology*, 38(3), 36-70.
- Edwards, D. (1990). *Case study research method: A theoretical introduction and practice manual* [Master's dissertation, Rhodes University].

- Ellis, D. (2019). Apartheid. *Israel Studies*, 24(2), 63-71.
- Elms, A. C. (1994). *Uncovering lives: The uneasy alliance of biography and psychology*.
Oxford University Press.
- Erikson, E. H. (1963). *Child and society* (2nd ed.). W.W. Norton.
- Erikson, E. H. (1964). *Insight and responsibility: Lectures on the ethical implications of psychoanalytic insight*. W.W. Norton.
- Erikson, E. H. (1965). *The challenge of youth*. Anchor Books, Doubleday.
- Erikson, E. H. (1968). *Identity: Youth and crisis*. W.W. Norton.
- Erikson, E. H. (1969). *Gandhi's truth: On the origins of militant non-violence*. W.W. Norton.
- Erikson, E. H. (1974). *Dimensions of a new identity*. W.W. Norton.
- Erikson, E. H. (1975). Life history and the historical moment. W.W. Norton.
- Erikson, E. H. (1976). *Toys and reason*. W.W. Norton.
- Erikson, E. H. (1978). *Adulthood: An essay*. W.W. Norton.
- Erikson, E. H. (1980). *Identity and the life cycle*. W.W. Norton.
- Erikson, E. H. (1997). *The life cycle completed: Extended version*. W.W. Norton Company.
- Erikson, E. H., Erikson, J. M., & Kivnick, H. Q. (1986). *Vital involvement in old age*. W.W. Norton.
- Erlmann, V. (1995). *Nightsong: Performance, power, and practice in South Africa*.
University of Chicago Press.

Escobar, M. (2000). *Exile and national identity: Chilean women in Canada* [Doctoral thesis, University of Toronto]. TSpace Repository.

<https://t.space.library.ca/bitstream/1807/14915/1/NQ53643.pdf>

Flemming, J. S. (2004). *Psychological perspectives on human development*.

<http://swppr.org/Textbook/Contents.html>

Flick, U. (2009). *An introduction to qualitative research* (4th ed.). Sage Publications.

Fouché, J. P., Naidoo, P., & Botha, T. (2019). A psychobiographical portrait of Adam Small's Eriksonian ego-strengths or virtues: Contextualized Within South Africa's Apartheid-Eras. In C.-H. Mayer & Z. Kovary (Eds.), *New trends in psychobiography* (pp. 423-442). Springer.

Fouché, J. P., & Van Niekerk, R. (2005). *Psychobiography: An interdisciplinary approach between psychology and biography in the narrative reconstruction of personal lives* [Paper presentation]. International Society of Theoretical Psychology Conference, Cape Town, South Africa.

Fouché, J. P., & Van Niekerk, R. (2010). Academic psychobiography in South Africa: Past, present and future. *South African Journal of Psychology*, 40(4), 495-507.

France, J. (1991). Neurotic disorders. In R. Gravell, & J. France (Eds.), *Speech and communication problems in Psychiatry* (pp. 92-112). Springer.

https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4899-255-6_4

Frankel, P. (1979). The politics of passes: Control and change in South Africa. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 17(2), 199-217.

- Freiberg, K. L. (1987). *Human development: A lifespan approach* (3rd ed.). Jones and Bartlett.
- Freire, M. (1995). The Latin American exile experience from a gender perspective: a psychodynamic assessment. *Refuge*, 14(8), 20-26.
- Friedman, L. J. (1999). *Identity's architect: A biography of Erik H. Erikson*. Scribner.
- Fromme, D. F. (2010). *Systems of psychotherapy: Dialectical tensions and integration*. Springer.
- Gerring, J. (2006). *Case study research: Principles and practices*. Cambridge University Press.
- Gibson, A. (2007). Erikson's life cycle approach to development. In J. Lishman (Ed.), *Handbook for learning practice in social work and social care: Knowledge and theory* (2nd ed., pp. 74-85). Jessica Kingsley Publishers.
- Giuntella, O., Kone, Z. L., Ruiz, I., & Vargas-Silvas, C. (2018). Reason for immigration and immigrants' health. *Public Health*, 158, 102-109.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.puhe.2018.01.037>
- Graneheim, U. H., & Lundman, B. (2004). Qualitative content analysis in nursing research: Concepts, procedures and measures to achieve trustworthiness. *Nurse Education Today*, 24(2), 105-112.
- Granqvist, P. (2006). On the relation between secular and divine relationships: An emergent attachment perspective and a critique of the 'depth' approaches. *The International Journal for the Psychology of Religion*, 16(1), 1-18.

- Green, J. L., Camilli, G., & Elmore, P. B. (Eds.). (2006). *Handbook of complementary methods in education research*. Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Griffiths, C. G. (2007). *Narratives of immigration: Negotiating transition* [Master's thesis, University of South Africa]. Unisa Institutional Repository.
<http://etd.unisa.ac.za/ETD-db/theses/available/etd-06132008-094200/unrestricted/dissertation.pdf>
- Griffiths, M. (2005). A 'components' model of addiction within a biopsychosocial framework. *Journal of Substance Use*, 10(4), 191-197.
<https://doi.org/10.108014659890500114359>
- Grinberg, L., & Grinberg, R. (1989). *Psychoanalytic perspectives on migration and exile*. Yale University Press.
- Grossmann, M. (2021). *How social science got better: Overcoming bias with more evidence, diversity, and self-reflection*. Oxford University Press.
- Groucutt, D., & Chouiniere, C. (2023, November 21). Folk music definition, origin and legends. *Study.com*. <https://study.com/academy/lesson/what-is-folk-music-definition-artists-history.html>
- Halperin, S. (2004). The relevance of immigration in the psychodynamic formulation of psychotherapy with immigrants. *International Journal of Psychoanalytic studies*, 1(2), 99-120.
- Hamachek, D. E. (1988). Evaluating self-concept and ego development within Erikson's psychosocial framework: A formulation. *Journal of Counselling and Development*, 66(8), 354.

- Hamachek, D. E. (1990). Evaluating self-concept and ego status in Erikson's last three psychosocial stages. *Journal of Counseling and Development*, 68(6), 677-683.
<https://doi.org/10.1002/j.1556-6676.1988.tb00886.x>
- Helliker, K. (2015). Politics and governance. In P. Stewart & J. Zaaiman (Eds.), *Sociology: A concise South African introduction* (pp. 242-260). Juta.
- Heppner, P. P., & Heppner, M. J. (2004). *Writing and publishing your thesis, dissertation and research: A guide for students in the helping professions*. Thomson/Brooks/Cole.
- Hiebel, J. M. (2019). Hope in exile: In conversation with Ezekiel. *Religions*, 10(8), 476.
<https://doi.org/10.3390/rel10080476>
- Hoare, C. H. (2005). Erikson's general and adult developmental revisions of Freudian thought: 'Outward, forward, upward'. *Journal of Adult Development*, 12(1), 19-31.
<https://doi.org/10.1007/s10804-005-1279-0>
- Honigmann, D. (2010, October 10). Apartheid and all that jazz. *Financial Times*.
<https://www.ft.com/content/899a6806-e2e0-11df-9735-0014feabdc0>
- Hook, D. (2002). Erikson's psychosocial stages of development. *Developmental psychology* (pp. 265-293). UCT Press.
- Hook, D. (2009). Erikson's psychosocial stages of development. In J. Watts, K. Cockroft, & N. Duncan (Eds.), *Developmental psychology* (2nd ed., pp. 283-312). UCT Press.
- Hosin, A. A., Moore, S., & Gaitanou, C. (2006). The relationship between psychological well-being and adjustment of both parents and children exiled and traumatized Iraqi refugees. *Journal of Muslim Mental Health*, 1(2), 123-136.

- Hoque, A. (2018). *The life of Amy Jade Winehouse: A psychobiography* [Master's dissertation, University of Johannesburg]. University of Johannesburg Institutional Repository.
<https://ujcontent.uj.ac.za/vital/access/services/Download/uj:32084/SOURCE1>
- Houvenaghel, E., Manso, M., Jansen, M., & Urban, M. (2020). Introduction. *Romance Studies*, 38(2), 63-67. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02639904.2020.1794603>
- Huberman, A. M., & Miles, M. B. (Eds.). (2002). *The qualitative researcher's companion*. Sage.
- Hyland, M. (2015, February 11). Why do people respond to stress differently? *Well Doing*.
<https://welldoing.org/article/some-people-get-more-stressed-than-others>
- Independent Online. (2003, November 10). *MAAPSA*.
<https://www.iol.co.za/entertainment/whats-on/maapsa-915619>
- Independent Online. (2017, July 4). *Hugh Masekela receives honorary doctorate #WitsGrads*. <https://www.iol.co.za/entertainment/hugh-masekela-receives-honorary-doctorate-witsgrads-10126262>
- Iwaniec, D. (2006). *The emotionally abused and neglected child: Identification, assessment and intervention: A practice handbook* (2nd ed.). Wiley
- James, J. B., & Zarrett, N. (2006). Ego integrity in the lives of older women. *Journal of Adult Development*, 13, 61-75.
- Joseph, H. (1968). *Tomorrow's sun: A smuggled journal from South Africa*. Hutchinson.
- Joyce, M. U. (1970). *An empirical investigation of Erikson's developmental crises of ego identity, intimacy, and generativity in religious women*. Fordham University.

- Kadish, Y. A. (2016). Psychoanalysis and personality. In L. J. Nicholas (Ed.), *Personality psychology* (pp 76-100). Oxford University Press.
- Keitt, K. (2012). Erikson, Erik. In R. W. Rieber (Ed.), *Encyclopaedia of the history of psychological theories* (pp. 398-399). Springer. https://doi/10/1007/978-1-4419-0463-8_213
- Kerrisk, C. M. (2010). *Inner journeys: Psychodynamic perspectives on immigration, identity and cross-cultural adaptation* [Master's thesis, Auckland University of Technology]. AUT Research Repository.
<https://openrepository.aut.ac.nz/bitstream/10292/1000/3/KerriskC.pdf>
- Korstjens, I., & Moser, A. (2018). Series: Practical guidance to qualitative research. Part 4: Trustworthiness and publishing. *European Journal of General Practice*, 24(1), 120-124. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13814788.2017.1375092>
- Kosic, A. (2002). Acculturation attitudes, need for cognitive closure and adaptation of immigrants. *The Journal of Social Psychology*, 142(2), 179-201.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/00224540209603894>
- Kovary, Z. (2011). Psychobiography as a method. The revival of studying lives: New perspectives in personality and creativity research. *Europe's Journal of Psychology*, 7(4), 739-777.
- Kowaz, A. M., & Marcia, J. E. (1991). Development and validation of a measure of Eriksonian industry. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 60(3), 390.
- Kramp, J. M. (2012). Anton Boisen: A portrait. *Journal of Religious Health*, 51, 450-459.
- Lacan, J. (2012). *Écrits: a selection*. Taylor & Francis.

- Lee, H., & Mason, D. (2014). Cultural and gender differences in coping strategies between Caucasian American and Korean American older people. *Journal of Cross-cultural Gerontology*, 29(4), 429-446. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10823-014-9241-x>
- Levie, H. S. (1979). Treaty of Vereeniging (treaty of peace between the Orange Free State and the South African republic with Great Britain, 31 May 1902). *International Law Studies*, 60(1), 32.
- Lijtmaer, R. M. (2001). Splitting and nostalgia in recent immigrants. *Journal of the American Academy of Psychoanalysis*, 29, 427-438. <https://doi.org/10.1521/jaap.29.3.427.17301>
- Lijtmaer, R. M. (2017). Variations on the migratory theme: Immigrants or exiles, refugees or asylees. *Psychoanalytic Review*, 104(6), 687-694.
<https://doi.org/10.1521/prev.2017.104.6.68>
- Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry*. Sage Publications.
- London School of Economics. (2014, October 29). Art and activism: Reflections on the anti-apartheid struggle and 2 decades of S. African democracy [video]. YouTube.
https://youtu.be/_RX3fFYdT8Y?si=Igi-LQRAsR--ISgy
- Lopez, R. D. A., & Portero, A. P. (2013). Culture shock: adaptation strategies. *Revista Berija de Linguistica Aplicada a la Ensenanza de Lenguas*, 13.
- Louw, A. E. (2013). Personality development. In D. A. Louw & A. E. Louw (Eds.), *Adult development and ageing* (pp. 142-184). Psychology Publications.
- Louw, A. E., & Louw, D. A. (2014a). Adolescence. In D. A. Louw & A. E. Louw (Eds.), *Child and adolescent development* (2nd ed., pp. 302-389). Psychology Publications.

- Louw, A. E., & Louw, D. A. (2014b). Early childhood. In D. A. Louw & A. E. Louw (Eds.), *Child and adolescent development* (2nd ed., pp. 151-222). Psychology Publications.
- Louw, A. E., & Louw, D. A. (2014c). Middle childhood. In D. A. Louw & A. E. Louw (Eds.), *Child and adolescent development* (2nd ed., pp. 224-300). Psychology Publications.
- Louw, D. A., Louw, A. E., & Kail, R. (2014). Basic concepts of child and adolescent development. (2014). In D. A. Louw & A. E. Louw (Eds.), *Child and adolescent development* (2nd ed., pp. 2- 50). Psychology Publications.
- Madjlessi, F. (2016). *Attachment and acculturation: predictors of psychological distress and satisfaction with life in Iranian immigrants* [PhD dissertation, Alliant International University]. ProQuest Dissertations and Theses Global.
- Maharaj, B. (1997). Apartheid, urban segregation, and the local state: Durban and the group areas act in South Africa. *Urban Geography*, 18(2), 135-154.
<https://doi.org/10.2747/0272-3638.18.2.135>
- Main, M. (1995). Attachment: Overview with implications for clinical work. In S. Goldberg, R. Muir, & J. Kerr (Eds.), *Attachment theory: Social, developmental, and clinical perspectives* (pp. 407–474). Erlbaum.
- Majodina, Z. (1989). Exile as a chronic stressor. *International Journal of Mental Health*, 18(1), 87-94.
- Makeba, M. (1988). *Makeba: My story*. Bloomsbury.
- Malatji, N., & Khaliyanyane, L. (2017, October 8). Bra Hugh's prostate cancer disclosure shocks industry. *SowetanLIVE*.

<https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/amp/sundayworld/news/2017-10-08-bra-hughsp-rostate-cancer-disclosure-shocks-industry2/>

Mann, S. (2016). *The research interview: Reflective practice and reflexivity in research processes*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Marchetti-Mercer, M. C., & Roos, J. L. (2006). Migration and exile – some implications for mental health in post-apartheid South Africa. *South African Journal of Psychology*, 12(3), 52-64.

Marcia, J., & Josselson, R. (2013). Eriksonian personality research and its implications for psychotherapy. *Journal of Personality*, 81(6), 617-629.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/jopy.12014>

Markstrom, C. A., Sabino, V. M., Turner, B. J., & Berman, R. C. (1997). The psychosocial inventory of ego strengths: Development and validation of a new Eriksonian measure. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 26, 705-732.

Masekela, B. (2021). *Poli poli*. Jonathan Ball Publishers.

Masekela, H. (1974). Stimela (coal train) [Song]. On *I am not afraid*. Blue Thumb Records.

Masekela, H. (1977). Soweto blues [Song]. On *You told your mama not to worry*. Casablanca Records.

Masekela, H. (1987). Bring him back home, Nelson Mandela [Song]. On *Tomorrow*. Warner Music Group.

Masekela, H. (2016). Exile [Song]. On *No borders*. Universal Music.

Masekela, H., & Cheers, D. M. (2004). *Still gazing: The musical journey of Hugh Masekela*. Crown.

- Masola, K., Rashied, N., Janse van Rensburg, N., & Venter, M. (2019). The impact of shebeens on the local economy: Evidence from Soweto, South Africa. *Journal of Public Administration*, 54(4-1), 861-872.
- Mattsson, B. (2018). *A life time in exile: Finnish war children in Sweden after the war—an interview study with a psychological and psychodynamic approach* [PhD dissertation, University of Jyväskylä]. Jyväskylän yliopisto. <http://urn.fi/URN:ISBN:978-951-39-7565-4>
- Mayer, C.-H., & Kovary, Z. (2019). Introduction: New Perspectives in Psychobiography. In C.-H. Mayer & Z. Kovary (Eds.), *New trends in psychobiography* (pp. 1-7). Springer.
- McAdams, D. P. (2005). What psychobiographers might learn from personality psychology. In W. Schultz (Ed.), *Handbook of psychobiography* (pp. 64–83). Oxford University Press.
- McAdams, D. P. (2006). *The person: The new introduction to personality psychology* (4th ed.). John Wiley & Sons.
- McCormack, M. (2023, March 20). *People-pleasing: Understanding the roots and consequences*. Counselling Directory. <https://www.counselling-directory.org.uk/memberarticles/people-pleasing-understanding-the-roots-and-consequences>
- McGinnis, B. L. (2015). *Exile in America: Political expulsion and the limits of liberal government*. George University.
- McKay, E. (2000). *The life history method: Its use in exploring the lives of women with severe mental illness* [Paper Presentation]. Qualitative Evidence-based Practice Conference, Coventry University.

- McLeod, S. (2008). *Case study method*. Simply Psychology.
<https://www.simplypsychology.org/case-study.html>
- McLeod, S. (2024). *Psychodynamic approach in psychology*. Simply Psychology.
<https://www.simplypsychology.org/psychodynamic.html>
- Meissner, W. W. (2003). Methodological issues in the psychohistory: Psychobiography of religious figures. *The Annual of Psychoanalysis*, 31, 181-196.
- Meyer, W. F., & Viljoen, H. G. (2008). The ego psychological theory of Erik Erikson (1902 – 1980) [sic]. In W. F. Meyer, C. Moore, & H. G. Viljoen (Eds.), *Personology: From individual to ecosystem* (4th ed., pp. 187–213). Heinemann.
- Milani, A. (2005). *Exile and identity: The San Diego seminar and the question of Iranian identity*. <https://web.stanford.edu/~amilani/downloads/exileidentity.pdf>
- Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (1994). *Qualitative data analysis* (2nd ed.). Sage.
- Miller, P. H. (2011). *Theories of developmental psychology* (5th ed.). Worth.
- Miller, P. H., & Scholnick, E. K. (2000). *Toward a feminist developmental psychology*. Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Montgomery, M. J. (2005). Psychosocial intimacy and identity: From early adolescence to emerging adulthood. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, 20(3), 346–374.
<https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0743558404273118>
- Montgomery, E. (2011). Trauma, exile and mental health in young refugees. *Acta Psychiatrica Scandinavica. Supplementum*, (440), 1-46.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1600-0447.2011.01740.x>
- Moustakas, C. E. (1994). *Phenomenological research methods*. Sage.

- Muchova, A. (2006). *The experience of exile through the eyes of Czech writers* [Master's dissertation, Simon Fraser University]. SUMMIT – Institutional Repository.
<https://summit.sfu.ca/system/files/iritems1/6684/etd2628.pdf>
- Muys, M. (2007). Characteristics of life in exile: Vulnerability factors for substance use. In J. Fountain & D. J. Korf (Eds.), *Drugs in society: European perspectives* (pp. 62-75). Radcliffe Publishing.
- Napier-Bell, S. (Director). (2017). *27: Gone too soon* [Film]. Premiere Pictures.
- Nel, C. (2013). *The life of Helen Suzman: A psychobiographical study* [Doctoral thesis, University of Free State]. Kovsie Scholar Repository.
<https://scholar.ufs.ac.za/bitstream/handle/11660/858/NelC.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>
- News24. (2013, December 22). *The music's over for Bra Hugh and his wife*.
<https://www.news24.com/news24/the-musics-over-for-bra-hugh-and-his-wife-20150429>
- Noland, R. W. (1977). Psychobiography of everyday life. *The Nation*, 224, 570-572.
- NTV Kenya. (2016, August 13). *#theTrend: Why maestro Hugh Masekela isn't a legend* [video]. YouTube. <https://youtu.be/LkFv1yLNdKQ?si=98mR09w3dpmDjBwf>
- Oberg, K. (1954). *Culture shock* [Paper Presentation]. The Women's Club of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.
- Oberg, K. (1960). Culture shock: Adjustment to new cultural environments. *Practical Anthropology*, 177-182. <https://doi.org/10.1177/009182966000700405>

- Ochse, R., & Plug, C. (1986). Cross-cultural investigation of the validity of Erikson's theory of personality development. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 50(6), 1240.
- Okolie, M. J. N. (2018). Things fall apart, border crossing and the psychology of exile. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 1-13.
- O'Neill, M., & Spybey, T. (2003). Global refugees, exile, displacement and belonging. *Sage Journals*, 37(1). <https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038503037001385>
- O'Reilly, K. (2009). *Key concepts in ethnography*. Sage.
- Osorio, D. (2016). *John Lennon: A psychobiography* [Master's dissertation, University of Free State]. Kovsie Scholar Repository.
<https://scholar.ufs.ac.za/bitstream/handle/110/4394/OsorioD.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>
- Pashaliev, K. (2017, April 4). Hugh Masekela: No borders is my last solo voyage. *Music in Africa*. <https://www.musicinafrica.net/magazine/hugh-masekela-no-borders-my-last-solo-voyage>
- Patton, M. Q. (1999). Enhancing the quality and credibility of qualitative analysis. *Health Services Research*, 34(5 Pt 2), 1189-1208.
- Pete, S. (1998). To smack or not to smack? Should the law prohibit South African parents from imposing corporal punishment on their children? *South African Journal on Human Rights*, 14(3), 430-460.

- Pettinger, T. (2019, November 14). *Pros and cons of immigration*. *Economics Help*.
<https://www.economicshelp.org/blog/152453/economics/pros-and-cons-of-immigration/>
- Phan, D. (2013). *Integrating personality and coping styles in predicting well-being across cultures* [Doctoral thesis, Washington State University]. Research Exchange.
https://research.wsulibs.wsu.edu/xmlui/bitstream/handle/2376/4929/Phan_ws_u_0251E_10801.pdf
- Pierson, D. (2023, August 28). Selema Masekela on overcoming racial stereotypes in surfing. *Surfer*. <https://www.surfer.com/trending-news/selema-masekela-racial-sterotypes-surfing>
- Polit, D. F., & Beck, C. T. (2014). *Essentials of nursing research: Appraising evidence for nursing practice* (8th ed.). Wolters Kluwer/Lippincott Williams & Wilkins.
- Ponterotto, J. G. (2017). A counsellor's guide to conducting psychobiographical research. *International Journal for the Advancement of Counselling*, 39, 249-263.
<https://doi.org/10.1007/s10447-017-9295-x>
- Posel, D. (1991). *The making of apartheid 1948-1961: Conflict and compromise*. Oxford University Press.
- Prager, K. J. (1986). Identity development, age, and college experience in women. *Journal of Genetic Psychology*, 147(1), 31-36.
- Prenter, T. (2015). *A psychobiographical study of Charlize Theron* [Master's thesis, Rhodes University]. SEALS Digital Commons.

- Prochaska, J. O., & Norcross, J. C. (2010). *Systems of Psychotherapy: A transtheoretical analyses* (7th ed.). Brooks/Cole.
- Radithalo, S. (2009). The self-Invention of Hugh Masekela. *Journal of Learning Sciences*, 25(1), 34–52.
- Rahman, F. (2020). *Biography of Hugh Masekela*. South African History Online.
<https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/biography-hugh-masekela-fardin-rahman>
- Ramaru, A. (2021, August 12). *Hits timeline: Hugh Masekela*. Musicist.
<https://muicist.co.ca/2021/08/12/hits-timeline-hugh-masekela/>
- Ramokgopa, I. M. (2001). *Developmental stages of an African child and their psychological implications: A comparative study* [Doctoral dissertation, Rand Afrikaans University]. University of Johannesburg Institutional Repository.
- Rankoe, M. X. (1999). *Exile identity: A discourse analysis* [Master's dissertation, University of Cape Town]. OpenUCT.
https://open.uct.ac.za/bitstream/handle/11427/13494/thesis_hum_1999_rankoe_mx.pdf
- Red Bull Music Academy. (2017, June 30). *Hugh Masekela on The Merry Makers and returning to South Africa* [video]. YouTube.
https://youtu.be/ndtcq6B_nyg?si=0GV0osYPWPOwndwt
- Reid, E. (2020). How the personal became political: the feminist movement of the 1970s. In *How the Personal Became Political* (pp. 9-30). Routledge.
- Renik, O. (1992). Use of the analyst as a fetish. *Psychoanalytic Quarterly*, 61(4), 542-563.

Rentner, S. (2017, April 26). The legacy of The Jazz Epistles, South Africa's short-lived but historic group. *National Public Radio*.

<https://www.npr.org/2017/04/26/525696698/the-legacy-of-the-jazz-epistles-south-africas-short-lived-but-historic-group>

Richards, N. (2018). The most notable awards and accolades Masekela racked up over his career. *The Citizen*. <https://www.citizen.co.za/entertainment/the-most-notable-awards-and-accolades-masekela-racked-up-over-his-career/amp/>

Roets, E. (2015). *Marie Curie: A psychobiography* [Doctoral dissertation, Rhodes University]. SEALS Digital Commons.

Rojas, M. S., Nunez, J. A., & Erices, G. N. (2015). Philosophical and psychopathological perspective of exile: On time and space experiences. *Frontiers in Psychiatry*, 6, 78. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsy.2015.00078>

Rosenthal, D. A., Gurney, R. M., & Moore, S. M. (1981). From trust on intimacy: A new inventory for examining Erikson's stages of psychosocial development. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 10(6), 525-537.

Rugunanan, P. (2015). Education. In P. Stewart & J. Zaaiman (Eds.), *Sociology: A concise South African introduction* (pp. 273-297). Juta.

Runyan, W. M. (Ed.). (1988). *Psychology and historical interpretation*. Oxford University Press.

Runyan, W. M. (2005). Evolving conceptions of psychobiography and the study of lives: Encounters with psychoanalysis, personality psychology and historical science. In W. T. Schultz (Ed.), *Handbook of psychobiography* (pp.19-41). Oxford University Press.

- Ruwanpura, E., Mercer, S. W., Ager, A., & Duveen, G. (2006). Cultural and spiritual constructions of mental distress and associated coping mechanisms of Tibetans in exile: implications for western interventions. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 19(2), 187-202.
- Sabawi, S. (2020). *Inheriting exile: Transgenerational trauma and Palestinian-Australian Identity* [Doctoral thesis, Victoria University]. VU Research Repository. http://vuir.vu.edu.au/40718/1/SABAWI%20Samah-thesis_nosignature.pdf
- SABC News. (2018, January 26). Memorial service for Hugh Masekela: 26 January 2018 [Video]. YouTube. <https://m.youtube.com/watch?v=ee-92T79DXs>
- SABC News. (2020, February 10). *Nelson Mandela released from Victor Verster prison 30 years ago* [video]. YouTube. <https://m.youtube.com/watch?v=v1azbzDpmEU>
- Saccaggi, C. F. (2015). *Leading the latter-day saints: Psychobiographical studies of Mormon prophets* [Doctoral thesis, University of Johannesburg]. University of Johannesburg Institutional Repository. <http://ujdigispace.uj.ac.za>
- Sachs, E., Rosenfeld, B., Lhewa, D., Rasmussen, A., & Keller, A. (2008). Entering exile: Trauma, mental health, and coping among Tibetan refugees arriving in Dharamshala. *Journal of Traumatic Stress: Official Publication of the International Society for Traumatic Stress Studies*, 21(2), 199-208.
- Sadock, B. J., & Sadock, V. A. (2007). *Kaplan and Sadock's synopsis of psychiatry* (10th ed.). Lippincott Williams & Wilkins.
- Said, E. W. (2001). *Reflections on exile: And other literary and cultural essays*. Granta Books.
- Sarantakos, S. (2013). *Social Research*. Macmillan International Higher Education.

- Schachter, E. P. (2005). Erikson meets the postmodern: Can classic identity theory rise to the challenge? *Identity*, 5(2), 137-160.
- Schioldann, J. A. (2003). What is pathography? *The Medical Journal of Australia*, 178(6), 303. <https://doi.org/10.5694/j.1326-5377.2003.tb05209.x>
- Schultz, D., & Schultz, S. (2009). *Theories of personality* (9th ed.). Cengage Learning
- Schultz, W. T. (2005). *Handbook of psychobiography*. Oxford University Press.
- Sengun, S. (2001). Migration as a transitional space and group analysis. *Group Analysis*, 34(1), 65-78. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0533316401341007>
- Shacknove, A. E. (1985). Who is a refugee? *Ethics*, 95(2), 274-284.
- Sharabany, R., & Israeli, E. (2008). The dual process of adolescent immigration and relocation: From country to country and from childhood to adolescence—its reflection in psychodynamic psychotherapy. *The Psychoanalytic Study of the Child*, 137-162. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00797308.2008.11800802>
- Smith, H. (2018, January 23). *Hugh Masekela, South African trumpeter and a leading voice in the anti-apartheid movement, dies at 78* [Photograph]. The Washington Post. https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/obituaries/hugh-masekela-south-african-trumpeter-and-a-leading-voice-in-the-anti-apartheid-movement-dies-at-78/2018/01/23/3181306a-0032-11e8-9d31-d72cf78dbeee_story.html
- Sorell, G. T., & Montgomery, M. J. (2001). Feminist perspectives on Erikson's theory: Their relevance for contemporary identity development research. *Identity: An International Journal of Theory and Research*, 1(2), 97-128.

- Stead, G. B., & Schultheiss, D. E. P. (2010). Validity of childhood career development scale scores in South Africa. *International Journal for Educational and Vocational Guidance, 10*, 73-88.
- Stevens, R. (2008). *Erik Erikson: Explorer of identity and the life cycle*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Strydom, H., & Delpont, C. S. L. (2011). Sampling and pilot study in qualitative research. In A. S. de Vos., H. Strydom., C. B. Fouché., & C. S. L. Delpont. (Eds.), *Research at grass roots for the social sciences and human services professions* (4th ed., pp. 390-396). Van Schaik.
- Swartz, L., De la Rey, C., Duncan, N., & Townsend, L. (2008). *Psychology: An introduction* (2nd ed.). Oxford University Press Southern Africa.
- Syed, M. & Fish, J. (2018). Revisiting Erik Erikson's legacy on culture, race and ethnicity. *Identity, 18*(4), 274-283.
- Syed, M., & Mclean, K. C. (2018). Erikson's theory of psychosocial development. In E. Braaten & B. Willoughby (Eds.), *The SAGE encyclopedia of intellectual and developmental disorders* (pp. 577-581). SAGE.
- TEDx Talks. (2012, March 23). *TEDxObserver – Hugh Masekela – The western influence on African youth plus music performance* [video]. YouTube. https://youtu.be/7Qx7R43-LQM?si=p_ye-hlfCfh9Em7c
- Times Live. (2018, January 23). *Watch: Remembering legendary musician bra Hugh Masekela* [video]. https://m.facebook.com/story.php/?id=100064500647797&story_fbid=1948581791836623&locale=es-_LA

- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR]. (2023, June). *Refugee data finder*. <https://www.unhcr.org/refugee-statistics/>
- United Nations World Food Program [UNWFP]. (2022, August). *Seven of the largest refugee crises round the world and their effects on hunger*.
<https://www.wfpusa.org/articles/largest-refugee-crises-around-world-effects-hunger/>
- University of Pretoria (2018, January 28). *On the passing of Hugh Ramapolo Masekela (1939-2018)*. https://www.up.ac.za/news/post_2623036-on-the-passing-of-Hugh-Ramapolo-Masekela-1939-2018
- University of York. (2018, January 23). *Legendary jazz trumpeter Hugh Masekela has died aged 78*. <https://www.york.ac.za/news-and-events/features/2018/legendary-jazz-trumpeter-Hugh-Masekela-has-died/>
- Van de Water, D. A., & McAdams, D. P. (1989). Generativity and Erikson's "belief in the species". *Journal of Research in Personality*, 23(4), 435-449.
- Van Ecke, Y. (2005). Immigration from an attachment perspective. *Social Behaviour and Personality*, 33(5), 467-476.
- Vandiver, V. (2018, May 8). *The life of Trevor Huddleston, makhalipile (the dauntless one)*. South African History Online. <https://www.sahistory.org.za/archive/life-trevor-huddleston-makhalipile-dauntless-one-victoria-vandiver-3-may-2018>
- Veas, R. (2023, August 12). *Nelson Mandela 70th birthday tribute – Wembley London, UK (1988)* [video]. YouTube. <https://m.youtube.com/watch?v=S3G4NjGWRVw>
- Versola, A. M. (2018). *Jazz & apartheid: An analysis of the life and music of Hugh Masekela* [Master's thesis, William Paterson University]. ProQuest.

- Villa-Vicencio, C. (1996). *The spirit of freedom: South African leaders on religion and politics*. University of California Press.
- Walker, G. R. (2017, September 28). King Kong: Legendary South African musical returns to a fragmented country. *The Conversation*. <https://theconversation.com/king-kong-legendary-south-african-musical-returns-to-a-fragmented-country-84531>
- Wastell, C. A. (1996). Feminist developmental theory: Implications for counseling. *Journal of Counseling and Development*, 74(6), 575-581. <https://doi.org/10.1002/j.1556-6676.1996.tb02295.x>
- Welchman, K. (2000). *Erik Erikson: His life, work and significance*. Open University Press.
- Weprin, A. (2023, January 13). Selema Masekela set to return as host of the X Games on ESPN (exclusive). *The Hollywood Reporter*. <https://www.hollywoodreporter.com/tv/tv-news/selema-masekela-returns-host-espn-x-games-1235297791/amp/>
- Whitaker, E. M., & Atkinson, P. A. (2019). Reflexivity. *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Research Methods*.
- Willig, C. (2013). *Introducing qualitative research in psychology* (3rd ed.). Open University Press.
- Willis, B. (2014). *The advantages and limitations of single case study analysis*. E-International Relations. <https://www.e-ir.info/2014/07/05/the-advantages-and-limitations-of-single-case-study-analysis/>
- Woll, H. (2013). Process diary as methodological approach in longitudinal phenomenological research. *Indo-Pacific Journal of Phenomenology*, 13(2), 1-11.

- Wright, J. E., Jr. (1982). *Erikson: Identity and religion*. The Seabury Press.
- Yelloly, M. (1980). *Social work theory and psychoanalysis*. Van Nostrand Reinhold.
- Yin, R. K. (2009). *Case study research: Design and methods* (4th ed.). Sage Publications.
- Youngren, W. H. (1975). Bix. *The Hudson Review*, 28(1), 87-96.
- Zimbaye, S. T. (2020). Stephen Hawking: A psychobiography [Honours research project, University of Johannesburg]. Retrieved from author.
- Zock, H. (1990). *A psychology of ultimate concern: Erik H. Erikson's contribution to the psychology of religion* (2nd ed.). Rodopi.

Appendix A

Ethical Clearance Certificate



23 February 2022

Ms Sannah Tsatsawane Zimbaye (221116150)
School Of Applied Human Sc
Howard College

Dear Ms Sannah Tsatsawane Zimbaye,

Original application number: 00015948

Project title: Exile is a traumatizing horror, a nightmare of terror, a destabilizing drama, a suicidal downer, a dehumanizing outrage, a continuous bondage Psychobiography of Hugh Ramapolo Masekela

Exemption from Ethics Review

In response to your application received on 08 Feb 2022, your school has indicated that the protocol has been granted **EXEMPTION FROM ETHICS REVIEW**.

Any alteration/s to the exempted research protocol, e.g., Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through an amendment/modification prior to its implementation. The original exemption number must be cited.

For any changes that could result in potential risk, an ethics application including the proposed amendments must be submitted to the relevant UKZN Research Ethics Committee. The original exemption number must be cited.

In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number.

PLEASE NOTE:

Research data should be securely stored in the discipline/department for a period of 5 years.

I take this opportunity of wishing you everything of the best with your study.

Yours sincerely,

Prof Johannes John-Langba
Academic Leader Research
School Of Applied Human Sc

UKZN Research Ethics Office
Westville Campus, Govan Mbeki Building
Postal Address: Private Bag X54001, Durban 4000
Website: <http://research.ukzn.ac.za/Research-Ethics/>

Executive Committee Edson Howard College Medical School Pietermaritzburg Westville

INSPIRING GREATNESS

Appendix B

Ten-Step Guide to Conducting Psychobiography with Reflective Researcher Questions

Step 1: Commitment to Rigorous and Ethically Informed Psychobiographical Research

Question 1: Do I have the time, energy, and drive to study this historic figure in depth?

Question 2: Is my subject of interest long or recently deceased or still living, and have I thought through the ethical and legal implications of reporting on her/his life?

Step 2: Choosing One's Historic Subject

Question 3: Whom do I "feel called" to study?

Question 4: Is/was the person a public figure?

Question 5: Is there enough background information on the subject for me to develop a satisfactory knowledge base from which to proceed?

Step 3: Deciding on an Individual or Team Approach

Question 6: Would I prefer to work on this study alone or with one or more co-authors?

Question 7: Do I have colleagues who share my deep interest in this subject and who are willing to engage in a rigorous and perhaps lengthy research process?

Question 8: If working with colleagues, how will we delegate work and writing tasks and what will be the order of authors listed?

Step 4: Specifying Initial Goals and Research Questions in this Psychobiography?

Question 9: Why am I conducting this psychobiography?

Question 10: What can this study add to knowledge of this historic subject that is not already available in biographies or documentary films on the subject?

Question 11: Are there mysteries or unanswered questions in the subject's life that I can shed light on as a professional counsellor?

Step 5: Initial Theory Choice

Question 12: When I think about this subject's life and mysteries about their life, which psychological theory or theories may form a context for understanding the individual's inner self?

Question 13: Will one comprehensive theory suffice or should I integrate multiple theories to interpret this life?

Question 14: Am I well-versed enough in these theories to begin, or should I revisit the theories first?

Step 6: Delving into the Research Process

Question 15: What and how much information -- historical, biographical, and psychological -- is already available on my selected subject? How much have I already read?

Question 16: What are my first-, second-, and third-person sources/documents?

Question 17: Will the study rest on only publically available information, or will I incorporate interviews (e.g., of next-of-kin and associates of still living or recently deceased subjects, or historians/biographers of long-deceased subjects)?

Step 7: Iterative Nature of the Research

Question 18: What should be the next steps of the research?

Question 19: Are my initial operating theories and research questions still the most relevant? Do I need to adapt theory or the goals of the inquiry?

Step 8: Assessing Alternative Explanations

Question 20: Have I avoided confirmatory bias during the research process?

Question 21: Have I considered, weighed, and evaluated any possible alternative explanations for the event or subject's behaviour of focus?

Step 9: Ethical Decision-making Model

Question 22: Have I attended to legal and ethical issues throughout the course of this study?

Question 23: Did any ethical challenges emerge during the research and reporting of this study, and did I take established steps to address these issues and limit the harmful consequences that may have emerged in the research?

Question 24: Have I consulted with colleagues in counselling, psychology, history, and law with regard to emergent ethical challenges?

Step 10: Writing Up and Publishing the Study

Question 25: Can I best represent this study in a brief article or book chapter format?

Question 26: Do I want to continue research on this subject and perhaps expand my work into a book?

Question 27: Shall I present this study at a professional conference and/or to various lay groups who have interest in my historical subject?

Question 28: Am I open to discussing my research in the media, in radio or television interviews? Who at my institution can help me arrange media contact?

Question 29: How has/can this research inform my teaching and counselling supervision of junior colleagues?

Question 30: How has this research enhanced both my research skills and my counselling skills?

Adapted from Ponterotto (2017).

Appendix C

Exile

So many years since we last see each other

Such a long time ago (not so good for lovers)

I was in underground Running away from the blood house

I never got a chance to say goodbye

Running from the blood house

Exiled in Botswana

I was in underground

Running away from apartheid

Freedom was a long time coming

Said Aster Manyana to all the crying

Now we are together again

Slavery goodbye

Exile Is a traumatising horror (exile)

A nightmare full of terror (exile)

A destabilizing drama (exile)

A suicidal downer (exile)

A dehumanizing outrage (exile)

A continuous bondage

Exile exile exile exile

Exile exile exile

Artist: Hugh Masekela

Album: No borders

Released: 2016

Source: <https://www.lyrics.com/lyric/33490697/Hugh+Masekela/Exile>

Appendix D

Stimela

There is a train that comes from Namibia and Malawi
There is a train that comes from Zambia and Zimbabwe
There's a train that comes from Angola and Mozambique
From Lesotho, from Botswana, from Swaziland,
From all the hinterland of Southern and Central Africa

This train carries young and old, African men
Who are conscripted to come and work on contract
In the golden mineral mines of Johannesburg
And its surrounding metropolis, sixteen hours or more a day
For almost no pay

Deep, deep, deep down in the belly of the earth
When they are digging and drilling that shiny mighty evasive stone,
Or when they dish that mish mesh mush food into their iron plates with the iron shank
Or when they sit in their stinking, funky, filthy,
Flea-ridden barracks and hostels
They think about the loved ones they may never see again
Because they might have already been forcibly removed
From where they last left them
Or wantonly murdered in the dead of night
By roving, marauding gangs of no particular origin,
We are told They think about their lands, their herds
That were taken away from them

With a gun, and the bomb, and the teargas, the gatling and the cannon
And when they hear that Choo-Choo train

A-chugging, and a pumping, and a smoking, and a pushing, a pumping, a crying and a steaming and a chugging and a whooo
whooo!

They always cuss, and they curse the coal train, The coal train that brought them to Johannesburg. Whooo whoooo!

Artist: Hugh Masekela

Album: *I Am Not Afraid*

Released: 1974

Source: <https://genius.com/Hugh-masekela-stimela-the-coal-train-lyrics>

Appendix E

Soweto Blues

The children got a letter from the master
It said: no more Xhosa, Sotho, no more Zulu
Refusing to comply they sent an answer
That's when the policemen came to the rescue
Children were flying bullets dying
The mothers screaming and crying
The fathers were working in the cities
The evening news brought out all the publicity
Just a little atrocity Deep in the city

Soweto blues

Soweto blues

Soweto blues

Soweto blues

Benikuphi ma madoda [*IsiXhosa language, meaning where were the men*]

Mabedubula abatwana [*when the children were being shot*]

Benikhupina [*where were you*]

Abatwana beshaywa ngezimbokodo [*when the children were throwing stones*]

Benikhupina [*where were you*]

Artist: written by Hugh Masekela, performed by Mariam Makeba

Album: Welela

Released: 1976

Source: <https://genius.com/Miriam-makeba-soweto-blues-lyrics>

Appendix F

Bring Him Back Home, Nelson Mandela

Bring back Nelson Mandela

Bring him back home to Soweto

I want to see him walking down the streets of South Africa (tomorrow)

Bring back Nelson Mandela

Bring him back home to Soweto

I want to see him walking hand in hand with Winnie Mandela

No more apartheid

Mayibuye [*Zulu phrase often used during protests, meaning bring back power to Africa*]

Mayibuye

Yelele, buya Mandela [*'buya' is an isiZulu word, meaning come back Mandela*]

Yelele, buya Mandela

Yelele, buya Mandela

Bring back Nelson Mandela

Bring him back home to Soweto

I want to see him walking down the streets of South Africa (tomorrow)

Bring back Nelson Mandela

Bring him back home to Soweto

I want to see him walking hand in hand with Winnie Mandela

No more apartheid

Bring back Nelson Mandela

Bring him back home to Soweto

I want to see him walking down the streets of South Africa (when? tomorrow)

Artist: Hugh Masekela


Album: Tomorrow

Released: 1987

Source: <https://genius.com/Hugh-masekela-bring-him-back-home-nelson-mandela-lyrics>

Appendix G

Turnitin Report



turnitin

Digital Receipt

This receipt acknowledges that Turnitin received your paper. Below you will find the receipt information regarding your submission.

The first page of your submissions is displayed below.

Submission author: Sannah Zimbaye
Assignment title: Dissertation 2024
Submission title: Minor Dissertation - Sannah Tsatsawane Zimbaye.docx
File name: Minor_Dissertation_-_Sannah_Tsatsawane_Zimbaye.docx
File size: 439.94K
Page count: 178
Word count: 54,863
Character count: 331,505
Submission date: 18-Jul-2024 02:00AM (UTC+0200)
Submission ID: 2418421259



UNIVERSITY OF
ZIMBABWE
UNYANZVEDU MANZVI

"To be a translating being, a mediator of sense, a delectating being, a
solidified dream, a delectating being, a confidence breaker". A
Psychobiography of Hugh Maseko: Harare

By
Sannah Tsatsawane Zimbaye
Matric Number: 22118419

Submitted in partial fulfillment for the degree of Master of Social Sciences in
Clinical Psychology
College of Education, School of Applied Human Sciences, Department of Psychology
University of Zimbabwe
July 2024

Supervisor: Professor Phisoan James Chiriro

Copyright 2024 Turnitin. All rights reserved.

Minor Dissertation - Sannah Tsatsawane Zimbaye.docx

ORIGINALITY REPORT

12%	11%	4%	5%
SIMILARITY INDEX	INTERNET SOURCES	PUBLICATIONS	STUDENT PAPERS