Hip-hop As Community Psychology: A Participatory Research Project with Adolescent Co-Researchers

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ABSTRACT

This research explores the ways young people engage with UK Hip-hop and Grime (UKHHG) culture for their wellbeing and what UKHHG culture might teach clinical psychology about supporting young people's wellbeing.

The research is also broadly concerned with the potential connections between the ideas and aims of liberation and community psychology, and the culture and ideas of UKHHG and young people's engagement with it. Through a qualitative exploration of UKHHG culture the research question that is investigated is:

What are the relationships between socio-political issues and the wellbeing of young people in inner London, through examining UKHHG culture and community?

The research used a participatory action research methodology. The primary researcher worked with a co-researchers team consisting of two adolescent coresearchers, one young adult co-researcher, two participation youth workers, and two professional Hip-hop artists. The team met together, planning and conducting the research for over four months. The data for this research was collected from three discussion forums with an additional nine young people, eleven young adult and adult artists, and three youth support workers. Using thematic analysis two main themes were identified: UKHHG as a Source of Transformation, and 'The System' and 'The Struggle'. Participants give accounts of UKHHG's potential as a vehicle for individual and collective transformation and the role that UKHHG can have in supporting and promoting their resilience, as well as the ways it helps them to resist and survive the challenging socio-political contexts they face as members of marginalised communities. Recommendations for clinical psychology include: the need to build on young people's knowledges, and learn from the resilience, skills and resistance that marginalised communities are already utilizing; using these knowledges and skills to transform the ways that services and community interventions are developed and implemented; approaching work with young people with authenticity through being one's self, having a critical consciousness, resonating with others, and transparency of intentions.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Psychological services and therapeutic models are rarely designed with any input from the young people that they are aimed at supporting. Despite evidence that young people aged 12-24 experience some of the highest incidence and prevalence of emotional difficulties (Patel et al., 2007; McCulloch, 2007), many state-funded child and adolescent mental health services (CAMHS) struggle to engage with young people who fall into this age bracket (McGorry et al., 2013; Kennedy, 2010).

In this introduction I argue that psychological services could learn from the alternative support systems with which young people already engage. Alternative approaches to psychology, such as liberation and community psychology, have proposed a model of psychology that is reconstructed from the knowledges that communities already possess about protecting and enhancing their wellbeing. I believe that through working alongside marginalised communities, psychology can learn from the ways in which these communities address the sociopolitical issues that they face.

One possible avenue of support for young people is the UK Hip-hop and Grime (UKHHG) community. In 2010, following student protests, UKHHG artist Lethal Bizzle accused David Cameron of being too far removed from today's youth, suggesting that he and other UKHHG artists were better equipped to relate to young people from low socio-economic backgrounds. Young people who are themselves part of the UKHHG community as fans or artists may find solidarity and understanding in an art form that discusses pertinent issues such as poverty and racism. Socio-economic conditions such as these have been widely regarded as being related to issues of emotional distress, and wellbeing.

This introduction explores these ideas in greater depth, beginning with an exploration of some of the current socio-political issues that young people in the UK are facing. I then introduce ideas from community and liberation psychology, which represent alternative approaches to dominant psychology. I explain how these approaches have informed the scope and method of this research project. I

discuss why this project focuses on UKHHG and I explore elements in the history and current usage of UKHHG that sit particularly well within these alternative approaches to psychology. Finally, I reflect on my personal connections to this research topic and chosen methodology.

1.1 Young People's Wellbeing and Socio-political Context

It is important to introduce the term 'wellbeing' and explain how it is being used in this research. Wellbeing has become a popular term for describing 'all things health related' (Gillett-Swan & Sargeant, 2014). It has cynically been described as a new buzzword and it is often used as a substitute for the term 'mental health'. For the purposes of this project young people's wellbeing includes social, economic, environmental, psychological and emotional components (La Placa et al., 2013). Determinants of wellbeing include access to suitable housing, physical safety, economic and social resources, fairness, equality and social justice. Wellbeing is accrued over time and includes an individual's capacity to manage in the face of socio-political conditions that change over time (Gillett-Swan & Sargeant, 2014). Given this understanding of wellbeing, I will now explore some of the current socio-political issues that may be impacting the wellbeing of young people in the UK.

Young people have been badly hit by the knock-on effects of the 2008 economic recession. The current coalition government's continuing austerity measures have resulted in dramatic cuts in young people's services (Morrison, 2012b), and increasing costs of living. Unemployment levels are particularly high for 18-24 year olds (Vaitilingham, 2009). In today's neoliberal hypermarket-driven environment, young people are often expected to take up identities as consumers but given very little power over political activity. Lack of political and civil power contributes to young people's vulnerability, thus impacting their wellbeing (Mason & Hood, 2011). Young people are constructed simultaneously as the hope for the future and the cause of society's problems (Watts & Flanagan, 2007). Young people and the cultures in which they engage are often attacked by the media, and by the government (Giroux, 2012). They face increased social control through punishment and criminalisation, with increasing rhetoric about the need

to be tougher on youth crime (Porfilio et al., 2013; Batmanghelidjh, 2012). While crime rates have declined, public fear of crime remains high. In addition, public desire to tackle crime by locking up more offenders is higher in the UK than any other country in Europe (Morgan, 2012). The criminalisation of young people, based on adults' anxieties and assumptions about young people, has been found to contribute to young people feeling devalued, alienated, and anxious (Crawford, 2009).

Following the protests in August 2011, hearing from young people about their experiences is especially urgent in the context of the UK. The protests followed the death of Mark Duggan, who was shot by a police officer in North London on 4th August 2011. His death raised issues around police brutality, racism, and the targeting of young black men (Afuape, 2011a). Communities of mostly working class young people and young adults expressed their anger in relation to these issues through protests that escalated into violence and looting. This unrest, lasting four days, spread to 66 areas across the UK. Many of the young people who got involved saw themselves as being the main victims of police brutality or racially motivated police action (Morrell et al., 2011; Dodd, 2013). Following the unrest, the government's response was to push for stronger policing (Smith, 2011) and severe sentencing. Ken Macdonald QC, former Head of Crown Prosecutions Service, argued that the courts were affected by a 'collective loss of proportionality' (Bawdon, 2011). 17-year-old John Teamrat was interviewed regarding the causes of the uprisings; he argued that, 'Once the government can relate to younger people things will improve' (Gavrielides, 2011). While Mark Duggan's death acted as a catalyst, the government's failure to relate to, listen to and respond to the views of young people may have precipitated the unrest.

1.1.1 Young People as Unheard

Young people's experience of being unheard continues to persist despite the right of young people to make their views heard in everything that affects their lives, which is seen as a human right and is a central tenet of the UN Convention on the Rights of a Child (UNCRC 2009; Kirby, 2004). At a national level, young people's participation is at the heart of the Every Child Matters government initiative (Children and Young People's Unit, 2001). In the development of

Children's Trusts, as outlined in the Children Act (2004), it is a stated requirement that all children's services be child-centered and informed by the views of local young people (Street & Herts, 2005).

McGorry et al. (2013) argue that current mental health structures are 'fundamentally flawed', and designed with professionals in mind rather than in response to the needs of the communities that they serve. The drive towards non-tokenistic participation has been voiced within the NHS and children's services for many years (The NHS Confederation, 2011; Ahmed et al., 2011; Graham, 2011; Ward & Hearn, 2009). Despite this, only a limited amount of research on young people's mental health and wellbeing includes young people's views, and very little includes young people as active researchers (for exceptions to this see Chowns, 2008; Fattore et al., 2007; Jason et al., 2004; McLaughlin, 2005).

1.1.2 Current research on young people's wellbeing

Voices of young people saying in their own words what they feel and think about the impact of socio-political issues on their wellbeing are often missing from research. This research goes some way towards filling this gap.

While there has been a shift towards user involvement initiatives within the health system, much of this participatory research has focused on asking people who access services about improving existing services, giving little possibility for creating alternative spaces or making transformative political changes to the mental health system (Faulkner, 2011). McLaughlin's (2005) project, which actively involved young people in the evaluation of the NSPCC's Young People's Centers, gave high levels of participation to the young people involved. They conducted interviews and included young people and professionals in the process of disseminating the results of their research. It focused on evaluating an already existing service, with little space for young people to suggest alternative ways that the NSPCC might support young people. Many of the research parameters were already created before young people became involved.

Jason et al. (2004) detail several examples of participatory community research projects which highlight the principles, dilemmas and ethical issues in relation to participatory methodologies. However, the majority of these are relatively longterm projects conducted in partnership with already established community groups, supported by larger funding systems. This project is built on the belief that it is crucial that young people be involved at various levels of psychological practice including small-scale research. Such research has potential to impact their lives and they deserve to be an active part of producing it. With current economic cuts and structural changes, there are fears that clinicians working in the NHS may be reluctant to initiate innovative ways of working (Centre for Mental Health et al., 2011). This project attempts to allow a high degree of participation to the co-researchers within a small scale and time-limited framework. Its unique approach may serve as one model that other research or service development initiatives might use during times of austerity. I will now go on to discuss alternative approaches to mental health and wellbeing that have promoted the use of participatory research and given this research ethical and theoretical grounding.

1.2 Alternative Approaches to Wellbeing

The dominant Eurocentric approaches to mental health and wellbeing have focused on a medical model of psychological distress in which individuals are pathologised, and labelled with diagnoses and individualistic psychological explanations for their behaviour. Such approaches abstract young people from the social and economic contexts in which they live (Fattore et al., 2007). These dominant approaches have been critiqued, resisted, and rejected for alternative approaches in multiple locations globally (Burton, 2013). In the UK, the main critical stances have come from critical psychology, the anti-psychiatry movement, and community psychology. While no distinct delineation between these approaches can be made, critical psychology, influenced by postmodern philosophy, tends to focus on language and the structures of power that hold existing forms of language in place (Parker, 1999). The anti-psychiatry movement's main focus has been highlighting the link between oppression and mental health, and questioning the scientific basis of psychiatry and the

delineation between madness and sanity (Crossley, 1998). Community psychology's central work has been contesting the individualisation of human distress. It advocates for community and societal level interventions.

Community psychology has focused on practical approaches to supporting people at a community level, and interventions aimed at reducing the causes of psychological distress. Despite its intention to be practice-focused, community psychology has been criticised for tending to be theoretical and not always directly addressing issues of power and politics (Afuape & Hughes, in preparation; Kagan and Burton, 2001; Todd, 2011). In the UK community psychology network there is a growing interest in ideas from the Global South, such as Liberation Psychology approaches, that have been developed in South America, in Africa and the African diaspora (Afuape, 2011b). Community psychologists are now integrating liberation psychology ideas into their practice (Burton, 2004). This research draws on many overlapping ideas between community and liberation psychology. I will briefly describe the elements of community and liberation psychology that are relevant to this research project.

1.2.1 Community Psychology

While many texts place the development of Community Psychology as originating from the US at the Swampscott Conference in 1965 (Fryer, 2008, Kelly and Chang, 2008, Levine et al., 2005) there are many who question this approach to historical origin analysis arguing that it leaves out many marginalised voices and contributions and centers Western dominance in knowledge production (Fryer, 2008). There is no one narrative that can capture the history and development of community psychology. Rather there are multiple narratives, perspectives and sites in which many key community psychology ideas have emerged (Fowler & Toro, 2008). Many of the key principles of the community psychology that developed in the US were also present at other times and international location, eg., Europe (Fryer, 2008), Latin America (Montero, 2008), and Africa (Seedat, & Lazarus, 2011). Some of these key principles include a focus on making psychological interventions at the community rather than individual level, trying to address the social causes of emotional distress, promoting wellbeing and

prevention rather than reactive intervention, and engaging in collaborative psychology rather than expert led interventions (Fryer, 2008, Levine et al, 2005). Research that is problem focused and people led is also central to community psychology theory (See section 2.4 for more detail).

Community psychology views mental and physical health as hugely impacted by multilevel forces: social, structural, and multinational (Fryer & Fagan, 2003). Community Psychology is a heterogeneous discipline, which has varying definitions. The emphasis on diverting from the trend towards professionalism and giving psychology away, rather than 'experts' having exclusive access to psychological theories, is a communality that links community psychology practices across the world (Kagan et al., 2011). Kagan and Burton (2001) argue that community psychology also needs to open up its disciplinary boundaries and draw from a variety of disciplines. As will be discussed, liberation psychology's approach is to open up these boundaries to include knowledges from the communities with which we work with.

1.2.2 Liberation Psychology

Ignacio Martín-Baró is the main theorist associated with the term liberation psychology. A Spanish Jesuit priest who lived in El Salvador, a place he came to adopt as home. It is here, working alongside marginalised people, that he developed the liberation psychology movement (Burton, 2013; Portillo, 2012). Martín-Baró did not see liberation psychology as a new discipline of psychology; he saw the aims of liberation psychology as an ethical approach that could be part of the way that all psychology is practiced. Liberation psychology proposes that psychology be constructed from the position of the oppressed majorities, those who are victims of systemic oppression. Martín-Baró posited that psychology needed a new goal; highlighting the connections between social and political contexts and individual psychological suffering rather than pathologising individuals. He believed knowledge should be created in dialogue and psychologists must give up their positions as experts whose role it is to fix individual pathology (Martín-Baró, 1994).

He drew on Paulo Freire (1970), a Brazilian philosopher, activist and educator whose work impacted a diverse field of study and approaches to social action. Freire is best known for his theory of critical pedagogy (critical approach to systems of learning and anti-oppressive/anti-colonial approaches to education) and conscientisation. Conscientisation describes the process in which oppressed groups learn to perceive the socio-political constraints and ways that social forces create oppressive social systems. Intrinsic to the theory of conscientisation is the concept that practical action be taken against these oppressive forces: it is praxis. Conditions for conscientisation cannot be manualised as the process has to evolve in context (Freire, 1970; Montero, 2009). However, Freire (1970) did develop an approach that follows a sequence of action (on and in relation to social conditions) and reflection as a process in which marginalised communities could build on their critical consciousness of the impact of socio-political conditions on their lives.

Liberation is not something that one can give another person (Montero, 2009). The psychologist's role moves from expert to facilitator, supporting communities to read their realities, and engage in co-producing their own historical memory, critical analysis and social action. Martín-Baró describes a 'new praxis' and argues that knowledge about the world and how it works can be learned through actively trying to change the world; that through this praxis, one can learn about the possibilities and limitations of one's reality (Martín-Baró 1994).

Currently in psychology, production of knowledge largely comes from the institution rather than from the oppressed majority population. Taking a liberation approach requires one to challenge such approaches to knowledge production. One starts from the majority community, working with, not on, behalf of this community to generate knowledge. The emphasis is on transforming current psychological approaches by engaging with the community's forms of 'psychology' (Afuape, 2011b):

To take on a new perspective obviously does not mean throwing out all of our knowledge; what it supposes, rather, is that we will revitalize that knowledge and critically revise it from the perspective of the popular majorities. Only then will the theories and models show their validity or

deficiency, their utility or lack thereof, their universality or provincialism. Only then will the techniques we have learned display their liberating potential or their seeds of subjugation. (Martín-Baró, 1994; Pg 28)

Due to its challenge to dominant processes of knowledge production, the participatory action research (PAR) approach fits very naturally into liberation and community psychology approaches, the roots of these approaches coming from similar influences. Both PAR and liberation psychology have an emphasis on challenging forms of knowledge production, working with communities and building up social knowledge from the majority community. PAR methodology is a tool through which liberation psychology's values can be practiced.

This project is informed by the values underpinning PAR methods and aims to involve young people at various levels of the research process. Given the current economic and political climate, there is an urgent need for young people to be given spaces in which they can be heard. As someone who has worked as a young people's participation development worker, I value giving young people power over decisions, particularly in research that potentially impacts their lives. I am interested in the ways that PAR challenges methods of knowledge production and its potential to give young people a sense of power, competence and expertise (Mc Taggart, 1998; Street & Herts, 2005).

The participation of young people as active researchers enables clinicians to attend to what Percy-Smith (2007) describes as the 'policy gap' between professional conceptions of young people's needs, and what young people (particularly those from low socio-economic backgrounds) view as their needs in the context of their lived realities (Percy-Smith, 2007). A psychology that wants to be transformed by the majority population needs to pay attention to communities and cultures that appear to give young people creative ways of coping in oppressive socio-political environments. Using the concept of working with, rather than for, communities, within a PAR framework, this project seeks to explore socio-political issues with young people in the UKHHG community. Elements of UKHHG's history and ideals fit within a community and liberation psychology framework. This next section explores the history of UKHHG; how Hip-hop connects to resistance and socio-political issues.

1.3 Why Hip-hop/Grime?

I want to use UKHHG as a medium to help explore the connections between socio-political issues, such as different forms of oppression, social disadvantage, and marginalisation, and young people's emotional wellbeing. My choice of UKHHG as the medium is guided by my personal and professional relationship with UKHHG culture, which I discuss below. UKHHG is deeply participatory in its nature, being a form of music that is, to a large extent, produced by young people for the consumption of other young people. It is a large and diverse music genre with an equally diverse audience. There are some elements of UKHHG that make direct references to the links between emotional wellbeing and psychosocial and political problems.

Following the protests in 2011, Lowkey (2011) (Arab/English, male, born London, aged 28) and many other UKHHG artists were quick to respond with acute analyses of the events up to and following the uprisings (Elliott-Cooper, 2012). UKHHG has been described as protest music for today's young people (Hancox, 2011a; 2011b). Several social commentators and UKHHG artists concluded that these protests and riots were directly related to British society's failure to listen to voices of marginalised young people (e.g. Gavrielides, 2011; Novell, 2011; Elliott-Cooper, 2012, Lowkey, 2011).

During the student protests in 2010, which were organised around the increase to the cap on University tuition fees and cuts to further education funding, young people of all ages and class backgrounds came together, energised by sound systems playing Grime tunes such as Lethal Bizzle's (black male, aged 29, born Walthamstow, London) controversial record 'Pow! (Forward)' (Hancox, 2011a). It could be argued that these music artists are much more qualified to listen to and speak for young people than many of today's social care, health professionals and politicians. Lethal Bizzle, in an interview with Hancox (2011a), directing his words to David Cameron, states:

'Don't dismiss us, we've got more power than you have on the youth. You're a millionaire guy in a suit, your life is good, you can't relate. These kids can relate to people like myself, Wiley (black male, aged 35, born Bow, London), Dizzee (black male, aged 28, born Bow, London), Tinie Tempah (black male, aged 25, born Plumstead, London), Tinchy (black male, aged 27, born in Accra Ghana lives in Bow, London): we're from the council estates, we lived in these places where they live, we know what it's like. We're the real prime ministers of this country.'

Young people's dissatisfaction with government policy and other issues impacting on their lives, expressed by Lethal Bizzle and other community commentators, cannot be dismissed. The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) has exposed the failure of British society to meet the needs of young people. The wellbeing enjoyed by children in the UK was ranked in the bottom of 25 of the most industrialised countries in UNICEF's 2007 report on child poverty¹ (UNICEF, 2007).

1.3.1 Young People's Resource and Resilience

It is important psychology does not neglect to see the abilities and resources that communities utilise in surviving socio-political contexts in which they are marginalised. Many young people also exhibit resilience, and resistance. Wexler et al. (2009) argue that young people are not merely victims of socio-political forces; they are also active agents in resisting, making meaning, and forming their own identities. It is important to listen to and work with communities in identifying these forms of resilience. Wexler et al. (2009) also discuss the ways that marginalised groups may gain resilience through group identification. Through belonging to the Hip-hop community, young people may gain a sense of belonging and shared meaning making. This may help them to make sense of the social contexts that they face, possibly connect them to ideological values and orient their lives towards an active engagement with socio-political concerns.

¹ The UK's ranking was found to have increased to 16th in 2013. UNICEF Office of Research, (2013). 'Child Well-being in Rich Countries: A Comparative Overview', Innocenti Report Card 11, UNICEF Office of Research, Florence.

In order to understand the ways in which UKHHG culture may serve as a means of resilience for marginalised young people in the UK, I will first briefly outline what Hip-hop and Grime has come to mean for young people the UK through giving a brief history of how Hip-hop came to be a such powerful global cultural force and how it has developed in the context of the UK.

1.3.2 What is Hip-hop?

There is no such thing as a pure point of origin, least of all in something as slippery as music, but that doesn't mean there isn't history. (Hebdige, 1987, xi)

There are multiple narratives and debates on the origins of Hip-hop. Hip-hop is influenced by multiple cultural and social political moments. The style of storytelling and performance in rap has close parallels with the role of African griots (storytellers) in many pre-colonial African societies (Perkins, 1996). During the slave trade, African people were forcefully moved to the United States, the Caribbean and South America. In these new enforced locations they expressed, performed and developed many cultural ideas and art forms that had long been practiced in their places of origin. This heritage passed on to their descendants and has had an enormous impact on the cultural development of American music from Gospel, Jazz, Soul, Reggae, to Rock, and modern day Hip-hop.

The birth of Hip-hop culture is generally agreed to have taken place in the South Bronx, a district of New York, during the 1970s (Dyson, 2004; Price III, 2006), emerging in the aftermath of the 1960s American civil rights movement at a time of economic depression. It is argued that Hip-hop emerged in continuum with the ideals and aims of the civil rights movement; a resistant culture in opposition to the social structures that marginalised African American and Latino youth (Reiland, 2013). The context of high unemployment and poverty meant that 'young people were time rich but materially poor' (Clennon, 2012, 6). The streets became a site of resistance against oppression and reclaimed as a 'cultural positive'. In the South Bronx, in a context of poverty, racism, drug and alcohol addiction, there developed a gang culture in which young people formed new 'family' networks with gang members, like many urban areas in the United States.

The increasing prominence of gangs, drugs and gang rivalry meant increased violence and crime (Clennon, 2012).

Although Hip-hop culture did not bring an end to gang violence, in some ways it gave young people a creative space to express themselves through non-violent means. One of the key pioneers, DJ Kool Herc, was a Jamaican who helped to transform Jamaican sound system culture (Higgins, 2009). From early in its development, Hip-hop commented on social issues particularly facing African Americans in the United States. For example, 'The Message', a genre-defining Hip-hop song by Grandmaster Flash and the Furious Five (Fletcher et al., 1982), painted a picture of the daily struggles faced by low income African Americans in the 1980s. Ex-gang leaders such as Afrika Bambaataa saw Hip-hop as a tool for bringing fractured community members together to create something positive.

Among Hip-hop fans there is often reference to a golden age of Hip-hop; a nostalgic construction of the Hip-hop of the past when the content and form of Hip-hop had depth and political potential. Modern day Hip-hop is often constructed as co-opted by corporations that have changed the content and image of Hip-hop. There is a strong argument that there has always been a market for commercially viable Hip-hop (Hess, 2007). Hip-hop, from its early days, received negative criticism as a music genre that glorified violence, misogyny, homophobia, and is seen by many as negatively impacting young people. Some stress that Hip-hop artists reflect the daily realities of people's lives; that this music holds up a mirror to negative experiences in their lives. Others contend that Hip-hop creates and perpetuates these negative elements in people's lives, with listeners copying the negative behaviour that is portrayed in the music (Rose, 2008).

There are many modern day styles of Hip-hop that tackle these issues head on. Hip-hop is not a homogenous cultural form. It is made up of several different subgenres, including gangster rap, conscious Hip-hop, and Futurist/Sci-fi Hip-hop. While Hip-hop continues to have political elements, it has elements that glorify materialism, misogyny and homophobia and promote certain stereotypical constructions of black life. Hip-hop both has potentially progressive and politically

resistant elements to it while upholding many of the oppressions that it attempts to challenge. The debates over Hip-hop's influence and its content have arguably been most fiercely had among fans, artists, and scholars of Hip-hop. However, Hip-hop has faced a lot of criticism and censorship from media, government, and academics, which has impacted its development.

1.3.1 Hip-hop in the UK

Hip-hop has developed to become one of the most important elements of youth culture worldwide (Higgins, 2009). In the UK context it is much harder to separate and label different music genres and their historical roots. Musicians and fans have less need for labeling and identifying subtypes and the classification of music has generally been placed upon music by scholars and journalists (Payne, 2011; Bennett, 1999). In the UK, 'urban' music has come to be a way of describing music of black and Asian origin (MOBAO), and this term has come under some attack (Avia, 2012), as it is argued that the term functions as a way of disconnecting this music from its Black cultural origins. I will refer to MOBAO to describe a body of UK music that includes: garage, desi, drum and bass/jungle, Hip-hop, grime, dub, dubstep, break beat, R&B, soul, reggae, and dance hall.

In the UK, the development of MOBAO has been highly influenced by the unique mix of immigrant communities that inhabit the UK. Much of UK music includes strong elements of Jamaican, Asian, and African cultures. UK Hip-hop has its own style and its own history (Nygh, 2009; Hesmondhalgh & Melville, 2002). In the development of UK Hip-hop there were individuals who brought a British vernacular and subject matter to rap music. Smiley Culture was one of the pioneers of a British/Jamaican style rap. He was the first MC to rap with an English accent. His hit song 'Cockney Translation' (Culture, 1984) comically translated East End vernacular into Patois (Simpson, 2011).

Linton Kwesi-Johnson, a Jamaican poet, is a pioneer of oral performance portraying modern black British life (Payne, 2011; Morrison, 2012a). His famous poem 'Inglan is a Bitch' (Kwesi-Johnson, 1980) was a social commentary much like 'The Message', which talked about the Jamaican immigrant's experience of poverty and racism in 1980s England.

1.3.2 Grime Music

Grime has been described as the 'UK's home grown version of Hip-hop' (Collins, 2014). It developed in parallel and in connection to the development of UK Hip-hop. It has been argued that the Grime sound and style is so British that it hardly 'acknowledges the existence of American Hip-hop' (Hancox, 2009b). Born in Bow, East London 2002, and drawing from the UK garage scene, Grime is a fast (140 beats per minute) energetic sound. You can hear multiple cultural influences in Grime music while still hearing its distinct Britishness; the UK accent, the slang of London vernacular and the hard-edged, high-powered sound that has parallels with British punk.

Grime's development has partly been obstructed due to its vilification and demonisation by the media, and politicians. It has been marked by the police as a potential catalyst for violenct and criminal behaviour. Hancox (2009b) argues that Grime music has been unfairly targeted due to endemic discrimination within the police system based on race, class and age. The risk assessment form 696 is a form that all music venues are expected to fill out before an event, listing musicians names, and the ethnicity of the expected audience at the event. Suspicions have been raised that this form serves as a mechanism in order to target black music (Hancox, 2009a). Many Grime events have been shut down partly due to the use of these forms. It is believed that when events are expected to draw a largely black crowd they are shut down due to racist police perceptions that majority black audiences are associated with crime and the increased risk of violence (Collins, 2014). This kind of action from the police has understandably left fans and artists frustrated. The targeting of these events has had a detrimental impact on the commercial viability of the Grime music industry and has added to a perception of a racially motivated police force targeting spaces in which predominantly young black people gather.

1.3.3 Hip-hop and Psychology

While there is very little literature about the uses of Hip-hop in applied psychological practice in the UK, there are a few examples from the USA in which professionals have integrated elements from the culture of Hip-hop into existing psychotherapeutic models. Roychoudhury and Garder (2012) in the USA have developed what they call Hip-hop Psychology. The principal tenets of Hip-hop Psychology include using public or communal spaces as a context for therapy, communicating authentically, and a focus on the interaction between the individual and the community. They approach Hip-hop Psychology by using traditional structures of Western psychology and medicine collaboratively with Hip-hop's culture and philosophy. Other approaches have added discussions about Hip-hop into their therapeutic work, for example, Allen (2005) uses Hip-hop in social work with young people labelled 'at risk' by utilising Hip-hop lyrics as a talking point in therapy.

There is a lot of potential for innovative therapeutic approaches to emerge from the interaction between the culture of Hip-hop and styles of traditional therapy. However, I have a number of concerns that Hip-hop culture may be appropriated as a tool to encourage young people to engage with therapy under the premise that they would ordinarily not want to engage with traditional therapeutic models. One reason I am critical of using Hip-hop in therapy is informed by the critiques that have been made of traditional therapy as a whole (Mosher & Boyle, 2004; Johnstone, 2000; Smail, 2011). Therapy as a way of helping people overcome emotional distress has been critiqued as based on a naïve idea that 'insight' and 'willpower' can bring about significant change (Smail, 1999). Smail (2011) proposes that social contexts have a much greater impact on people's wellbeing than the therapeutic relationship. Therapy's focus on individuals overcoming their difficulties leaves the burden of responsibility for change in the hands of those who seek therapy and fails to tackle the socio-political structures that impact on people's wellbeing. Epston (1995) argues that individualistic psychotherapeutic interventions function as a relatively low cost response to emotional distress, compared with the funds needed to support social policy that would directly address social and economic inequality.

Further, psychology has a history of supporting, justifying and failing to challenge oppressive practices, for example, in relation to western psychology's role in the propagation and 'scientific' support for racist ideologies during colonisation (Richards, 1997). Even in more recent times, within the UK's mental health system, public inquiries and reviews have called for an acknowledgement of the persistence of institutionalised racism within the mental health system (MIND, 2003; NSC NHS, 2003; McKenzie, 1999). The lack of engagement by young people and marginalised groups with therapeutic interventions may well be an understandable reaction to the role that psychology has played in the perpetuation of oppression and social inequality (Keating et al., 2002; Mclean et al., 2003).

Gardner and Roychoudhury (2010) aim for Hip-hop Psychology to create spaces for empowering marginalised voices. It aligns well with the central aims of community psychology through its approach to making interventions at the community level. However, I am concerned about the risk that psychology might fail to address the socio-political contexts and the possibilities for structural change. Therefore, constructing therapy in a way that results in the burden of change lying in the hands of the marginalised young people that such interventions aim to support. I am also concerned about the risk of Hip-hop culture being appropriated by psychology while neglecting the history of Hip-hop and its connection to civil rights and political change.

This project seeks to engage with the ways that UKHHG connects to sociopolitical issues impacting on young people's wellbeing. It also seeks to consider
what clinical psychology can learn from the ways that young people engage with
UKHHG. The focus is not on the ways that Hip-hop might be incorporated into
existing therapeutic approaches. This project aims to explore the already existing
practices and knowledges young people are drawing on to help protect and
support their wellbeing. It hopes to encourage greater critical reflection on the
ways that psychology might be changed by these knowledges, while also
concentrating on how psychology might work with these communities for sociopolitical change.

1.4 Why I am Doing this Project

Consistent with non-positivist approaches to research, I contend that my values and subjectivity are critical elements in this research project and need to be reflected on transparently. As a black Londoner, I have a personal connection to UKHHG. I grew up being a part of UKHHG and UK MOBAO culture. This has impacted on my identity as a black Londoner and plays an important part in my sense of self. In some ways, I see myself as negotiating the boundaries of being an insider and an outsider researcher in this topic area (Tuhiwai-Smith, 1999). As an insider, I connect with the fans and producers of UKHHG as part of one of the many communities to which I belong. As an outsider, I approach these topics as an academic, influenced by institutional processes and western academic intellectual ideas. I seek to be transparent and reflect on the ways these positions impact on the research.

My experience as a young people's participation worker has given me personal insight into the value of giving young people the space to be co-producers of knowledge and leaders in community and social change. I believe that clinical psychology has a role to play in creating and supporting genuine ways in which young people's views can be heard (Novell, 2011), thus supporting their wellbeing. Clinical psychology services could be greatly improved through greater attention to young people's views on the social issues that impact their emotional wellbeing and their resilience. Young people need to be involved at every level of mental health services, including research. I feel that psychology should work alongside communities, acknowledging that these communities have developed ways to address local, social, political and individualised problems and construct mechanisms of self-reliance (Fatimilehin & Coleman, 1999).

1.5 The Research Question and Aims

This project is interested in exploring what clinical psychology can learn from the ways UKHHG engages with socio-political impacts on young people's lives and wellbeing and how young people might be managing some of these impacts

through their engagement with UKHHG. These ideas have led me to formulate this broad research question and the following research aims:

What are the relationships between socio-political issues and the wellbeing of young people in inner London, through examining UKHHG culture and community?

Aims:

- How young people manage in the context of the socio-political issues they face
- How their engagement with UKHHG might impact their wellbeing
- What clinical psychology can learn from UKHHG communities and the ways that young people engage with them for their wellbeing

The broad research question and aims will be adjusted through the PAR process so that the co-researcher team may decide on the specific focus of the research project. In the next chapter, Methodology, I detail the rationale for using PAR as my methodological approach. Using thematic analysis within a critical realist epistemology, I then detail the research procedure. In Chapter 3, Results, I present my findings through the themes and subthemes identified through my analysis. In Chapter 4, Discussion, I reflect on my findings, connecting them to the research questions and aims, relevant theories, and socio-political contexts. I critically reflect on the process of this research and the implications of my findings.

2. METHODOLOGY

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter I introduce the PAR method and present my rationale for choosing this method. I outline the epistemological assumptions that underlie how knowledge is understood in this research project. I describe the rationale for my choice of thematic analysis as my analytical approach to the data. I describe my positioning in relation to the research before giving a detailed account of the methodological procedure: participant recruitment, planning processes, ethical considerations, schedule, content of meetings, data collection, transcription and final data analysis.

2.3 Why PAR?

PAR aims to give people who are usually the 'researched' the opportunity to be active participants in the research process. PAR gives participants a degree of control over the development and implementation of the research process (Cornwell & Jeweks, 1995). PAR is a tool used by community psychologists working within a liberatory framework that directly questions the power differentials between professional 'researchers' and those that are 'researched' (Clark, 2004). PAR directly attempts to challenge inequality and the distribution of power (Fals Borda, 1988). PAR fits well with Liberation Psychology's ideals of building a psychology that comes from the people through working cooperatively with communities to solve real life problems.

Researchers using PAR methodologies within academic contexts can be perceived as going against the tide, because PAR is seen as a challenge to the 'hard science' approach of the majority of highly regarded research (MacDonald, 2012). Within academic settings, PAR has been criticised because pure PAR approaches do not set research questions at the beginning of the research, but rather allow the focus of the project to emerge as it evolves. Planning PAR research can be difficult; it can be hard to know how long a project will need to

last to be completed. Another criticism is that it can be difficult to distinguish exactly the individual researcher's contribution to the research, as roles are shared throughout the process of PAR projects. Thus, the researcher's role as facilitator rather than expert can create problems, especially for students in academic institutions (Bergold & Thomas, 2012).

It is a requirement of a doctoral proposal that primary researchers state their research question before a project can be registered with the university research registration board. This is an ethical requirement in order that the board has a full understanding of the topic area and planned structure of the research. However, it is important to the PAR process that participants/co-researchers have some control over what is researched. Optimally, participants would be able to choose the research question themselves. As a primary researcher, I attempted to create a halfway position where co-researchers had a high degree of choice over the area researched while I had a relatively concrete idea of my research proposal aims before the project began. As the primary researcher, I chose the broader research question prior to the involvement of the co-researcher team and designed the project so the questions chosen by the co-researcher team could be addressed within the broader research question. The co-researchers chose the focus of the research, but they were already informed about my broader research interests and understood that I was studying psychology. I believe this knowledge may have influenced their choice of topics and research questions towards something connected to my research interests.

The participation ladder (Arnstein, 1969) describes a gradient scale of participation ranging from participants having no participation to participants having full "citizen power". This scale acts indicates the level of participation to be aimed for and of the ways in which PAR projects can fall into the pitfalls of not giving the greatest degree of participation possible and maintaining power inequalities that result in participant involvement being tokenistic rather than authentic. While participant involvement in this project did not give participants full "citizen" control, I aimed to create as many opportunities for full participation as I could, within the limitations and scale of the project.

2.3.1 PAR in Clinical Psychology

Scientific evaluation of psychological interventions has, and continues to be, prevalent in the field today, where evidence-based practice and randomly controlled trials are seen as the gold standard in psychological research. This is a top down approach in which policy is generally developed in partnership with the academy, informing decisions about who should be given what treatment and how, although the three circles model of evidence based practice (see figure 1) does require that clinical decision-making takes the people that access services values, understandings and alternatives into account. This process, described as a bottom up approach, does not incorporate people who access services leading research. Ultimately clinicians make the final decisions and people's views are just one of three processes influencing this decision-making, in practice there is greater emphasis on top down processes (Spring, 2007).



Figure 1. Three circles of evidence based practice. Evidence based practice is said to incorporate these three elements through the process of clinical decision-making. (Spring, 2007, p613)

The reflective-practitioner model has been developed as an alternative to the scientist-practitioner approach. This model still positions the clinician in an expert

role, rather than giving greater value to the knowledges and experiences that the people they work with could bring to psychology. Reconfiguring the power dynamics within psychology so that psychology comes from the people rather than being done to people is an important element of liberation psychology and PAR that can be considered an alternative to these expert led models. PAR invites the inclusion of the views of marginalised communities, and has the potential to challenge the process of knowledge production within clinical psychology. Giving value to the voices and experiences of the people who are impacted by clinical psychologies activities, PAR directly challenges the scientific approach of the researcher as expert and controller of research direction by being pluralistic and valuing the research participants' knowledge and understanding.

In addition, PAR is an appropriate method to be used in clinical psychology and other applied psychologies as it is a research method that can help close the gap between practice and research. Despite the prevalence of the scientist-practitioner model, which values empirically informed practice, the majority of clinical psychologists feel they do not have time to conduct and publish research (Youngson, 2009). This lack of research may in part be because empirical research models are far removed from the actual day-to-day work of applied psychologists. PAR may fit more easily into psychological practice as it incorporates community interventions as well as information gathering. This is not to say that PAR is the best method and that other methods have no place, but it may support a model of psychology where practice can help develop theory (Dick, 1996).

2.3.2 PAR in Academic Research

One of the challenges in writing a PAR project as part of academic assessment is that PAR is non-linear process. It is a process that emerges through time and cannot be known fully at its outset (Greenwood et al., 1993). Much of the skill and expertise is developed and evidenced through the management of this emerging non-linear process, for example, working flexibly by alternating roles when demanded by the project: at times facilitator, mentor, director, and/or project manager. PAR researchers must manage changes to the structure and content of

the process, whilst being alert to ways to increase participation wherever possible and communicating the limitations and general remit of the project to those involved.

In the next section, I describe the epistemological stance of this research, a critical realist approach informed by epistemological assumptions of liberation and community psychology, which fits a participatory action methodology and a community/liberation psychology framework.

2.4 Epistemology

Epistemology describes the values and assumptions about the kind of knowledge that can be created through research. In this section, I highlight the links between my methodology, and the underlying values that inform this research. Internal consistency between these elements of research and transparent epistemological positioning are crucial (Carter & Little, 2007).

Both Community and Liberation Psychology approaches to research share critical and compatible positions in relation to where knowledge comes from and the limits and potentials of knowledge. A Liberation Psychology approach proposes that knowledge about the world can be learned from actively trying to change the world and through these attempts to change the world discovering its limitations and possibilities (Martín-Baró, 1994). Community psychology also advocates active engagement with the world (Kagan et al. 2011). Community psychological approaches reject objectivity and argue that our understanding of the world is mediated by our subjectivity (Hanlin et al., 2008). Community psychology is explicit about holding values of social change including the belief that social inequalities, such as those caused by racism, sexism, homophobia, ageism, ableisim, and cissexism, be explicitly considered in research and practice. Researchers are expected to make their own values and connections to the research subject explicit, without letting these values make them biased towards one perspective. PAR views knowledge as produced in collaboration with coresearchers and participants. The knowledge produced through PAR is seen as

specific to the context in which it was generated, while producing information that may connect with wider socio-political issues (Carter, 2007).

2.4.1 Critical Realism

This research takes a critical realist epistemological stance. Critical realism acknowledges the ways in which all knowledge is socially mediated, subjective and dependent on human interpretation and creation. It is a useful framework for research, which seeks to explore complexity and supports the idea that phenomena should be understood and studied in real world situations. Critical realists contend that there is a real world but that world is not objectively knowable. One definition of critical realism is based on an idea of ontological realism plus epistemological constructivism (Maxwell, 2012). Therefore, critical realists reject a strong relativist stance, permitting claims to be made about material reality while at the same time viewing knowledge as provisional and always open to challenge (Parker, 1998). This project values multiple perspectives as valid accounts of phenomena, but rather than take a strong relativist stance, knowledge about the world is understood as having a connection to real and material experiences of the world.

Critical realism allows for the possibility of agency while at the same time acknowledging the social and political constraints on the ability of individuals and communities to act with agency in all situations, which makes it compatible with Liberation Psychology, Community Psychology and PAR. It considers it possible for individuals and communities to play active roles in transforming their sociopolitical environment. Individuals are seen as giving accounts of reality. These accounts might be accurate or inaccurate and do not necessarily determine reality. Culture is seen as both created by people and as having its own structure external to individuals (Clark, 2008).

2.4.2 Problematising 'Giving Voice'

Social constructionists and feminists have justifiably critiqued the idea of 'giving voice' or doing 'emancipatory' research. These critiques argue that individuals have multiple shifting identities and accounts of their experiences (Chadderton, 2011). Therefore, capturing the views of young people at one point in time cannot

represent all young people or stay static. The experiences of participants and coresearchers do not necessarily reflect a critical awareness of the wider contexts. For example, marginalised people can still perpetuate oppressive discourses, such as racist ways of talking or understanding their own and other people's experiences. The epistemological stance of this research rejects a strong relativism while taking an explicitly social justice approach.

While this project is informed the ideas from Liberation Psychology; reconstructing psychology from the "majority population" (Martín-Baró, 1994), it seeks to avoid romanticising the contributions of marginalised people. This research also acknowledges that the knowledge produced through this research process is not a pure representation of the true views and opinions of the coresearchers and participants, these views and opinions are translated through my (as the primary researcher) subjective and theoretical standpoints. The experiences and words of young people, participants and co-researchers are not viewed as more 'authentic' than 'expert' understandings informed by psychological theories. However, despite the need to avoid making claims to 'authenticity' in relation to people's experiences, it is important to work towards distributing power to co-researchers and participants through the PAR process (Alcoff, 1991).

Both expert-led research and PAR can risk speaking for participants. PAR acknowledges and reflects on this while attempting to create spaces for participants/co-researcher to take control, give direction and be involved in the co-production of knowledge. While maintaining constructionist skepticism towards claims to an absolute truth, this research is also guided by the view that people's accounts of their experiences have some real material connections to the realities of their lives.

2.5 Rationale for using Thematic Analysis

PAR is a dynamic approach to research which aims to explore complexity; it was felt that thematic analysis, a direct and adaptable analytic method, would be best suited to this project. The thematic analytical approach requires researchers to identify groups of patterns in the data that connect to significant themes in relation to the research question. Thematic analysis is a simple, but not simplistic, and flexible approach that can be used within various epistemological approaches and across different methods (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Thematic analysis is concerned with how participants make meaning and, thus, connects well with within an understanding of knowledge as co-constructed through the PAR process. This project focuses on the ideas that participants generate rather than focusing on how they use language. It seeks to gain knowledge of participants' personal accounts and how their accounts connect to wider socio-political issues, rather than focus merely on their subjective perspectives. In this approach, themes are identified when they 'capture something important in relation to the overall research question' (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p10) and are not selected on the basis of the number of occurrences of the theme in the data. Themes presented must be considered in context while reflecting the content of the entire data set, rather than a selection of themes as preferred by the researcher (Joffe, 2011).

This research uses an inductive and deductive approach to thematic analysis; inductive as some of the themes and sub themes identified are closely linked to the data, not derived from existing theoretical information, deductive as some of the themes reflect my theoretical interests and are chosen in relation to how they link to the research questions (Braun & Clarke, 2006). I approached the thematic analysis through using an adapted six-stage method (see section 2.6.14 Analysis) as outlined by Braun and Clarke (2006).

2.6 Procedure

The project took place over a period of five months. The procedure as outlined below is given, where possible, in chronological order.

2.6.1 Consultation Prior to Recruitment

Before beginning my formal recruitment for co-researchers and participants, I consulted two groups of people in order to encourage a large element of participation in the planning and organising stage of the project. I invited people in my personal and professional networks that work with young people and/or work in the UK music industry to meet with me as consultants on the project. These meetings were fairly informal in structure. I explained the aims and structure of the project and asked for people to comment, critique or add suggestions of changes to the process of the project (see table 1 for a list of attendees at these two consultations).

The outcomes of these meetings were that the attendees of this consultation were very supportive of the project. They suggested other people, organisations, or Hip-hop artists that I might want to contact to help with the project and advised me to recruit individual young people with a personal interest in UKHHG music and already engaged in youth projects as opposed to working with one organisation. They helped identify inaccessible language in my information sheets and publicity and encouraged my use of social networking.

I identified two participatory youth workers working for a collectively managed young people's organisation called Youth Participation & Inclusion² (YPI). They communicated that they were able to support me with the project. I knew these workers through my previous work. They both had valid DBS certificates. Their main roles were to help manage any possible safeguarding issues. The safeguarding policy of the project (APPENDIX 1) was written in partnership with YPI.

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² This is a pseudonym to retain anonymity.

Table 1: Timeline month 1-3 showing; project phases, activities and list of participants (Where names have been used these are pseudonyms for those who signed consent forms and/or took part in the forum discussions)

Timeline	Month 1	Month 2	Month 2 Month 3						
Phases of the project		RECRUIT	RECRUITMENT OF CO-RESEARCHERS						
	Consultations		Consultations Planning Meetings		Co-researchers meetings				
	1st	2nd	1st	2nd	1st	2nd	3rd		
Descripti on of Phase activities					Intros – finding a focus	Interview Skills and questions	Interview Skills and questions		
People present, role and (age)	Participat ory Youth worker/ Trainee social worker Musician/ Singer Youth offending officer Hip-hop fan	Young person, Hip-hop fan and spoken word poet Community music project worker Maria – Partici- patory Youth worker	Nia – Participatory youth worker (27) Maria - Participat ory youth worker (29) Journalist (28) Noah – Beat boxer (18) Josh - MC (15) Temi (25) Hip-hop fan	Maria (29) Josh (15) Noah (18) Temi (25) Journalist (28) Film maker (27)	Nia (27) Josh (15) Noah (18) Temi (25) Film maker (27)	Nia (27) Josh (15) Noah (18) Temi (25) Film maker (27)	Nia (27) Josh (15) Noah (18) Temi (25) Maria (29)		

Table 2: Timeline month 3-5 showing; project phases, activities and list of participants (Where names have been used these are pseudonyms for those who signed consent forms)

Timeline	Month 3	Month 4 Month 5				
Phases of the project		RECRUITMENT OF FORUM PARTICIPANTS				
				DATA COLLECTION		
	Co-re	esearchers Me	etings	Forum Meetings		
	1st	2nd	3rd	1st	2nd	3rd
Description of Phase activities	Planning & recruitment for forum	Planning the forum	Practicing the structure of the forum	Data collection Hip-hop artists and/or young people	The co- researchers – Reflection	Forum at Young people's organisation
People Present, role and (age)	Nia (27) Josh (15) Temi (25) Maria (29) Zine - Artist/Film maker (28) Morpheus – Artist/MC (31)	Nia (27) Josh (15) Noah (18) Temi (25) Maria (29) Zine (28) Morpheus (31)	Nia (27) Josh (15) Noah (18) Temi (25) Maria (29)	Josh (15) Noah (18) Nia (27) Maria (29) Xpose (29) Chaos (28) Shadow Box (35) Tread (20) Blu (24) Motion (28) Temi (25) Endgame (33) MC Blaze (29) Kofi (30) Rook (29) Morpheu s (31) Zine (28) Marlon (17) Impact (35)	Nia (27) Josh (15) Noah (18) Temi (25)	Nia (27) Josh (15) Noah (18) Morpheus (31) Blake (32) Melissa (14) Leon (13)

2.6.2 Ethical Approval

I was granted ethical approval from the University of East London ethics committee (APPENDIX 2) before the recruitment process began.

2.6.3 Recruitment

Many active participants in UKHHG culture are young people often labeled by services in the social care sector as "hard to reach". The term "hard to reach" is an often-applied catch-all term to describe a large and disparate group of individuals including black, African, African-Caribbean, Asian, working class, teenagers and young men. The label has been used to construct people belonging to these groups as having intrinsic characteristics that mean they are often excluded from services. Kalathil (2009) explores the concept of "hard to reach" in relation to the involvement of black and minority ethnic communities within 'service user' involvement schemes, arguing that it is important to examine the institutional and organisational structures and mechanisms that construct minority cultures as hard to reach, rather than locating the problems within the communities themselves.

Rather than locating the problem of engagement within the community, this project aimed to create the greatest possibilities for involvement and inclusivity. Creating this structure required a flexible and open approach to recruitment and the use of non-traditional routes of communicating information to people about the research project (Street & Herts, 2005). The recruitment and structure of the project was informed by the consultation process and regular informal evaluation.

Part of the recruitment process began during the consultation phase. The consultants suggested places to recruit young people meeting the inclusion criteria. I created publicity leaflets and posters (see APPENDIX 3), which I emailed to music and art related organisations working with young people. I handed out leaflets at Hip-hop performances and events and spoke to people at these events about the project. I presented at a young people's organisation. I set up a Twitter account and Facebook page, to connect with organisations working with young people and people who might be resourceful to the project.

The recruitment process was open-ended. I decided the project would start with the co-researchers recruited by a certain date, and remain open for people to join the group at later stages of the project, to make the project accessible, and create a space where people could discover what the project was about and not necessarily commit to every meeting. Three weeks before the start date of the project, four young people and two independent filmmakers who were interested in being involved came forward. I met with the members of this group for two planning meetings (see section 2.6.5).

2.6.4 Co-researcher Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria

Participants were required to be aged 13-25, living in or attending school/education in inner London, with a personal interest in UKHHG music and culture. I chose this age group as it aligned with the age group communally referred to as young people in health and social care contexts. This is also the age range of many Hip-hop and Grime listeners. I chose to exclude children under the age of thirteen, as they may have needed more support and time in conducting the research. I did not exclude young people who might have been in receipt of mental health services. I did not exclude disabled co-researchers and explicitly welcomed them to apply to take part (see information letters APPENDIX 4). I excluded young people who would not have been able to give informed consent, such as young people in severe emotional distress, which would impact on their ability to understand what would be required of them and the consequences of their involvement.

2.6.5 Planning meetings

I invited the young people and filmmakers interested in the project to the two planning meetings. These meetings were intended to orient the interested parties to the aims for the project and give participants opportunities to influence how the project would be structured. It was an opportunity to determine what skills and knowledges they might want to bring to the process.

In the first meeting I explained what the project was about and went through the information sheets, ensuring that everyone understood the need for confidentiality and individual and parental consent. I tried to create a space in

which participants could get to know one another and discuss our reasons for being involved in the project. In the second planning meeting we explored: the initial focus of the project; age range and inclusion criteria; organisation and structure of meetings; and presentation of findings.

The co-researchers preferred centrally located venues, and agreed times and days of the week. They thought the age range should be flexible as long as it was young people-led and the main inclusion criteria should be a connection to UKHHG. We increased the age range up to thirty-five. We decided to narrow down the focus of the project, concentrating on the impact of UKHHG on young people. The co-researchers discussed creating a multi-media web magazine as a format for presenting the findings of their research. We decided that we would structure the meetings flexibly, avoiding being too much like school. We would make space for getting to know one another and we would eat together at each meeting. We would share knowledge about Hip-hop and about research and about psychology and discuss how Hip-hop impacts on our lives. The group asked if I would talk about my own personal position and why I had come to do this research.

2.6.6 Informed Consent

Before the co-researcher meetings I gave information letters (APPENDIX 4) to participants and the young people's parents. During the first meeting I went through these letters with the group and answered any questions they had. I ensured that everyone who decided to be a part of the co-researcher team understood the information in these letters and signed the consent forms (APPENDIX 5). I ensured that parents also read and understood the information letter and signed consent forms before the project started. I was transparent about all elements of the research and the research involved no form of deception. I planned to go through the information letter with any young people or young adults who joined the group and ask them to sign consent forms. I made it clear to all co-researchers and their parents that they had the right to withdraw from the project at anytime without any disadvantage to themselves and without giving a reason for their withdrawal.

2.6.7 Confidentiality and Anonymity

I informed the participants that I would record some of our meetings with an electronic voice recorder and with a camcorder. I would use these recordings to help me to create a transcript of any meetings that would form part of the data set. I explained that all identifying details would be altered and made anonymous.

Co-researchers were able to choose how to represent the findings of the research. For example, they might have wanted to create a radio documentary. I talked with them about the possible consequences of producing a radio documentary and wanting to share it with others, potentially rendering it no longer anonymous. They would have full control over what would feature in this type of media representation of their findings and, therefore, could remove any personal information they did not feel comfortable sharing non-anonymously with others.

In our first meeting, the co-researchers decided on the ground rules we would follow in working with each other (see APPENDIX 6). One of these rules was regarding confidentiality. The group decided to keep personal information discussed between us private and to be respectful of the information we shared between us.

2.5.8 Discomfort or Harm

I ensured that I minimised any risk of discomfort or harm during the project. I continually made informal checks with the co-researchers to gain any feedback about any discomfort or difficulties they might have been experiencing. I was mindful of noticing any signs of discomfort or distress during the research process. I was aware of local and national organisations that might be able to offer specialist or on going support if participants needed it.

2.6.9 Safeguarding

I created a safeguarding policy in partnership with YPI (see APPENDIX 1), which stated the procedures if any signs or disclosures of abuse were observed by me or the two participation workers from YPI. I communicated this safeguarding policy to YPI and we discussed ways in which we would ensure young people's

safety during the project, such as organising for the young people to be accompanied home or to local transport links after meetings.

2.6.10 Co-Researcher Meetings

A total of six co-researcher meetings of 1.5-2 hours duration at two-weekly intervals was planned. We met in a neutral community space. I organised, coordinated and facilitated these meetings. The meetings were designed to be spaces in which the co-researchers could share knowledge and resources and plan and design the research project. Below are summaries of the plan, content and outcomes of each of these meetings.

I tried to make the process flexible to encourage people to contribute whatever they could and to make the project as accessible as possible. I created spaces and times for people to build relationships with each other and avoided an overformalised meeting structure (Street & Herts, 2005).

Co-Researchers Meetings

Co-researchers meetings were planned with a flexible structure with the agenda discussed and agreed at the start of each meeting.

The aim of the first two meetings was to start building relationships with each other, discuss our connections to UKHHG, agree ground rules, gain informed consent and decide on a research topic together.

First meeting:

We reviewed the information sheet and consent forms were signed. I talked about my positioning and why I was doing this project. People formed groups to talk about the ways Hip-hop impacted on their lives. Everyone wrote down a couple of suggestions for a research focus (see APPENDIX 7), which were laid out, and some of the overlaps in topics discussed. We evaluated the benefits of the different topics. The co-researchers were particularly drawn to attitudes

towards education and the kind of knowledge about the self and world that Hiphop produces and its impact on young people.

At the end of the meeting I asked the co-researchers to bring an example of an interview they liked and a piece of Hip-hop culture that they felt linked to our chosen research topic, to our next meeting,

Second meeting:

We discussed creating safe conditions for talking and how to communicate these conditions to other potential participants. We agreed a list of ground rules (See APPENDIX 6).

We shared video examples of interviews and talked about these critically, taking some ideas about what we might want to keep in mind when we were interviewing people. We talked generally about the artists and their impact on young people.

The co-researchers decided that they wanted to share the results with both young people and adults who work with young people, community workers, and psychologists. We decided that, given the timeframe, creating a multimedia web magazine was too ambitious, and we chose instead to make a documentary short film, showing interviews with young people and artists. We then discussed the research questions we wanted to ask the fans and the artists and decided to add an additional meeting to complete the list of research questions the following week.

Third meeting:

We focused this meeting on generating additional interview questions. We watched some video examples of interviews with artists and worked as a group to complete our list of questions (See APPENDIX 8).

Fourth meeting:

We had two new members to our co-researcher team, Morpheus and Zine. We gave full introductions to the group and talked about our histories and the ways they impacted our reasons for being interested in the project, and the social and political issues that Hip-hop deals with. We considered the next steps we needed to involve artists, young people, and community workers, in the project. We created a list of artists we wanted and thought we could get in contact with through our contact networks.

Fifth meeting:

It became clear that arranging individual interviews with artists would be a difficult task due to the artists' schedules. I suggested it might be more feasible to hold an event and asked the co-researcher team their views on holding a discussion forum meeting. These meetings would bring artists and young people together to talk through the questions. The team agreed this would be a good way to get people involved and suggested having fans and artists talk together.

Sixth Meeting:

This focused on the logistics of getting artists and young people to the event.

Seventh Meeting:

We reviewed the plan for forum 1. The youngest members of the group, Noah and Josh, chose four key questions (See APPENDIX 9) that both artists and fans would be able to answer in the forums. They were happy to lead the forum with support from other members of the team. They suggested that they might start the meeting by performing a rap and then invite other artists to freestyle³.

³ Freestyling is a live performance of improvised rap and an essential component of Hip-hop culture.

2.6.11 Ethical Approval for Amendments

Recruiting participants for the forum meetings required me to amend the inclusion criteria and recruitment methods. For example, to contact schools and colleges and people I met at UKHHG concerts by telephone. In addition, the co-researcher team had decided to make a documentary film so any participants recruited would need to be aware of the possibility of appearing in this film, which might be shown to groups of young people and adults who work with young people. Because of this new phase of recruitment and the added issue of filming, I needed to make an application to the UEL Ethics board for these amendments and was given ethical clearance for these (see APPENDIX 10).

2.6.12 Confidentiality and Anonymity

Due to the decision to create a documentary film, I had to revisit issues of confidentiality and anonymity. YPI had agreed to take responsibility for the documentary film. They created their own release forms, which were handed out to all participants. They agreed to go on to work with the younger members of the co-researcher team to complete the documentary after my part of the project had come to an end. I collected the data for this research from recordings of the forum discussion meetings, which were transcribed verbatim. I changed any identifying features in the transcripts. During the meetings, filmmakers for the documentary filmed those who had agreed to be part of the film. I would not be leading this documentary making project; the workers from YPI chose to take this forward. I had some in-depth conversations with the co-researchers about the use of film and what this would mean for confidentiality. As artists and performers they felt confident about appearing in the film and were clear about the consequences of being in the film on their anonymity.

2.6.13 Co-researcher Meetings Continued

Eighth Meeting: Forum One

12 people plus the seven co-researchers attended this forum meeting. This meeting lasted three hours and people joined and left the group at different times, with 12-15 people at any one time participating. Noah and Josh facilitated the discussion with support from the other co-researchers. They asked their four chosen research questions and I added one question near the end of the discussion (See APPENDIX 9). The discussion was semi-structured, allowing topics to emerge through the discussion.

Ninth Meeting: Forum Two

Members of the co-researcher team discussed some of the research questions (see APPENDICES 8 and 9), reflecting on whether our views had changed following forum meeting one. We also used the meeting as a way of reviewing how we might have changed throughout the duration of the project.

Tenth Meeting: Forum 3

We held a third discussion forum with young people (aged 12-14) from a youth group, their support workers, the co-researcher team and Blake, a UKHHG artist. During this discussion we explored two of the four chosen questions (see APPENDIX 9).

2.6.14 Analysis

The original plan was to make a video, so that the co-researchers would have a role in analysing the data and selecting key themes and subthemes through the editing and content of the film. Unfortunately, due to limitations in time and resources it was decided that the film would be completed after the project was finished. I therefore conducted all of the analysis alone. My analysis followed an approach adapted from Braun and Clarke's (2006) six-phased guidelines to thematic analysis.

Phase I:

In the first phase I familiarised myself with the data by first transcribing the three forum meetings verbatim, adding transcription notation where necessary (see APPENDIX 11 for notation key). I then read and re-read the transcripts adding

brief notes in the margins to mark points of interest and any immediate reflections (See APPENDIX 12 for example).

Phase II:

I made a list of the different topics, themes, and potential codes that I found during phase one. I created a mind map (See APPENDIX 13) of these ideas and started to refine them into codes through checking these ideas against the transcripts. I then clustered these codes together into seven groups. These were just rough groupings to allow me to create a colour guide for the different codes. These groups did not correspond to overarching themes. I then printed out the entire transcript and read through it highlighting extracts that corresponded to the codes (See APPENDIX 14 for example). I then created a codebook going through the entire data set and selecting extracts that fitted into each code, copying them into the colour coded table (See APPENDIX 15). Some extracts were placed in more than one code.

Phase III:

During this phase I returned to my mind map and, using the codebook as a guide, I tried to collate the codes into overarching themes, looking for codes that connected to each other under a theme. I made a series of thematic maps (see APPENDIX 16), in which I reordered the codes and considered different names for themes.

Phase IV

At this point in the analysis, the provisional themes were examined to judge if there was enough coherence (internal homogeneity) within a theme and if there was enough difference between themes (external heterogeneity) (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Adjustments were made to condense themes, remove themes and create extra themes where necessary. During this phase I also reviewed the entire data set to re-evaluate if the themes closely related to the data and the

themes corresponded to the extracts I had chosen. I also re-examined if these extracts related closely to the research questions.

Phase V:

During this phase, I reviewed the titles of each theme and subtheme, revising any of the temporary titles that needed rewording or renaming in order to come to a final decision about the names for each theme and subthemes as presented in the final report. I also reviewed the narratives that were being told by each identified theme checking that themes were not being over-stretched and that they fitted well with the data.

Phase VI:

This stage involved the final analysis and write up of the data. During this stage I also revisited earlier stages, refining, and checking the validity of my themes, chosen extracts and analysis. I chose not to include the co-researchers in any phases of the analysis due to time limitations. However, after I had identified my themes I did briefly communicate to them what my findings were and they agreed that my main themes reflected the content of the forum discussions.

3. RESULTS

In this chapter I will present the results of my data analysis. The themes and subthemes are represented below (table 3). I have chosen two major themes and seven sub-themes that reflect the findings within the data and their connection with the socio-political contexts impacting on young people's wellbeing and what clinical psychology might be able to learn from the UKHHG community.

Table 3

Major Themes	Subthemes
	'It's Aspirational'
UKHHG as a Source of Transformation	Community Transformation
	Rap Makes it Possible to Say More
	Life as Struggle
'The System' and 'The Struggle'	Young People as Unheard
	UKHHG as Resistance
	Authenticity

During the planning stage of the project, the young co-researchers asked if part of the forums could involve them rapping, and creating a space for participants to also rap freestyle if they wanted to. While this is an unconventional feature of a focus group, rap is an important way in which the co-researchers and participants communicated their thoughts and ideas. The freestyle raps were performed and

the themes and topics covered corresponded both with the content of the forum discussions and produced data that connected with the research questions and aims. However, the raps produced slightly different data than the conversations between participants. It is important to take into consideration that the raps contain metaphors, imagery and emotionality. I have made it clear when an extract is from a rap by beginning the extract with (rap); all other extracts without this notation are taken from the conversations.

Another element to consider in relation to the data is that the three forums were not repetitions of each other. They were held at different points within the process of the project (see table 2). The questions asked at each forum were adjusted according to the participants who were present (see APPENDIX 9). I identified many connections between the themes discussed in each forum. While the main focus and the forum questions were about young people, some of what was said applies more generally to the UKHHG community and some more specifically to the experiences of young people. Where an extract discusses young people or represents the views of young people I will make this clear. Where an extract or idea applies more generally, these ideas may still apply to young people.

To enhance the readability of the extracts, square brackets [] are used to add information to help the reader understand the text. Round brackets (...) are used when a quote has been shortened for the purposes of conserving space⁴. Where participants use slang terminology, explanations will be given in footnotes.

⁴ See APPENDIX 11 for full transcript notation key

3.1 UKHHG as a Source of Transformation

A number of participants describe various ways that their involvement in UKHHG culture has transformed them; sometimes through short-lived experiences and at other times in more permanent and profound ways that change who they are and how they identify. This major theme contains four sub-themes: 'It's Aspirational', Community Transformation, and Rap Makes it Possible to Say More.

3.1.1 'It's Aspirational'5

In the extracts in this section we see the participants communicating about aspiration for both personal and social transformation; a desire for change, a movement towards change, reflections on the way they have been changed, or a commitment to further change that has been the result of their connection to UKHHG.

Extract 1

Endgame: (...) In its essence the majority of Hip-hop is still true to what it was in the first place you got. It's the voice of the struggle and, and it's, it's aspirational. (136-139 Forum 1)

The theme of aspiration, an essential aspect of Hip-hop that is described as originating from the birth of Hip-hop to the modern day, is particularly evident in the lyrics of the freestyle raps that were performed during the forums. Below (in Extract 2), Josh expresses his aspiration for 'inner strength':

Extract 2

Josh: (raps) (...) seeking for positive, Finding our inner shadow that we can't leave, Lord help me to stop please.

⁵ The name for this sub-theme comes from the quote in extract (1) by Endgame

Give me that inner strength

That every human being seeks,

Where's all the wider knowledge

Of all the love and peace

All family the man them the true dons?⁶

That helped you move on

Please where have you gone? (1585-1590 Forum 1)

In this extract (2), Josh links his personal desire for inner strength to the need for family, and 'true dons' to help himself and others to move forward in life. His personal development is situated within a social context in which others can play an important role in supporting him to grow. He also links his personal striving with wider aspirations of humanity for love and peace. Blake in the next extract (3) echoes this description of aspiration as something common to all humans as well as a wider aspiration for love in the world:

Extract 3

Blake: (raps) Where all struggling yearning wanting needing laughing crying (...) I've seen too much,
With naïve I guess I dream too much
Dreamed of a world that breathes with love (4070-4077 Forum 3)

The aspiration that Josh and Blake describe is illustrated as situated within a context of 'struggle', which will be explored in more detail in the sub-theme 'life as struggle'. This struggle is what Josh aspires to overcome. There are challenges in life that make it hard for young people to reach their aspirations, so achieving these requires a constant self development and transformation as we can see below:

⁶ Don - a righteous individual that one looks up to.

Extract 4

Josh: (raps) (...) Because we're forever learning, Forever thinking till we die, And our eyes stop blinking, Our minds stop drifting, (...) Life's like a mountain, Even at its steepest climb, Looking to the top. It's a steepest climb. We can be lead astray by the world's surroundings But proceed to the top, don't stop allow in. (...) No crime man, clean money I'm having some, Don't cry Mum, bright future, I'm having one. (...) Belief is the petrol fuelling your mind. I aspire to achieve and believe you will high And you'll get by if your minds in the right place Everybody going forwards I'm going side ways. (1665 - 1684 Forum 1)

Here, despite the challenges of life, the 'steepest climb', Josh raps with confidence 'bright future, I'm having one' that he is going to succeed. His 'belief' and his ability to keep his mind 'in the right place' are named as the key to his success. Josh also talks about going against the grain at the end of this rap. This may connect to expectations that society has or fears that his mother may have about him turning to crime; he is resisting this narrative and choosing to go against a dominant trend.

While the content of Josh's and Blake's rap lyrics talk of dreams and aspirations for the future, Endgame and Melissa (extracts 5 and 6) reflected on the impact of their participation in UKHHG culture on their lives in more concrete ways. In the next extract (5) Endgame is talking about how he first started rapping:

Extract 5

Endgame: I think music is wicked for that, you know, because me, I'm a shy person but music took me out of that. That element of being quite introverted because I wanted to rap, to rap you've got to be able to talk, init? (...) [and then I was] rapping to a few more people and then you get to a point where you know you're, you're in your group, you're one of the best, and then that gives you confidence in yourself to do other things. And I think a lot of these skills that we learn through music are transferable to any sort of any, any environment you want to put yourself in. Those things you learn are transferable. (878-897 Forum 1)

Here Endgame narrates the way that rap changed him, and the ways that his talent for rap was validated by other people. This is a description of his personal transformation; how rapping 'took' him from being a 'shy person' to being a person with confidence in himself. It is also about how the community around him supported this development. His narrative sits within a social context in which those around him played a key role in his transformation. They encouraged him by creating an environment of competitiveness. The skills he learnt gave him greater aspiration to do more; maybe to do things he would not have had the confidence to do. Melissa (extract 6) also connects to how her experiences of being in a band and creating music have made her want to do more:

Extract 6

Melissa: It makes me do more, like usually I used to be more a person that likes to just chill and then now I I do more things outside school and stuff, yeah, just makes me think more what I want to do than what I don't want to do and it just makes me motivated. (3717-3721 Forum 3)

For Melissa, getting involved with music in general stimulated her motivation to both take time to reflect about what it is that she wants and to do things out of her own initiative beyond the structures of school. Music, including UKHHG, has transformed her activities and has also changed her as 'a person'.

The participants all play an active role in the UKHHG community, as artists, producers, and community workers, for example. Many describe and reflect on the ways UKHHG has been an important medium for their personal transformation and a vehicle for communicating their aspirations. In the extracts 7, 8, 9 below Noah, Xpose and Josh talk about the way that Hip-hop has actually become a key part of their identity, transforming the way that they see themselves:

Extract 7

Xpose: (...) I love Hip-hop so deeply that I define myself with being Iranian being from London and being Hip-hop, like, sometimes even the Hip-hop it comes before my nationality and religion which sounds really messed up but that's how deeply I believe in Hip-hop so I, I naturally I love it and I know the transformative power that it has. So I see myself as, like, an ambassador of Hip-hop. (1827-1833 Forum 1)

For Xpose, Hip-hop is an intrinsic part of who he is and he talks about his connection to Hip-hop with such passion. Here he is reflecting on the ways he has been deeply changed by UKHHG possibly in unexpected ways, through processes of co-production, while his love for the art form has developed he has also been developed by his art form. He personally knows its 'transformative power' due to the ways he has been transformed by it, and ways he continues to aspire to be transformed by it. In the extract below, Josh (extract 8) raps about Hip-hop using metaphors that conjure up an image of the embodiment of Hip-hop in which it forms part of his physical make up:

Extract 8

Josh: (raps) You see these lyrics in my veins like oxygen. I was made to rap to achieve my optimum. (1659-1660 Forum 1)

Josh is also stating that Hip-hop is a means through which he can achieve his 'optimum'. This might relate to his natural talent for rapping; that he is fulfilling his destiny to rap, that he is able to develop and show the best of his talent through rap, or that through developing his art he is being given greater options for example a potential career in producing and performing music.

3.1.3 Community Transformation

Many of the participants are involved in their communities through a variety of roles including as workshop facilitators and community workers. Some use UKHHG as a tool in the work that they do with young people. The three extracts below give examples of just how they use UKHHG as a medium to support young people and how those young people experience personal transformation through their engagement with UKHHG.

In extract 9 MC Blaze gives a detailed account of how she approaches community work with young people:

Extract 9

MC Blaze: (...) when I started running workshops, I was drilled that I need to run positive rap workshops. Now I have a problem with this term, yeah, I'm not gonna have, like, these boys and girls coming in and I'm, like, 'Express yourselves,' and encouraging them to be open (...) and as soon as they open their mouth and talk about their reality be, like, (...) 'you can't say that', like, no, 'I need to understand who you are, I need to hear where you come from to hear what you're about. I need to hear where you come from, speak your truth to me' and I'm not gonna, like, be, (...) like, rap about rainbows, rap about the things that are good in life (...) you have to be real with it. (...) I can't run workshops, like, this what I can do is I can hear what they've got to say. I can get them to lay their bars down, I can talk to them and then I can question them why they've been in this situation. [I can say to them] 'How did you get here? Why do you feel like you're stuck in this place? Why did you do that to that guy? Why are you

shouting? Why?' you know what I mean? 'How can you turn this around, what can we do to succeed together, how can', and it becomes a thing, it's almost like a psychology, like a therapy thing that's why you go on to mentor most of them, and that's what I love about the, the work. (1499 - 1523 Forum 1)

Here, MC Blaze gives an example of her work and the way it can function as 'like a therapy thing' while being based on the principles of UKHHG culture. Authenticity or being 'real' is described as a core value that is necessary for MC Blaze's work with young people. She values this over what she is being 'drilled' to do by those who commission her services. Being real appears to also be intrinsic to her approach to her work. She wants to hear the truth of young people's lives as they are, while also supporting them to grow and transform. Hearing their truth for her includes hearing about the negative things in their life, the negative things they may personally be involved in, such as crime. She describes a way of listening that helps her to connect with who they are and build a relationship with them. She takes up a position as someone who is curious to uncover more about them. Through hearing their truth, she can start to ask them questions that force them to think about their reality and their role within it.

There is also another message about not censoring people, and giving space for people to create 'negative' rap and use that as a basis for conversation, and thinking about what success might look like. Her question - how can we succeed together? - resembles a form of liberatory practice, as it illustrates a way of working with and not for young people. How we succeed together suggests a community moving forward together, and an interconnected way of understanding personal transformation. This extract is an example of how Blaze as a young adult UKHHG artist tries to facilitate the transformation of other young people in her communities. As the account is from the facilitator's perspective, we cannot know what the experience of these workshops is like for the young people involved. However, MC Blaze's description suggests that she has ongoing mutually beneficial relationships with the young people she works with; she supports them as a mentor and gains positive emotion from the transformative nature of the work she does.

In the next extract Chaos describes an example of the way Hip-hop had a transformative impact on a young man who is part of a diverse community selfhelp group. Through talking and problem solving with the young man the group try to help him to communicate what it is he wants:

Extract 10

Chaos: (...)he's always kind of, like, in his own shell doesn't speak too much but he's there all the time. He wants to be around us but he doesn't. he doesn't use what he's got around, and he's like, he's been trying to make it as an MC for a long time but he's not pushing himself. So this time we put him in the hot seat we put him in the middle and we said, 'What are you doing to in terms of steps to live your dream to become what you wanna do?' and, um, you know he was there just picking his beard and, you know, looking around and giving smart answers back, laughing and, um, and in the end the best way we found to get him to express himself was, like, took the chair and put him in the middle and said, 'Right, spit' us something in front of the whole group.' And then he started spiting his bars⁸ and I'm telling you, like, in the space of two, three minutes, next thing he was laughing. The next man had got up spiting, his face he was, like, you know, he was, like, involved, he was involved in the group so you see how, like, just, and, you know, everyone who has performed knows what it's like. You know when you get on stage and you perform and the feeling you get after so bringing that out of someone young and giving them that space you can see what a transformation it makes. (460-487 Forum 1)

In this extract, Hip-hop is described as having a way of opening people up, helping people say what they cannot say in a way that feels safe, where they can be witnessed by others. While this is an account of a boy's personal

⁷ To freestyle rap

 $^{^{\}rm 8}$ A segment of time with a specific number of beats over which a rapper raps a sentence

transformation through performing Hip-hop, it is also an account of how that personal transformational occurred within a community and created greater connection within the group. It gives an account of a communal experience in which one person rapping inspires other people to rap. This form of group rapping is referred to within Hip-hop culture as forming a 'cypher'. A cypher is a collective creative cycle in which rappers take turns to perform freestyle raps. From the extract it appears that the cypher develops quite spontaneously. Chaos also describes how the act of performing in Hip-hop itself is transformative in nature, and this experience is a universal experience of anyone who performs. The young man described becomes more involved in the group, the group's attention and appreciation for his art form, and the performance he gives creates a sense of belonging. Again, similar to MC Blaze's account, the transformation is interconnected. In this case, the group facilitates the young man's transformation and the relationships between the young man and the group are also transformed.

In the next extract MC Blaze describes in detail the way she facilitates her rap workshops through giving an example of a workshop she did with young men on a mental health ward:

Extract 11

MC Blaze: (...) I went in there very open-minded, like, 'Ah, I thought they might have issues, that might be difficult, they might be proper cool,' and they were cool. And they had a lot of confidence issues, which was the main thing, (...). [I said to them] 'this is just another form of expression, this is gonna work on your confidence, this is gonna make you be in a room in front of loads of people and the more you practice, and the more encouragement you can give them and the more you can tell them to support each other(...) [and] how cyphers were made. 'Hip-hop comes from oppression, it comes from people that had to stand up together to make something happen because they weren't allowed in other places they were oppressed', so the more you kind of bring that ethos of the grassroots of Hip-hop to things, like, that mental health workshop, they

slowly over the days managed to get their stories out. You learnt why they were there. (...) Initially they were, like, bare, like, cussing each other when they were doing it. One of them took the mic and missed a beat and the other one was, like, ((laughs)), like, laughing. By the third day the other one was counting the other one in, so they made sure they come, so I think it builds that unity and I think that's the point of using Hip-hop (...) for young people. (2252-2300 Forum 1)

In this example, MC Blaze uses Hip-hop as a transformative tool. She tries to create a space where people can tell their stories and build a sense of unity with others. Here, an important part of her workshop involves talking about the history of Hip-hop as a voice of resistance to oppression, creating a context for the participants in her workshop to use Hip-hop in this way, or connect it to their own personal struggles as marginalised people. As people on a mental health ward, these young men may have experienced marginalisation as people with mental health labels. MC Blaze identifies them as experiencing low confidence, possibly due to the ward context or their own personal experiences of disempowerment.

UKHHG culture is also talked about by participants as having a transformative impact on communities, not just through community work, but also through the emotions and energy that people can experience through their engagement with UKHHG. MC Blaze talks about her experiences of the audiences at Grime music concerts:

Extract 12

MC Blaze: I love grime and I actually even to this day find that I think the I gr-, ah, grime raves are the most unified audiences ever,(...) they have just been going in and spiting along. (...) Everyone was coming out, everyone was happy, everyone was smiling (...) I haven't felt that energy for a while, like, to be honest it's a diff-, different it's a different frequency, like, it was just next level, like, everyone was just vibing and then the MC's come out and they were vibing with everyone (...) and I think a lot of people forget that production is so, so much of the, the most massive element behind

our music like Grime beats, Hip-hop beats. It's the beats that set tones and set feelings and emotions behind a lot of stuff and (...) I just kind f feel, like, it, like, it, it really unified the yo-, the UK and within its audiences. (944-969 Forum 1)

The music performance and the relationship that artists have with their audiences contribute to creating a positive and unified environment. Music is seen as having the power to create an atmosphere that impacts all the people in the audience and brings out emotions in them. In this case the music brings out positive emotions in the crowd and is a collective experience. MC Blaze describes how the energy of this Grime concert created a particular kind of unity. When she talks in the final line about how Grime has unified UK audiences, it seems she is talking about Grime's distinct UK identity and its massive appeal to young people throughout the UK.

In the next extract, Xpose raps about his belief in the importance of giving back to his community. While other participants do not explicitly talk about their commitment to their communities, given that many of the participants in forum one are also involved in various types of community work, this attitude may be one that is shared:

Extract 13

Xpose: (raps) (...) I was an older son

Some soldiers leaders and orderlies on streets treat it like it was all a dream

Always talk of things but that's all talk and talk is cheap

What have they done to make actual changes?

I helped shape my hood like council estate bricks.

I show by example. (1699-1703 Forum 1)

Xpose raps about his commitment to be a good role model to young people in his community and about his drive to make real transformations in his community. It

is important that this commitment goes beyond talk and rap and helps to make concrete changes.

During the discussions, questions were raised in regards to the ability of UKHHG to help make transformations on a political level. In the extract below, I had asked Noah if he thinks that artists, like Klashneckoff, who has made a number of tracks that call for political action, are effective in making people act. Noah explores the idea:

Extract 14

Noah: - (...) like Klashneckoff, everyone who's into Hip-hop will know who Klashneckoff is but it's big is it big enough? But is he still big enough to get enough people to be like yeah? Its happened in other countries like everyone has got together and say fuck this we're gonna go.

All: (laughter)

Noah: I don't see how long it's just an amount of time that it happens, yeah its true it happens everywhere around the world where people are like fuck this were gonna go march down there and take them out, 'there's more of us than there is of you'. (2691-2702 Forum 2)

Noah here is optimistic about the potential of Hip-hop to support the transformation of society. He is conscious of the role that Hip-hop has had as a source of political transformation and as a catalyst for collective action in other countries and connects Hip-hop with an international movement. The fact that it has happened in other contexts creates the possibility that things could be different in the UK. Again, here it could be argued that Hip-hop is associated with the disempowered. Noah gives an account of a revolution in which there is 'us' (a majority disempowered population) and 'them' (a minority in power population), with 'us' removing 'them' from power.

3.1.4 Rap Makes it Possible to Say More

Participants talk about the way that the medium of rap makes it possible for them to communicate certain things that are difficult to say to others. In many ways,

this communicating to others also has an impact on them and their experiences of being on the stage or in the recording studio. These are places that they feel comfortable enough to express their inner thoughts to both the people in their life they know and to audiences that they do not know personally:

Extract 15

Endgame: I think I think with, erm, with Hip-hop because it's, it is art so what you have you have a form where you can say anything but you have safe parameters so it's a safe place to do so, so, um, it you, you kind of have free range to say things that you may not say in normal day to day life or you wouldn't just be shouting in people's faces. (...) Well, you say what you want to say and it is not just from like on a big level you don't have to be, like, all the government or whatever it could be anything, like, like, I put stuff that I write about that I wouldn't say to my dad you know what I mean, but I put it in a track because I know he will hear it and I get the text say[ing], 'What's, eh, eh?' you know what I mean, um, -

Noah: - Different way of saying stuff -

Endgame: - Yeah man, I got a rhyme I just wrote from the album, said I never held back nothing on these pages it's funny when you feel more comfortable in front of strangers. (372-390 Forum 1)

The safety felt when young people/artists use rap as a communication medium helps them to process things that are difficult to say. Rap is a safer medium to communicate than even talking to their friends and they are able to connect to their emotions and reflect on the serious situations that they have lived through:

Extract 16

Xpose: (...) um, you get a lot [of] personal insight. Like, I've heard young kids from like street or mad situations where they might have stabbed someone and someone's died, and they would not say anything in court, they wouldn't say anything to their family, they wouldn't say anything to

their friends, but in the raps that they wrote their hearts spill out, you know. (2332-2337 Forum 1)

The process of writing a rap can be a process of discovery, discovering things about themselves that they did not realise or were unable to voice. It gives them an indirect way to reach parts of themselves they find hard to reach when directly asked about them. In both examples (extracts 15 and 16), Xpose's and Endgame's experiences of rap have allowed them to connect to emotionally vulnerable places or emotions that are difficult to connect to in other contexts. This applies both to adults' and young people's experiences of rap as an art form. Rap transforms what it is safe to say, and in the act of communicating through rap there is emotional transformation through the expression of these difficult emotions.

In Xpose's statement below, we see an example of how he uses rap in his community work as a transformative tool by encouraging young people to use it as a way to express themselves and connect to their emotions:

Extract 17

Xpose: (...) like, er, recently I had this project with, like, young people and this art gallery in my area where I'm getting them to fund music videos about songs they made, they were young people that were all incarcerated over the riots and they just recently come out of jail. And then the young person come and then he'd written two verses for the song and they were, like, reporting what happened during the riots. There was, there wasn't a lot of reflection involved in it I didn't want to start getting like a dictator with him and say like 'go back and write something else 'but I said to him, like, 'imagine that in ten years time you've got kids and for some reason you're not able to see your kids and all you've got to explain that event is this song' and then he went away and wrote a third verse which it showed, like, more, like, remorse, reflection regret than I think going to jail did. And he even said to me, 'Until I sat down and wrote that verse I hadn't even come to terms with what had happened, I've never thought about that specific

question, what actually happened that day and put it into words, you know'. (...) when people draw from personal experiences to write something. It's a bit sideways as well, so it's not you're not saying to them write down in words what happened or how you feel you're saying, make a song make something interesting, entertaining that means something to you I think it can help, like, in that way as well. (2366-2391 Forum 1)

We see in this extract that one important part of the process of creating raps that express what cannot be expressed in other ways is also the sharing of those raps with others. Here, the young man shared his rap with Xpose who was able to support him to reflect on what he was writing. It is through Xpose's reflections and questioning that the young man was encouraged to look deeper and access reflections about the riots that he had not previously connected to.

In extract 18 it is clear that Noah and Josh, as young people/artists, are very aware of the role of the audience and their experiences of being listened to contributes to their motivation to rap:

Extract 18

Noah: How do you feel when you rap? Do you feel -

Josh: yeah I feel happy-

Noah: -like your just getting it out or people are listening to what you're saying like at least one person like might think of something you said that might make a difference to them in someway shape or do you know what I mean do you think about those things? or?

Josh: yeah no I do I just think um I'm happy I'm passing my message on to people um hopefully they will be able to see what I'm talking about and think yeah that's good -

Nia: If you were to keep it inside you, you know like someone like put a sticky tape on your mouth like how what would that feel like

Josh: -um not nice not happy

Noah: - you wouldn't be free you would feel like you're being imprisoned (...)

Josh: -yeah it wouldn't be good. (2740-2757 Forum 2)

With the role of rapper comes the role of messenger, and the hope that those listening take in what is being said. Expressing their message gives them a sense of freedom; a way of not keeping their thoughts and feelings inside.

This experience of using rap as an outlet as a way to express emotions and thoughts is a common one for UKHHG artists. Below, Chaos talks about how this was a key element in the reasons he got involved in music:

Extract 19

Chaos: (...) I got involved in the music definitely because it was, you know, expressing myself and dealing with emotion so, you know, if we suppress that emotion this isn't even, you know, beating around the bush. It's harmful, you know, it's, it's scientifically proven that, you know, suppressing emotions can be harmful, so it's really important, you know, we express ourselves. (412-418 Forum 1)

Chaos describes expressing emotions as good for wellbeing: a way of avoiding harmful suppression of emotions. In his opinion, all music has these therapeutic elements and all people in society need a space to express themselves. He makes the case that involvement in any kind of music is universally good and draws on science to add objective verification to his statement.

Xpose also talks about the role of rap in helping people to let out emotions. In his example we see that rap also has a transformative power in supporting people to build self-esteem:

Extract 20

Xpose: there's certain of, like, battle rappers that they were blatantly sort of, like, they were bullied at school they were never really, not the most

popular person, and through battle rap⁹ they are able to kind of get back this respect. Or let out this anger, you know what I mean, there was this article, I think it was in the Evening Standard and it was about [xxx](name of a battle rap contest) and people that suffer from depression and there's a number of rappers in [xxx] that, um. They, do you lot remember, it came out a little while ago? There was this whole article about how it's helped their self-esteem so it's one of those ones. (825-835 Forum 1)

Xpose (extract 20) gives a number of benefits that might result through participation in battle rap 'gaining back respect', 'expressing anger' and 'self-esteem'. Battle rap may give those who have been bullied a safe forum to perform and defend themselves in an environment in which they can connect to and express their anger. Xpose links Hip-hop explicitly with issues of mental health through his recollection of the article. Battle rap could be seen as an unusual approach to managing depression; quite different to mainstream psychological and psychiatric approaches, which might use medication or traditional models of therapy. Xpose talks about how some of these rappers were 'blatantly' bullied. They might explicitly rap about these experiences or actively engage with issues they were bullied for and that contributed to their depression. The performative and competitive element may also help build their 'self-esteem' building up the kind of 'confidence' that Endgame describes in Extract 5, as people recognise their talent.

3.4 'The System' and 'The Struggle'

Throughout the different forums, many of the participants refer to living in 'the system' and life as 'struggle'. This theme explores the way participants talk about 'the system' and 'the struggle', what they represent, and their impact on young people's lives. 'The system' in part refers to the institutions and ideologies that benefit the powerful minority at a cost to the disempowered majority. 'The system' and 'the struggle' are abstract concepts that are loosely defined overall but have

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⁹ Battle rap is a form of Hip-hop in which, rappers compete in public arenas with each other. Rappers compete through word play and often through exchanging insults.

specific meanings when used by each participant in context. Throughout all of the sub-themes, we can see the way in which many of the young people/artists use UKHHG to talk about, resist, oppose or cope with 'the system' and 'the struggle'. The subthemes are: Life as 'Struggle', Young people as Unheard, UKHHG and Resistance, and Authenticity.

3.2.1 Life as Struggle

As Endgame states in extract 1, Hip-hop has always been associated with the 'voice of the struggle', through its connection to civil rights (see Introduction) and due to it being a form of music that is created by marginalised people and, to a large extent, consumed by marginalised people. Much of the content of Hip-hop focuses on the experiences of people from low socio-economic environments. Within the UKHHG community it is common to refer to life as a 'struggle'. In the extracts below, modern life for those from low socio-economic environments is characterised as being full of difficult things that people have to get through:

Extract 21

Tread: (...) Especially living in this system, I think everyone is going through problems and is going through certain things in their life and they do want to make that through certain types of music, you know what I mean, (60-63 Forum 1)

Extract 22

Josh: Yeah, and like growing up like in this generation like there's a lot of stuff going on like outside of music as well, like sometimes its like a its like a outlet like all your emotions, sometimes if you're angry or something you might listen to a quite violent tune sort of thing or you might listen to a peaceful tune to get you out of that mood (3874-3879 Forum 3)

In both of these extracts, life is described as full of difficulty and struggle. This is the background in which music serves as a form of outlet, a way of coping with 'the struggle'. Josh's description of 'in this generation' suggests a connection to the specific issues that young people in the present social context face. The impact of socio-political issues facing young people today are seen as producing a kind of anger that it is difficult to let out. Music is a form of self-help; listening to certain music can resonate and transform your mood.

'The struggle' and 'the system' featured as topics that were frequently present in the participants' freestyle raps. The extract below paints a picture of life as struggle and links this to emotional struggles:

Extract 23

Blake: (raps) Were all struggling yearning wanting needing laughing crying trying to suppress the ache and pain inside us,

So we hide it behind masks.

It's not surprise that the system denies us our human rights. (4070-4073 Forum 3)

Here again, we see emotions described as being held back. The last line is ambiguous. It is not clear why 'It's not surprise'. It may be that Blake is expressing that the system denying human rights is an obvious consequence of living in a system with so much pain and inequality. In this extract, 'the system' that 'denies' human rights is unjust and this injustice is continuous.

There is this general sense that 'the system' is an obstacle in the lives of young people and marginalised groups that produce and listen to UKHHG. In the next two extracts, 'the system' describes a form of oppression that is controlled by those in power, who are responsible for perpetuating 'delusions' in order to keep people under control:

Extract 24

Josh: (raps) (...) Look deep in to the system, submerged in delusion (1641-1642 Forum 1)

Extract 25

Josh: (raps) Corruption, greed, and insanity,

Power controlled system

Feeded by vanity.

(...) Don't follow them just be what you have to be. (4122-4124 Forum 3)

You have to look deeply in order to see the workings of 'the system' (extract 24). It is not easy to see 'the system' for what it is. 'The system' is something that requires conscious effort to avoid being under its control. Josh encourages individuals, through his rap, to be their own person, and to resist the controlling malevolent system.

The extracts presented so far hint at 'the system' and 'the struggle' having particularly strong psychological and social elements. They are described in quite indistinct ways. The next extracts (26 and 27) describe tangible examples of the challenging socio-political contexts, 'the struggle' of young people's lives:

Extract 26

Josh: (raps) (...) Raised in a world full of so much corruption.

This gang beef¹⁰nonsense cause for abruption.

Who knows why the gangs beef, when young kids die on the streets, feeling weak, (...) (1660-1663 Forum 1)

In this extract, Josh refers to himself growing up in a tough 'world', as in extract 25 he again refers to 'corruption' an important feature of 'the system'. Josh's 'world', 'the system' he lives in, is one in which gang conflicts exist and have tragic consequences leading to the deaths of many 'weak' (disempowered) young people in London. He condemns this activity as 'nonsense' and describes 'gang beef' as something that is incomprehensible; there is no way to understand such awful tragedy.

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¹⁰ Get into conflict

Extract 27

Xpose: (raps) (...) True change comes from
Within you better believe that tougher policing is not the answer
More ASBOs¹¹ is not the answer,
Stopping and searching is not the answer,
Look these youths, won't get a chance ta have a stab at life without being made a martyr. (1725 -1729 Forum 1)

Xpose's rap also focuses on the socio-political contexts, 'the struggles' that young people face. Here, he highlights the current UK government's attempts to deal with youth crime and violence. He states that government approaches, such as increased policing, are actually making things worse by criminalising young people and removing their chances to succeed.

As well as the government's responsibility and position in relation to youth crime, Xpose also goes on to talk about the general public's responsibility to take youth crime, in this case murder (extract 28), seriously:

Extract 28

Xpose: (raps) (...) you think it's a joke,
innocent children's blood is spilling on road
and them trigger happy killers will cripple a little bow.
Stop thinking you can't relate 'cause you're sitting at home,
I see situations change on the ring of a phone,
Oh you think it's a joke,
It's a victim that you know
Not trying to scare you,
Just prepare you
Because it's chilling on road for lost ones who lost someone.

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¹¹ Anti social behaviour orders

I spit a million poems and promise to keep it real Because I don't think it's a joke. (1743-1751 Forum 1)

Xpose pleads for people to take the shooting of innocent children seriously. He describes how there are people at 'home', people who are removed from those who experience murders of children on the street. People are not taking it seriously because of their distance from these issues. He is arguing against the view that the social contexts for these children 'on road' are so removed from other people's lives. He sees these issues as connected to everyone as the loss of 'someone' could happen to anyone.

In the second to last line of the extract (28), Xpose talks about his commitment to keep speaking about what is going on, through rap. To keep speaking about important and serious issues in resistance to a dominant trend to not take these things seriously. Hip-hop for him is a medium through which he can raise awareness of the socio-political issues that impact the lives of young people.

In addition to the 'struggle' against youth crime and its impacts on the community, another aspect of 'the struggle' is the everyday experiences of living in poverty:

Extract 29

Rook: (raps) Yo. It's, like, life is like a cold sack.

Nuff pressures on our back

Or the whip crack on your mind from the impact

Collapse

In everyday chores.

All the pain for prisoners to poverty. (...)

We ain't easily fixed like jigsaws

Money got our mind for real black on black war

And you wonder why it pays to keep us broken and poor. (1771-1783)

Forum 1)

Rook, similarly to Josh's (extract 25), connects socio-political issues ('the system'), such as racism and poverty, with social and psychological control. Through using metaphors like 'whip crack', Rook may be making references to slavery, and the continuation of the effects of racism on the psychology of black people in modern times. 'Money got our mind' could be seen to resonate with Josh's (extract 25) description of the 'system' of 'corruption' and 'greed'. A system with a focus on money and profit has an impact on the minds of black people, contributing to conflict between black people. Those with money and power benefit from the ways that black people respond to oppression by committing violence against each other. The combination of the weight of poverty and psychological control makes the situation difficult to fix. Rook also talks about the circularity of poverty when he states 'why it pays to keep us broken and poor'. He is making reference to the ways that the rich and powerful benefit from this inequality. He characterises keeping people poor as an active and conscious process.

3.2.2 Young People as Unheard

In addition to the context of crime, violence, gang conflict, and increased policing, young people are also confronted with a situation in which their views and feelings about these and other issues that affect their lives go unheard. Young people are aware that they hold a position of relative powerlessness in society and this is a theme that resurfaces during the forum discussions and freestyles by the young people.

Here, during a group freestyle rap, Melissa is improvising as she sings this chorus:

Extract 30

Melissa:(sings chorus) Everyday I am hearing the same message You all forget but they ain't listening Everyday I been playing the pain Same tracks just flowing again But they ain't listening They ain't listening.

Josh: (sings along) They ain't listening, they ain't listening. (4111-4115 Forum 3)

This chorus reflects the tone of the rest of the freestyle, which refers to those in power as not listening to the voices of the marginalised. For example, earlier in the group freestyle, Blake raps: 'A billion man march ignored' (extract 41 below), possibly referring to the marches against the war in Iraq in 2003 that did not stop the UK from going to war. The voices of the powerless are being raised repetitively, 'everyday I been playing the same pain' (extract 31). Young people's pain is being ignored even though they keep repeating the same message; those in power are failing to listen.

In the dialogue below Noah responds to my question:

Extract 31

Noah: wo wo what when you say what can Hip-hop teach the mental health system, is that the question, so what is the mental health system? What is are we talking about people just people or are we talking about some sort of system-

Dzifa: - it's a system the system itself really

Noah: so what can Hip-hop teach the system? Is that what your saying? Hip-hop can't teach the system anything their not going to listen to US.

(laughter)

(...)

Noah: (...) You can teach yourself you about your mental health or something. I think teach the mental health system, like, I don't know how can it teach the system, like, there're rappers already doing that teaching the system, they're scaring them, telling them that we coming you know what I mean? There's all Logic and that saying, I think that's teaching them that's telling them that 'were not just backing down to what ever you want, do you know what I mean?- (2942-2963 Forum 2)

In my question of what Hip-hop can teach the mental health system, I am giving a view of mental health as part of an industry, institution and ideology. This view may not be a shared one. It is interesting that Noah's instant response is they will not 'listen to us'. As the voices of young people and Hip-hop artists are dismissed in society, it is possible that Noah's need for clarification comes from how strongly he believes that talking to those in power is futile because they will not be heard. Therefore, my question seems wrong to him. It appears that Noah goes on to understand the mental health system as part of the wider oppressive social 'system'. When he goes on to talk about how political artists like Logic are saying things that are relevant to the system and that oppose 'the system', the way Noah describes these rappers makes them sound like they are addressing 'the system' in confrontational ways, but there is still a question around how much those who control 'the system' are actually listening.

In the next two extracts, we can see that the experience of not being listened to as young people and as marginalised people is something that the young people also experience within the UKHHG community in relation to their contact with older, more established, UKHHG artists. In a discussion about negative elements of Hip-hop music, I ask a question about who should be doing something different, artists or fans, and Josh responds:

Extract 32

Josh: Yeah, I think the artists have a quite a big role to play because they, they know that young people that maybe shouldn't be listening to their music will listen to it and they probably just won't care they just might think about the money what their getting money for, they don't really care about the kid, until they have a kid themselves they don't really see how it is, that's what happens, some artists have a kid and then they sort of they sort of change a bit I think. (3829-3847 Forum 3).

In this extract, in addition to a discussion about artistic responsibility, Josh is also saying something about how young people are valued and thought about by adults and that artists do not care about the wellbeing of young people. He sees artists as motivated by money and ignoring the impact of their music on young people. He states that this might change when the artists have children themselves, that once the issue concerns them personally, they might actually pay attention to the wellbeing of young people. Young people are not visible and not important to artists who are looking primarily to make as much money as they can.

The next conversation is a further example of this awareness in relation to the value of young people. It is part of a reflection on an interaction between Josh and one of his favourite artists. The first time they interacted was at an open mic night where Josh asked the artist for an interview, which he refused at first, and made excuses for why he could not at that time. It was only after Josh performed his rap on stage that this artist really changed his approach and suddenly showed a greater interest in Josh.

Extract 33

Nia:-you could have been any young person and what (.)what do you think of that?

Josh:-its weird init

Noah:-I don't like that, no but its (inaudible)

Temi:- you could ask him why he said no to begin with and then he-

Noah:-yeah that's one good question

Nia:-yeah ((laughs)) straight first one

All: ((laughter))

Noah:-it will make him it will make him think though it will make him think and he will like that-

Josh:-he will be like well I thought you were just a little boy and you still are a little boy

Noah:-he will probably say something like that

All: ((laughter))

Josh: [xxx] (artists name) he will be like, 'I don't want a interview brov' (an impression)

All: ((laughter))

Noah: -'My face is everywhere why do I need my face somewhere else?' (an impression)

((laughter))

Noah: I recon yeah man that's simple he just thought he was a young person (in audible)

Josh: We need to make our own political party

Noah: -and then when they see we got suttin' be like yeah you got suttin' 'cool mate' (impression)

((Laughter)). (3112 -3137 Forum 2)

The incident and the reflective conversation show how young people can even feel unheard in the Hip-hop community. They feel they are seen as having no power and nothing of any worth to say. It also shows the power of rap to give them some relative power and to get people's attention. After his successful performance, his favourite artist sees Josh as someone who has something of worth to say. We can see just how aware Josh is of his relative powerlessness when he states that if he was a politician the artist would have had much more time for him.

3.2.3 UKHHG as Resistance

The participants paint a bleak picture of the socio-political context for young people with references to systematic oppression and gang violence (see 3.2.1 Life as Struggle). At the same time, as young people, they manage an awareness of their relative powerlessness and continuous experiences of their voices being unheard. Despite these challenging circumstances, within the content of the participants' freestyle raps, there are also many references to their determination to explicitly resist 'the system'. While the topic of resistance is something that threads through the majority of the themes identified, the way that the participants use UKHHG as a resistant culture is important and warrants its own section. Here, I focus on the lyrical content of the raps and freestyles performed. Here, resistance is seen as the ways that participants contest 'the system', dominant

ideas about young people/marginalised groups and/or that show the possibility for alternative narratives.

Below (extract 34), Josh describes how young people can resist the forces that might be constraining them into the stereotypes and categories they are expected to occupy:

Extract 34

Josh: (raps) Corruption, greed, and insanity
Power controlled system feeded by vanity. (...)
Don't follow them just be what you have to be.
I'm teaching you gradually
Look deeper at the underlying faculties
Humans are profit so product is what we have to be
Forced into categories,
Do what they say obey or die classically
Believing is seeing
Some might say the opposite
If you wanna make a change then drop your sticks
See that life is beauty
Change from kid be a true G. (4122-4129 Forum 3)

Part of this rap is a reflection on the ways that the capitalist system commodifies people. Josh outlines a narrative, which departs from the inevitability of people perpetuating stereotypes, in which he promotes non-violence and for young people to have a critical consciousness. Here, Josh is advocating for young people to change, trying to encourage young people to develop a critical consciousness of 'the system'. He wants his rap to teach people about 'the system' and help young people to realise their part in it so that they might resist it.

In this rap, Josh again talks about departing from stereotyped narratives:

Extract 35

Josh: (raps) (...) Because rapping is easy if you know how Put the words together and let the flow out,
But please don't rap about your nonsense
When I rhyme bars conceived with conscience
Because I don't rap about things that I've never done,
No crime man, clean money I'm having some,
don't cry Mum, bright future, I'm having one.

All: ((Laughter))

Josh: (...)(raps) belief is the petrol fuelling your mind. I aspire to achieve and believe you will high and you'll get by if your minds in the right place everybody going forwards I'm going side ways. (1674-1684 Forum 1).

Melissa chooses to sing the song below during a point at which the space is open for people to freestyle. The song she chooses is 'Royals' (Yelich-O'Connor & Little, 2013) by Lorde, a 16-year old singer from New Zealand:

Extract 36

Melissa: (sings)

I've never seen a diamond in the flesh

I cut my teeth on wedding rings in the movies

And I'm not proud of my address,

In a torn-up town, no postcode envy

But every song's like gold teeth, grey goose, trippin' in the bathroom

Blood stains, ball gowns, trashin' the hotel room,

We don't care, we're driving Cadillac's in our dreams.

But everybody's like Cristal, Maybach, diamonds on your timepiece.

Jet planes, islands, tigers on a gold leash.

We don't care, we aren't caught-

(cheering)

And we'll never be royals, royals.

It don't run in our blood,

That kind of luxe just ain't for us.

We crave a different kind of buzz. (3993 - 4010 Forum 3)

The songs themes fit well with the content of the conversation that preceded it. The conversation involved a discussion about the impact of the glorification of negative lifestyles and attitudes in Hip-hop. The song expresses a rejection and critique of the materialism that is perpetuated in pop and Hip-hop. It is about coming from a modest background and not desiring to get a 'buzz' from a life of excess, diamonds and expensive cars. It fits well with the recurring idea of affirming a choice to be alternative, to reject a dominant narrative and resist the pressures to reproduce certain expectations of being a hedonistic young person.

Despite the challenges that young people coming from lower socio-economic backgrounds face, they are not merely constructed as victims. Rather, they manage the best that they can:

Extract 37

Xpose: (raps) (...) if you're from the hood
You develop a feral nature in the wild,
Like Romulus,
Not too many options that are good
But we strive for the best in life,
Stay focused on what we should. (1711-1713 Forum 1)

Against the odds, people stay focused and 'strive for the best in life'. Xpose suggests that difficult circumstances and impoverished environments actually force young people to develop a way of surviving. He compares this capacity to survive with Romulus, a roman mythological character. Romulus and his twin were left by their parents in a river, yet both manage to survive and go on to become heroes (Wiseman, 1995). This metaphor suggests that young people in difficult environments develop an impressive ability to survive. Young people from

these environments are seen as not having access to real choices about the direction their lives can take, yet they still do their best. Against such a negative social context, Xpose highlights young people's determination to keep surviving and doing the best they can in the circumstances.

An important part of resistance against 'the system' involves being aware of the mechanisms of control. Resistance here (extract 38) includes not engaging in violence and activities that actually feed the system and negatively impact the marginalized:

Extract 38

Josh: (raps) Use your mind exceed revolutionise

Be the best you can

Be unlike these other stupid guys

If you want it bad enough

It will happen quick

Don't follow.

Be a leader please don't grab a stick

Cos this is the best thing for the power hungry

And pour guns and drugs in and out of the country

And then steal the money of the innocent

Its peak in the system

And were living in oblivion.

Politics oblivious go reading an apologist

We need to really stop and think. (4100-4108 Forum 3)

The circularity of poverty and its benefits to those in power are commented on: resistance to 'guns and drugs' is a way of not feeding the 'power hungry'. Critical to Josh's call for resistance is his encouragement of critical thinking: 'we need to stop and think'.

While participants use UKHHG as a tool to support their resistance to the system, UKHHG is also simultaneously constructed by the 'system'. Being a product that

is sold and consumed within the neo-colonial hypermarket driven socio-political climate, UKHHG is influenced by the same socio-political issues that it attempts to resist. Negative messages about race, class, and gender that are communicated through elements of UKHHG, have an impact on the young people who engage with it. Next Josh describes himself as being made 'bad' through listening to music without conscious awareness:

Extract 39

Josh: Um, its like with my like when I was a bit younger, like three years ago when I was like twelve, I used to listen to like Lil Wayne and lots of like what you would say like negative music sort of thing, I just like without kno, like I didn't know then but obviously I was like quite bad in school, I got kicked out of two schools now maybe looking back it might be subconsciously like without me even knowing it, might just be I was influenced by the music I was listening to because I was listening to like violent music and bad music, see I just switched it up. (3784-3793 Forum 3)

Josh's account (extract 39) of his decision to change his music choice and rewrite his identity, 'just switched it up', is an account that gives him a lot of agency. It gives an example of the potential ability of young people to make themselves more conscious of how they are being impacted by the music they choose to listen to. Josh sees himself as able to resist the negative information he was getting from that music and recreate a new understanding of himself.

Below there is a further illustration of the ability of young people to reflect and develop a critical consciousness about the impact of the music they listen to, and thus indicates they are not passive consumers of music, but have the potential to resist the influence of certain negative imagery and lyrical content in Hip-hop music:

Extract 40

Dzifa: What do you get out of like is there any thing positive that you get out of listening to someone like Little Wayne?

Leon: um there's like one song he made was like Mirror and yeah I liked it

Dzifa: What's it about?

Leon: um it was about him looking at himself and talking about his mum something and his dad-

Josh: -Yeah I know that tune the one with Bruno Mars? (sings the tune of the song)

Noah: yeah I can understand that quite a (inaudible) it's like empowering isn't it?

Leon: and some of his songs I didn't like because he talks about um like girls parts and stuff. (3975- 3987 Forum 3)

Here we hear that there is a song that resonates with Leon by Lil Wayne. Leon is not just passively consuming Lil Wayne's music, he is able to find parts of it that relate to him in a positive way as well as to identify parts of the lyrics that have negative moral implications. This narrative is context specific. He made these comments while in a room in which the majority of people present with him were talking about Lil Wayne negatively; he is negotiating this context and possibly feeling the pressure to say what people want to hear.

3.2.4 Authenticity

Many of the ways in which life as 'struggle' is constructed by participants highlight the ways that the system creates 'delusions', 'lies' and 'hypocrisy'. Being real, speaking truth and having authenticity are constructed as important values to the participants and an important part of the artistry of Hip-hop. These are key themes within UKHHG culture. In a system of lies, authenticity functions as a form of resistance. Authenticity is about being oneself, revealing the truth of 'the system', and an attitude of transparency in the way one interacts with others.

In the extract below sharing the truth is associated with a political act. Truth appears to be an intrinsic feature of Blake's own approach to Hip-hop:

Extract 41

Blake: (raps) (...) A billion man march ignored

I campaign

But all I can say is its damn shame

But I'm a spit the truth to my fan base.

I don't need guidance just truth that comes out when I'm in the booth,

Here's truth I'm my own worst enemy,

Self-critic self doubt that's affecting me,

Gotta push the remedy. (4079-4083 Forum 3)

It is easier for truth to come out when Blake is 'in the booth' and he takes on the responsibility of truth telling when he records his raps. His truth includes self-truth about his vulnerability; a desire to overcome his self-doubt. This truth telling also involves an intention for self-change and self-transformation.

Authenticity is also something that is described as resonating with people. When people are confronted with authenticity they naturally recognise it, even if the truth is something people do not want to hear:

Extract 42

Zine: - I think what it is when it comes to the true, init, the truth is, like, the most important thing and everyone believes the truth to be true even if you don't like it, like, you get the rich guys, like, Hip-hop know this, whatever. They hated it so much because it's speaking the truth and these guys are all trying to push lies, init, so that's why they try to suppress it so much that's why it resonates with so much people and their daughters and their granddaughters. (2118-2125 Forum 1)

In this extract we see truth and authenticity as an element of resistance because part of the way systematic oppression works is understood as being through 'hypocrisy' and 'lies'. Therefore, revealing the truth and communicating it through rap is seen as a strong form of resistance.

There is something transcendent about truth and when it resonates with people it can have almost embodied effects; touching people and leaving them changed. In the next extract, Temi reflects on what was said about truth in Hip-hop in forum 1 and on the ways that it resonated with her:

Extract 43

Temi: What came to mind was I think someone said something along the lines I don't know if it was Endgame, but someone said something like when someone speaks the truth its gonna resonate with people, it resonates with someone else's truth even if its not the same truth, you kind, you can feel it um and that that resonated with me, like think that's true um so in terms of what was the question?

Josh: vehicle of change?

Dzifa: yeah we haven't really talked about the question we kind of went off

Temi: - yeah kind of linked with what you were saying, I think if people speak the truth (.) whether its what ever attitude they have with it I think its ah more likely to touch people -

Noah:- yeah that's what I mean it gonna have more of a after lasting effect in just a second, like going to watch a movie and it moving you, that movie might have had like one thing in it like one sentence why not fill a whole movie with stuff that could bring change, like why not why not fill the whole time with something real? (2894-2912 Forum 2)

At the end, of we see Noah express his preference for complete 'realness'. This belief that people should make entertainment that is authentic, and able to really touch someone, is clear also in his rap:

Extract 44

Noah: Hold up.

Josh: Wait a minute.

If he makes the beats then I write the lyrics.

Positive vibes through the time no gimmicks

So that's why we give it-,

Noah: -one hundred percent,

One hundred percent I said-

(1650-1654 Forum 1)

For Josh and Noah, authenticity means having 'no gimmicks', and they are dedicated to putting their complete selves into their music.

Authenticity is also about how one is with others; it is about being transparent. The extract below is from a part of the dialogue where MC Blaze describes her work with young men on a mental health ward. Here she talks about the importance of transparency in her work:

Extract 45

Mc Blaze: (...) Now I was just saying that I feel, like, I don't like to use Hiphop as a disguise in these workshops and in these educational I don't because sometimes I feel like it's a form of in a trickery, manipulative like, 'Ah, young people don't really like science and English but less buss a little bit of a urban flavour and way Hip-hop thing in there and suddenly they'll be gass.' Like, I don't like that, I like to be transparent and I like to be, like, 'English is sick, you need to know words and science, you're gonna use it in your life der, der, der and this is just another form of expression, this is gonna work on your confidence. (...)and I think that's the point of using Hip-hop in education and using it for young people. It's not to disguise what they shouldn't be learning, or to trick them into doing it, you know

what I mean? It just needs to be something very transparent, that is this is Hip-hop, this is what it is, this is what it stems from. It's educating them on what Hip-hop is and then just using bits and bobs as tools but not using it to kinda trick them into, into it. Do you know what I mean? (2273-2306 Forum 1)

It is important to her that this transparency and authenticity is used even in the ways that Hip-hop itself is presented. She gives this opinion following a question about what Hip-hop can teach the mental health system. One important lesson she is communicating is that institutions should use Hip-hop as it can be a great tool, but that is should be used transparently, in an authentic way.

4. DISCUSSION

In this chapter, I will explore the ways that the findings address my research questions while situating the findings within existing theory and literature. I will then discuss my personal reflections about the research process and the impact of my positioning and subjectivity on the findings. I will proceed to critically review the research procedure, and results. Finally, I will explore the possible future directions and suggest recommendations for clinical psychology stemming from the outcomes of this research.

4.1 Revisiting the Research Aims

This research aimed to address the relationships between socio-political issues and the wellbeing of young people in inner London, through examining UKHHG culture and community. In addition, it is concerned with what clinical psychology might learn from UKHHG communities and the ways that young people engage with it for their wellbeing.

This section will discuss the key findings of this research in relation to these broad research aims, grounding these findings within existing literature.

4.2 Interconnected Transformation Within the UKHHG Community: What Clinical Psychology Can Learn

In order for psychological knowledge to be transformed by the knowledges of the communities that it aspires to serve, it needs to connect to those communities' existing forms of 'psychology' (Afuape, 2011b). This section aims to highlight some of the important forms of knowledge generated and used by the UKHHG community that benefit young people's wellbeing. The results chapter (3) presents numerous examples that show the UKHHG community to be a dynamic, proactive and participatory community, which generates and supports processes of resistance, expression and transformation for young people.

A key feature of many of the themes as described by participants was that of a UKHHG culture that facilitates processes of personal and communal transformation. In the first theme, UKHHG as a source of transformation (3.1), there are many examples of the ways that artists/community workers engage with young people and facilitate their development and transformation. Many of the older artists take active roles in facilitating processes of transformation, particularly creating space for interconnected transformations that emerge through interactions with and between young people in their communities. These approaches have parallels with some of the ways that Community Psychology aims to work with communities at individual, community and social levels (Fryer & Fagan, 2003). The statement 'how can we succeed together' (MC Blaze extract 10) fits well with an ideology of a Liberation Psychology that works with communities rather than for communities (Martín-Baró, 1994).

I am mindful that in identifying these as examples of Community or Liberation Psychology, I do not want to be giving these activities credence only through their mirroring of existing psychological theories. A psychology that challenges the positioning of psychologists as experts (Martín-Baró, 1994) needs to also be critical of validating knowledges, as long as these knowledges can be neatly mapped onto psychological theory; these knowledges need to be valid in their own right. These examples show how a UKHHG informed 'psychology' emerges through the activities of its community members. This 'psychology' is organic and context specific; it is described by the participants as emerging naturally through the work that these older artists facilitate. These examples do not emerge in a vacuum; they are constructed within a society in which discourses of psychology and therapeutic transformation exist. MC Blaze herself talks about her work as like a 'kind of psychology'. Partnerships between psychology/mental health services and community workers have also been a feature within mental health services for some time. MC Blaze gives an example of work she has done in a mental health setting (extract 12 and 45). However, rarely has this type of transformative work been associated with the UKHHG community. We also see how MC Blaze uses principles of UKHHG to support the transformation of young men in a mental health ward. We see how these artists/community workers make links to the roots of Hip-hop as transformative, a 'voice of the struggle' (eg.

extract 1), and connect these with the experiences of the marginalised groups they work with. The artists use the spirit of creativity through freestyles and cyphers to encourage young people to express themselves, and to unify the groups within which they work. They draw on the power of art and performance to support young people to express emotions they find hard to express. Through UKHHG young people are able to communicate in ways that allow them to express ideas and emotions they would otherwise find difficult to express in other ways.

The artists and the young people they work with have common personal connections. They draw on their mutual connections to UKHHG, and their own personal experiences. Transformation is seen as something that people do together. We also see that the young people themselves talk of the ways that their engagement with UKHHG has transformed them personally, giving them greater confidence and motivation and helping them to achieve their 'optimum' (extract 8). These outcomes have clear positive impacts on the personal, social, and emotional elements of their wellbeing (La Placa et al. 2013). As well as explicitly addressing and aspiring for greater wellbeing, UKHHG culture directly tackles issues that threaten young people's wellbeing.

4.3 UKHHG Engages Directly with Issues that Impact Negatively on Young People's Wellbeing

Hip-hop's origins have been associated with the civil rights movement and as an art form that became a tool of expression for marginalised people (Reiland, 2013). UKHHG is still seen as an art form that gives voice to the experiences of marginalised people (Hancox, 2011a, 2011b). We see that the young people and artists in this study use UKHHG as a way to give voice to their own and other's experiences of marginalisation, discrimination, poverty, and crime. Participants indicate that through UKHHG these issues are contextualised within a sociopolitical framework. This is especially important in trying to conceive of a psychology that is transformed by the knowledges of the UKHHG community. It is important to explore what UKHHG can add to multi-level (Fryer & Fagan, 2003)

understandings of young people's behaviour. In this section, I highlight some of the key socio-political issues discussed by the participants.

4.3.1 Young People's Perception of Power and Control

The young people in the forums tend to speak in a way that indicates an acute awareness of their lack of power and a perception that there are systemic sociopolitical processes that are impacting on their ability to control the direction of their lives. They expressed that they are struggling against the negative expectations of them such as the expectation that they will turn to crime. Maybe, when Josh (extract 4) talks about defying society's expectations and not letting down his mother, he is tackling the dual pressure of being blamed for society's problems and being constructed as the hope for the future (Watts & Flanagan, 2007). It may be that he is trying to avoid going down a stereotyped narrative, about the criminal behavior of young black men from low socio-economic backgrounds, by keeping his 'mind in the right place'.

Participants make references to choosing to do things differently to their peers. This might include choosing to rap about socio-political issues. They express a nonconformist commitment to resisting peer pressure, media representations and societal expectations of young people. In their raps, the Hip-hop artists commit to 'being real', resisting conforming, and call upon other young people to do the same. This choice appears to take effort, requiring an active and continuous resistance.

The young people, young adults and UKHHG artists in this study illustrate their ability to make this effort to be alternative, and to continue to develop their critical consciousness. Here we see processes of conscientisation or critical consciousness evolving within the UKHHG context (Freire, 1970; Montero, 2009). The young people reflect on the social political and environmental pressures to conform while actively practicing resistance to conforming. These skills could be seen as a form of accrued wellbeing (Gillett-Swan & Sargeant, 2014), where participants have developed a capacity to manage these constant pressures over time.

4.3.2 'The System'- Systematic Oppression, Inequality, and the Neo-liberalist Hypermarket-Driven Society

The concept of 'the system' emerges several times during the discussions. While it is never explicitly defined, it is linked to the mechanisms of systematic oppression, and the means of control that those in power have over the marginalised. It also connects to the ideologies behind neo-liberalism and capitalism and the impact that these have on individuals. It is interesting to find that while the young participants do not always talk about these issues in these terms, they have a strong sense of the ways that 'the system' is impacting on their lives. This knowledge may partly come from their involvement in the UKHHG community and their consumption of politically themed music. Participants talk about UKHHG lyrics functioning as a message, and the co-researchers choice to focus on 'the kind of knowledge that UKHHG creates, suggests that they use UKHHG as an educational medium. Their relationship with UKHHG has contributed to them to seeking out music that helps them to maintain a critical awareness of these mechanisms of 'the system'. Participants particularly talked and rapped about the ways that 'the system' can have a degree of control over how they think, through 'hypocrisy' 'delusions' and 'lies' (extract 25). An important part of the critical consciousness they exhibit is through a combination of reflection and praxis (Friere, 1970); they take practical steps towards resisting 'the system' through their dedication to authenticity, their community work, and remaining aware of the ways that they might be being controlled or influenced by oppressive mechanisms.

4.3.3 Youth Crime and Gang Conflict

Youth crime and gang conflict were mentioned a number of times by some of the participants, particularly the issue of knife and gun crime and the killing of young people by their peers. This could indicate that the issue is one that is important to participants due to direct experience of these issues, or because they feel that they are at risk of being the victims of these issues. Xpose (Extract 28) comments on the ways that young people on the street who lose their lives in youth crime or gang conflict are not valued, and the issue is not taken seriously by society (Afuape, 2011a, Batmanghelidjh, 2012). The lives of young people are not valued and the problem is seen as not directly impacting people. It is a problem for

certain marginalized individuals and therefore not seen as a problem for the wider community (Giroux, 2011). Rook's rap, which references 'black on black' (extract 29) crime, comments that the ongoing conflict between marginalised young people and the state of being 'broken and poor' benefits those in power. Rook links the problems of poverty, crime and violence with the wider social system of inequality, privilege and marginalisation.

Generally, there appears to be a sense of participants trying to understand why these issues are happening, for example, when Josh raps 'who knows why gangs beef' (extract 26). Witnessing or being a victim of gang violence has a clear negative impact on wellbeing (La Placa et al., 2013). Managing this fear of physical harm while also having an awareness of the relative devaluation of young people's lives could potentially generate a lot of emotion, frustration, anger, and sadness. This may be part of the reason participants repeatedly talk about the need for places to express themselves. Their use of UKHHG as an outlet for such emotions may indicate one way that they maintain their resilience under these circumstances (Wexler et al., 2009).

4.3.4 Increased Policing

Xpose (extract 27) states in his freestyle rap that the increased criminalising of young people is an ineffective way to stop youth violence on the streets. He talks about how 'true change comes from within'. We are left wondering whether he is advocating for something more empathic, similar to the argument that what young people may need is support, empathy and spaces in which to be heard (Batmanghelidja, 2012). The current context for young people is one of increasing surveillance and policing of their behaviour (Porfilio, et al., 2013; Morgan, 2012). Xpose refers to ASBOs and stop and search policies, policies that have particularly impacted on youth socialisation and been driven by society's anxieties about the activity of young people on the streets (Crawford, 2009). Crawford (2009) argues that this policy has impacted young people's wellbeing, increasing their anxiety and alienation. The belief that these policies are destructive rather than merely ineffective may have played a large role in the anger and apathy expressed during the 2011 uprisings (Smith, 2011). This indicates a circular problem where increased anger at the police leads to

behaviour which is severely criminalised (Bawdon, 2011), inciting further anger and apathy. It is this circular problem that Xpose appears to refer to in his rap, 'Look these youths, won't get a chance ta have a stab at life without being made a martyr' (extract 27). He may be saying something about the way the system tries to make examples of young people through severe sentencing. Yet this kind of sentencing may be communicating to young people, especially to young black men (Afuape 2011 a), that they continue to be victims of injustice and that their lives and their futures are devalued by society.

4.3.5 Impact of Hip-hop on Young People

UKHHG is embedded within our current neo-liberalist hypermarket-driven society (Giroux, 2012). It is influenced by and reflects the systems of oppression that persist in today's society. UKHHG is in a co-productive relationship with society; it is informed by the social contexts of those who produce it and at the same time is producing social contexts. The images and constructions of certain identities that are contained in UKHHG are productive. They have real effects on how people understand social issues, such as the relationships between men and women. We see that when Leon, talks about the ways that Lil Wayne raps about women's bodies (Extract 40), he is conscious of the ways that these devalue women. On the one hand, this suggests that young people interact with media in critical ways, not accepting everything that is being sold to them. On the other hand, the use of tracks like 'Mirror' might be a way to sell Lil Wayne to as many audiences as possible. While this song might have elements that help Leon connect to issues in his own life, that he might find "empowering", the other elements of Lil Wayne's work may be informing him about what it is to be a black man and what is expected of him, and how he should think about women.

4.4 Young People Resisting Negative Impacts on their Wellbeing

As Wexler et al. (2009) argue, marginialised young people are not merely victims of the socio-political issues that impact on their wellbeing. The young people and artists involved in this project are active agents in building resistance and resilience in response to the socio-political pressures they face. They engage with the UKHHG community for personal and communal transformation, and this

transformation and the aspiration for transformation exhibited by participants may help them to protect and develop their wellbeing. Young people and artists talk about how their relationship with UKHHG has given them increased confidence, greater motivation and changed them personally. UKHHG has become an integral part of their personality, through group identification and individual and shared group meaning making (Wexler et al., 2009).

Young people's views, understandings, and knowledges often go unheard and they are given little power over their lives (Mason & Hood, 2011). This research shows that young people consciously engage with UKHHG as a way to be heard. Through writing their own lyrics, and through performing raps, they gain a forum to communicate things that would be difficult to communicate in other ways. The young artists are acutely aware of their role as messengers, and hope that their music will have an impact on others.

4.5 Psychology Supporting Young People's Resistance

It is important to recognise the community work and engagement with young people that is already occurring in the UKHHG community. Although this project did not systematically measure the outcomes of this community work, the aims of this work would match some of the aims of Community and Liberation Psychology. These aims include personal and communal transformation, engagement with the stories and knowledges of young people, engagement with socio-political issues, critical awareness/consciousness of political issues of discrimination, injustice, inequality, and the development and sustainment of tools and approaches to resistance and wellbeing. In light of these parallels between the community work being done in UKHHG community and the aims of Community and Liberation psychology, it might be tempting to try to imagine a role for psychology in this work. I think it is important to not assume any particular role for psychology. By assuming a role for psychology we risk reaffirming psychologists as experts and could be in danger of working for rather than with communities. Such assuming might unhelpfully interfere with the work already being done within this community.

Further work beyond this study might be to build relationships with community leaders in the UKHHG community, and allow these leaders to articulate how psychology might be able to support the work they are already doing. Services do often commission community organisations to do short pieces of work; MC Blaze (extract 12) facilitates three days of workshops at a mental health ward. Considering its potential as a transformational tool there may be value in longerterm partnership work. This type of partnership work, based on the values of UKHHG, should create a more fundamental transformation of the way that mental health services are conceived. At the core of UKHHG culture is its connection to resistance, critical consciousness, and its role as "protest music" for young people (Hancox, 2011a). Any use of UKHHG within mental health settings requires direct engagement with wider socio-political issues to be truly responsive to the context and character of UKHHG. Such engagement with UKHHG might support mental health services to engage with political change movements, as part of promoting the wellbeing of those who use mental health services (Afuape & Hughes, in preparation; Burton, 2013; Fryer & Fagan, 2003). Future research would need to explore the demand for such work, how such work could be evaluated and the other ways that psychology could work with members of the UKHHG community to directly support the community's wellbeing.

Psychology might also benefit learning from the ways in which UKHHG artists and community leaders use and value authenticity in their work. UKHHG culture promotes an approach of "being real" that impacts the ways community members relate to each other. UKHHG culture values openness, transparency and a willingness to speak honestly and with a critical consciousness about oppressive mechanisms. Participants talk (extract 42 and 43) about the ways that truth can resonate and the importance of relational experiences in which people are able to resonate with each other. Further exploration might consider the ways in which psychologists, through authentic practice, could better resonate with young people and the communities they work with.

4.6 Reflections

Reflecting back on the whole process of conducting this research, I was honored to work with my co-researcher team. The young people especially showed great commitment and enthusiasm for the project. I have conducted research through one-to-one interviews and, although I had also valued this form of research, I really appreciated being able to make relationships with the co-researchers and participants over time. I believe that the young people got something valuable out of involvement with the project, which felt like a more equitable way to do research. The co-researcher team were a proactive and talented group, and I cannot make large claims about what they gained through their participation, as their natural skills and talents really supported their development. However, over the four months, I noticed their increasing confidence. The project started organically with the co-researchers having a high degree of participation, for example, making their views heard in meetings, and by the end of the project they had greater leadership, for example, facilitating the forum discussions.

The project also presented challenges due to my role in needing to voice the limitations and requirements of the thesis research. Sometimes I had to talk through the logistics of some of the ideas that the team had, and redirect the team towards methods achievable within the time and constraints of the project. For example, we were not able to create a film within the timeframe and instead, the forum discussions were the end point in our data collection (see APPENDIX 17 for diagram of Non-Linear direction of the research)

The research's focus felt like a 'moving target' at times. This unpredictability was an important part of creating an environment of participation in which I did not have a firm idea of how the research would look or who would be involved. I needed to be open to the information that I gained from the co-researchers, participants and community members and allow that information to shape and direct the research as much as possible. At the same time I needed to think about the regulations, ethical considerations, and limitations of doing a participatory action research project for a doctoral thesis. It helped me to develop

clinical skills in managing uncertainty, and being self critical of my power and my connection with an institution that also had some power over the research.

4.6.1 Evaluation of Benefits of Doing PAR

Through this project, I developed a unique model of PAR that was shaped by the restrictions on resources, time, and the requirements of a doctoral thesis and by the young people, co-researchers and community members that I worked and consulted with. While I was collecting data on the processes within the UKHHG community of interconnected transformation through the project, I was also being transformed by the project and witnessed the transformation of others, especially of the co-researcher team. Unfortunately, due to the restricted remit of this project, I was not able to formally evaluate the actual process of doing the work. The process of doing PAR in these contexts is itself of interest to clinical psychology (Dick, 1996; Greenwood et al., 1993). Understanding the benefits, limitations and dilemmas of conducting such work could generate important knowledge about how and why mental health services could increase community participation.

4.6.2 Critical Review

As an insider researcher, I already have a positive relationship with UKHHG, my personal relationship to the community and to the music will have informed my analysis. While I hope this thesis has also shown that UKHHG is part of 'the system' and, therefore, not a purely radical, resistant culture, I am particularly drawn to elements of UKHHG that speak to socio-political issues in direct ways. These elements are not representative of all UKHHG culture. Due to the dominant negative narrative about UKHHG, and it being seen as negatively influencing young people, I felt I needed to explicitly invite the co-researchers and participants to talk about other narratives. However, while this research cannot represent the majority of UKHHG culture, I do believe the parts of the culture that this research has focused on exist and are worthy of attention.

I originally had a third theme entitled 'The commercialisation of UKHHG'. This theme felt important partly because it was a theme that the young people and artists were particularly concerned with. Many of the participants, as artists

themselves, expressed frustration about the negative elements of UKHHG and their impact on young people. This was an important theme for the young people, and I hoped it might give context to challenges within the UKHHG community. However, I felt it drifted too far from the aims and remit of this research. My need to make this decision highlights one of the dilemmas of PAR. While I hold the power as primary researcher over the write-up of the research, there is an unavoidable tension between my needs, in writing the research for my thesis, and those of co-researchers. Future work could explore how this tension might be addressed if co-researchers were able to contribute to the analysis stage. In addition, the young people and artists in the co-researcher team were simultaneously participants in the research. While I think this model was important and helped to give a rich data set, another model in which the coresearcher team are not participants might help to distribute even more power and expertise to the young people and artists. Hopefully, future work in this area will build on and improve the processes of the PAR method and its use with young people's communities.

Unfortunately, due to time limitations I was not able to include the co-researchers in the analysis stage of the research. I had hoped that we would be able to create a film together and that through the editing of this film, the co-researchers would have been able to identify key themes and subthemes. The co-researchers did however, record some of the work we did, and hopefully, they will be able to go on and use this film to make a documentary. In addition the co-researchers are currently working with YPI to produce another film and there maybe ways to engage the research team in the future and further explore how the results of this research might be used to inform future projects.

4.6.3 What Can UKHHG Teach Clinical Psychology?

Using liberation and community psychology frameworks for psychological interventions requires a grassroots led approach that evolves through dialogue and engagement with communities. Therefore, the recommendations given here are not static and prescriptive guidelines, but ideas that should be re-evaluated through grassroots led engagement, specific to the contexts in which they might be used. Based on the outcomes of this research I would recommend:

- Psychology further explores the importance of young people's cultures and their impact on young people's wellbeing.
- Psychologists that seek to explore young people's interest in Hip-hop, or to use Hip-hop music and culture in their work, should do so transparently and with authenticity. As described by the participants, authenticity involves being one's self, having a critical consciousness of the ways that oppressive social forces operate, interacting with others in a open way, resonating with others, and being transparent about intentions. Such an approach could be applied to all work psychologists do with young people.
- The use of UKHHG in psychology should be informed by connecting to the history of Hip-hop. The history and the use of Hip-hop as a tool for marginalised people and Hip-hop's critical consciousness raising and transformative elements should be central to any therapeutic use of Hip-hop.
- Greater partnership work with UKHHG artists and community leaders over significant time periods and an engagement in the cultures of marginalised people, in a way that transforms the development and delivery of services and projects that support people in emotional distress or help to support people's wellbeing.
- The compatibility of PAR with clinical psychology practice and its aims should be promoted and supported by further research that evaluates the benefits of PAR.
- Psychologists build relationships with community members over time and through dialogue and critical reflection. They can support communities to identify the issues they want to address and what support or resources they need in order to address these.
- Psychologists acknowledge and learn from the resilience, skills and resistance that marginalised communities are already utilising. Psychology could learn from gaining a greater understanding of how the UKHHG community creates an environment in which young people are able to gain critical consciousness and resilience in the face of the many socio-political issues they face.

- Psychology be engaged in community resistance and action against oppression and marginalisation. Psychologists can work beside communities to make political change happen both locally and at higher levels such as through campaigning and making changes at national or international levels.
- Psychologists make 'actual changes' (Xpose, extract 13) to support young people's wellbeing. Psychology needs to be engaged with the social political issues impacting on young people's lives and listen to young people's voices and experiences of these issues. Building on young people's knowledges, they can work with communities to make concrete changes to the lives of young people.

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APPENDIXES

APPENDIX 1: Partnership Child Protection Policy

Child and Vulnerable Adult Protection Policy and Procedure

YPI (Youth Participation and Inclusion in partnership with the Primary Researcher) believe that it is always unacceptable for a child, young person or vulnerable adult to experience abuse of any kind and recognise our responsibility to safeguard the welfare of all children and young people, and vulnerable adults by a commitment to practice which protects them.

We recognise that:

- The welfare of the child/young person/vulnerable adult is paramount
- All children/ vulnerable adult, regardless of age, disability, gender, sexuality, identity, race, ethnicity, religious belief, or socio-economic status, have the right to equal protection from all types of harm or abuse
- Working in partnership with children, young people, vulnerable adults, their parents, carers and other agencies is essential in promoting their welfare.

The purpose of the policy:

- To provide protection for the children, young people and vulnerable adults who receive YPI's services, including the children of adult members or users.
- To provide staff and volunteers with guidance on procedures they should adopt in the event that they suspect a child, young person or vulnerable adult may be experiencing, or be at risk of, harm.

This policy applies to all staff, including senior managers and the board of trustees, paid staff, volunteers and sessional workers, agency staff, students or anyone working on behalf of YPI.

We will seek to safeguard children, young people, and vulnerable adults by:

- Valuing them, listening to and respecting them
- Adopting protection guidelines through procedures and a code of conduct for staff and volunteers
- Recruiting staff and volunteers safely, ensuring all necessary checks are made
- Sharing information about child/ vulnerable adult protection and good practice with children, parents, staff and volunteers
- Sharing information about concerns with agencies who need to know, and involving parents, careers, children and vulnerable adults appropriately
- Providing effective management for staff and volunteers through supervision, support and training.

We are also committed to reviewing our policy and good practice annually.

Child and Vulnerable Adult Protection Procedure

These procedures are aimed at all workers, volunteers and partnership organisations working with YPI to ensure that the actions to be taken to protect children and vulnerable adults are clear and understood by all concerned.

Who is a vulnerable adult?

A vulnerable adult is a person aged 18 years or over who may be unable to take care of themselves, or protect themselves from harm or from being exploited. This may be because they have a mental health problem, a disability, a sensory impairment, are old and frail, or have some form of illness.

Definitions of Abuse:

There are four areas of abuse that children and vulnerable adults might experience these are:

- 1. Physical abuse
- 2. Emotional abuse
- 3. Sexual abuse
- 4. Neglect

Physical Abuse

Physical abuse may involve hitting, shaking, throwing, poisoning, burning or scalding, drowning, suffocating, or otherwise causing physical harm to a child or vulnerable adult.

Emotional Abuse

Emotional abuse is the persistent emotional maltreatment of a child or vulnerable adult such as to cause severe and persistent adverse effects on the child's emotional development. It may involve conveying to them that they are worthless or unloved, inadequate, or valued only insofar as they meet the needs of another person.

Sexual Abuse

Sexual abuse involves forcing or enticing a child young person or vulnerable adult to take part in sexual activities, not necessarily involving a high level of violence, whether or not the child/ vulnerable adult is aware of what is happening. The activities may involve physical contact, including assault by penetration (for example, rape or oral sex) or non-penetrative acts such as masturbation, kissing, rubbing and touching outside of clothing. They may also include non-contact activities, such as involving children/ vulnerable adults in looking at, or in the production of, sexual images, watching sexual activities, encouraging children/ vulnerable adults to behave in sexually inappropriate ways, or grooming a child/ vulnerable adults in preparation for abuse.

Neglect

Neglect is the persistent failure to meet a child's/ vulnerable adults basic physical and/or psychological needs, likely to result in the serious impairment of the their health or development. Neglect can include failure to

- Provide adequate food, clothing and shelter (including exclusion from home or abandonment);
- Protect a child/ vulnerable adult from physical and emotional harm or danger;
- Ensure adequate supervision (including the use of inadequate caregivers); or
- Ensure access to appropriate medical care or treatment.
- To meet a child's/ vulnerable adult's basic emotional needs.

Signs the a child or vulnerable adult is being abused can sometimes be difficult to identify YPI do have a responsibility to do all that we can to be alert to the signs and to respond to these signs appropriately in ways that prioritise the safeguarding of the children and vulnerable adults

The physical signs of abuse may include:

- Unexplained bruising, marks or injuries on any part of the body
- Multiple bruises- in clusters, often on the upper arm, outside of the thigh
- Cigarette burns
- Human bite marks
- Broken bones
- Scalds, with upward splash marks,
- Multiple burns with a clearly demarcated edge.

Changes in behaviour that can also indicate physical abuse:

- Fear of parents being approached for an explanation
- Aggressive behaviour or severe temper outbursts
- Flinching when approached or touched

- Reluctance to get changed, for example in hot weather
- Depression
- Withdrawn behaviour
- Running away from home

Signs of emotional abuse tend to not have easily observable outward signs but might include:

- Developmental delay
- Change in weight when child is away from home

Behavioural signs may include:

- Neurotic behaviour e.g. sulking, hair twisting, rocking
- Being unable to play
- Fear of making mistakes
- Sudden speech disorders
- Self-harm
- Fear of parent being approached regarding their behaviour
- Developmental delay in terms of emotional progress

The physical signs of sexual abuse may include:

- Pain or itching in the genital area
- Bruising or bleeding near genital area
- Sexually transmitted disease
- Vaginal discharge or infection
- Stomach pains
- Discomfort when walking or sitting down
- Pregnancy

Changes in behaviour which can also indicate sexual abuse include:

- Sudden or unexplained changes in behaviour e.g. becoming aggressive or withdrawn
- Fear of being left with a specific person or group of people
- Having nightmares
- Running away from home
- Sexual knowledge which is beyond their age, or developmental level
- Sexual drawings or language
- Bedwetting

- Eating problems such as overeating or anorexia
- Self-harm or mutilation, sometimes leading to suicide attempts
- Saying they have secrets they cannot tell anyone about
- Substance or drug abuse
- Suddenly having unexplained sources of money
- Not allowed to have friends (particularly in adolescence)
- Acting in a sexually explicit way towards adults

The physical signs of neglect may include:

- Constant hunger, sometimes stealing food from other people
- Constantly dirty or 'smelly'
- Loss of weight, or being constantly underweight
- Inappropriate clothing for the conditions.

Changes in behaviour which can also indicate neglect may include:

- Complaining of being tired all the time
- Not requesting medical assistance and/or failing to attend appointments

- Having few friends
- Mentioning being left alone or unsupervised.

Additional issues to look out for in relation to safe guarding children and vulnerable adults include:

- Bullying
- Financial Abuse
- Discrimination
- Institutional Abuse
- Trafficking
- Torture
- Exploitation

Good Practice to Support the Protection of Children and Vulnerable Adults includes:

All staff and volunteers must work in an open environment and remain visible when working with children and vulnerable adults, (e.g. avoid private or unobserved situations), whenever practical and possible, and ensure that another adult is present when working in the proximity of children and vulnerable adults.

- Encourage open communication with no secrets.
- Treating all children and vulnerable adults equally, and with respect and dignity
- Building balanced relationships based on mutual trust, which empowers children and vulnerable adults to share in the decision-making process.

 Maintaining a safe and appropriate distance (e.g. it is not appropriate for staff or volunteers to have an intimate relationship with a child or a vulnerable adult).

 Keeping a written record of any injury that occurs, along with the details of any treatment given.

If you suspect that a child/young person/vulnerable adult is experiencing abuse or if they disclose abuse to you should contact one of these named contacts:

If you are unable to contact these members of staff or any other senior members of staff you should contact one of these relevant agencies for advice.

Xxxxxxxxxx

Xxxxxxx

Xxxxxx

XXXXXX

XXXXXXXXXXXX

XXXXXXX

XXXXXX

XXXXX

XXXXXXXX

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XXXX

XXXX

NSPCC

0808 800 5000 88858 (Text) help@nspcc.org.uk (email)

nspcc.org.uk/reportconcern (online)

What to do if children/vulnerable adults talk to you about abuse:

It is recognised that a child/vulnerable adult may seek you out to share information about abuse or neglect, or talk spontaneously individually or in groups when you are present. In these situations you must:

- Listen carefully to them DO NOT directly question them.
- If possible and appropriate inform one of the named staff as soon as possible.
- Give the child/vulnerable adult time and attention.
- Allow the them to give a spontaneous account; do not stop a them freely recalling significant events.

 Make an accurate record of the information you have been given taking care to record the timing, setting and people present, the child's/ vulnerable adult's presentation as well as what was said. Do not throw this away as it may later be needed as evidence.

Use their own words where possible.

 Explain that you cannot promise not to speak to others about the information they have shared.

 Reassure the child/ vulnerable adult that: you are glad they have told you; that they have not done anything wrong; and inform them of what you are going to do next.

 Explain that you will need to get help from other staff or agencies to keep them safe.

What to do if a concern or suspicion is raised about abuse committed by a member of staff:

It is not the responsibility of anyone working in YPI in a paid or unpaid capacity to decide whether or not abuse has taken place. However, there is a responsibility to act on any concerns by reporting these to one of the named workers who will decide the next steps.

Where there is a complaint against a member of staff or volunteer, there may be three types of

investigation:

a criminal investigation

- a child protection investigation
- a disciplinary or misconduct investigation.

The results of the police and child protection investigation may well influence and inform the disciplinary investigation, but all available information will be used to reach a decision.

Confidentiality

In regards to sharing of information in relation to safeguarding the welfare of the child is paramount. Where possible privacy and confidentiality should be respected but if doing this leaves a child at risk of harm then the child's safety has to come first. Legally, it is fine to share information if someone is worried about the safety of a child. Not everyone needs to know when a concern or worry is raised. This respects the child's, family's and/or staffs' rights to privacy. So only people who need to know should be told about it. Otherwise there might be gossip and rumours or other people may be genuinely concerned. It is fine to communicate to those not directly involved or who do not need to know the details that a concern has been raised and it is being dealt with following YPI's procedures.

APPENDIX 2: Ethical Clearance

ETHICAL PRACTICE CHECKLIST (Professional Doctorates)

SUPERVISOR: xxxxxxxxxx ASSESSOR: xxxxxxxxxxxx

STUDENT: Dzifa Afonu DATE (sent to assessor): 18/09/13

Proposed research topic: Hip-hop is Community Psychology? A Participatory Action Research Project with Adolescent Co-Researchers

Course: Professional Doctorate in Clinical Psychology

1. Will free and informed consent of participants be obtained? YES / NO

2. If there is any deception is it justified? YES / NO / N/A

3. Will information obtained remain confidential? YES / NO

4. Will participants be made aware of their right to withdraw at any time? YES / NO

5. Will participants be adequately debriefed? YES / NO

6. If this study involves observation does it respect participants' privacy? YES / NO / NA

7. If the proposal involves participants whose free and informed consent may be in question (e.g. for reasons of age, mental or emotional incapacity), are they treated ethically?

YES / NO / NA

8. Is procedure that might cause distress to participants ethical?

YES/NO/NA

9. If there are inducements to take part in the project is this ethical?

YES/NO/NA

10. If there are any other ethical issues involved, are they a problem?

YES / NO / NA

APPROVED

YES	YES, PENDING MINOR	NO
	CONDITIONS	

MINOR CONDITIONS: In relation to section 2.5, supervisors to ensure the appropriateness of all materials

REASONS FOR NON APPROVAL:

Assessor initials: xx Date: 23/9/13

RESEARCHER RISK ASSESSMENT CHECKLIST (BSc/MSc/MA)

SUPERVISOR: XXXXXXXX ASSESSOR: XXXXXXXX

STUDENT: Dzifa Afonu DATE (sent to assessor): 18/09/13

Proposed research topic: Hip hop is Community Psychology? A Participatory Action

Research Project with Adolescent Co-Researchers

Course: Professional Doctorate in Clinical Psychology

Would the proposed project expose the researcher to any of the following kinds of hazard?

Emotional YES / NO 1

YES / NO 2. Physical

3. YES / NO Other (e.g. health & safety issues)

If you've answered YES to any of the above please estimate the chance of the researcher being harmed as: HIGH / MED / LOW

APPROVED

YES	YES, PENDING MINOR	NO
	CONDITIONS	

MINOR CONDITIONS: Investigator to ensure that supervisors are aware of locations of data collection

REASONS FOR NON APPROVAL:

Assessor initials: XX Date: 23/9/13

For the attention of the assessor. Please return the completed checklists by e-mail to ethics.applications@uel.ac.uk within 1 week.



Information Letter (14-15)

This letter gives you information about a research study that you can take part in. If you would like to take part you would need to understand the information contained in this letter and complete the consent form. A letter must also be given to your parent/ guardian/ carer. They will read this and decide whether they agree to you taking part in this research.

I am training to be a psychologist this study is being done as part of my professional doctorate in clinical psychology at the University of East London.

Project Title

Hip hop is Community Psychology? A Participatory Action Research Project with Adolescent + Young Adult Co-Researchers

What does the project involve?

People who take part in this study will also be the researchers. Everyone will be finding out together about the impact of UK Hip hop/ Grime music and culture on young people. All participants will be supported to do individual and collective research and gather data. We will work together to decide on a focused topic to investigate. Some topics that might be explored for example are:

- What does UK Hip hop and Grime have to do with mental health?
- How does UK Hip hop and Grime explore social issues and link them with emotional wellbeing?
- What impact does UK Hip hop and Grime, containing emotional health references have on young people?

A lot of researchers research young people but it is less common for young people to do the research themselves. You will have a say in what topics are explored and what you think is important.



1.

To take part in the project you will need to be able to attend meetings on xxxxxxxx afternoons every two weeks each meeting will take 1-2 hours each with the first meeting on the xxxxxxxxxxx and the project will end in xxxxxxxxxxx. These will be regular support meetings to support you to be a researcher. After you have collected all the information you need for the research, there will be a 1or 2day workshop where the information will be collected together and summarised. As a group we will decide what you think are the most important findings. The findings can be presented as a song, a document, a video recording, etc. – this will be up to you and the other researchers to decide.

The research is not designed to cause you any harm, discomfort or distress. We will try to make sure that the researcher groups are a safe space. There will be information about how to get support if you feel uncomfortable at any time. You are also free to leave the project at any time – you do not have to give a reason.

What if I don't want my parent/guardian/carer to know?

We would like your parent/guardian/carer's permission for you to take part in the project. This is because they are responsible for keeping you safe and helping you to make important decisions. You might not feel comfortable asking your parent/guardian/carer's consent for you to take part in the project but unfortunately, we need their consent in order for you to take part in the project.

Do both my parents have to agree?

You just need consent from one adult who is responsible for you.

Will the project be accessible for disabled people?

We encourage disabled young people to take part. Please let us know if you have any specific access needs as soon as possible. We will do our best to make sure the project is accessible to all disabled people.

Where will the project take place?

Xxxxxxxxxxxxxxx

What happens to the things I share? Will they be kept private?

When we meet together as a group for the first time we will make a agreement together with guidelines about how we are all going to work with each other. One of the things we will have to put in this agreement is that we will keep things private between people in the group. This will be taken very seriously as it is very important that everyone feels safe to talk about things that are important to them and some people may want to share things that are personal and private to them. We will all decide should be done if anyone breaks these guidelines.

Will I get anything for taking part?

You will not be paid for taking part in this study. However, I hope that you will enjoy the chance to be a researcher exploring the music and culture of UK Hip-hop. There may be some items that we make together that you will be able to keep such as audio or video recordings.

Do I have to take part?

You do not have to take part in this study and should not feel under any pressure to do so. You are free to change your mind at any time and leave the study. If you choose to leave the study you may do so without disadvantage to yourself and you do not need to give a reason.

If you do leave from the study, some of your research may already be used in the research anyway. This is if you do group research and the other researchers are keen for the piece of research you were involved in to be used. I will have to write a report at the end of the research and I may use quotes of things that you say, when I do this I will make sure that I change all the identifying details, such as your name.

Where possible, if you leave the study, we will try not to use your quotes but I may still use your quotes in my report, if I think they are important and helpful to the research, unless you have let me know that you do not want me to use any quotes from you.

Please feel free to ask me any questions. If you want to take part you will be asked to sign a consent form before you can take part. We would also like your parent/guardian/carer to sign a consent form. Please keep a copy of this letter in case you want to refer to it later.

If you have any questions or concerns about how the study has been carried out, please contact:

Primary researcher Dzifa Afonu xxxxxxxxxx

XXXXXXXXXXXXXX

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

or:

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

Thank you for considering taking part in this project.

Yours sincerely, Dzifa Afonu, Trainee Clinical Psychologist

XXXXXXXXXXX.com

Information Letter (16-17)

This letter gives you information about a research study that you can take part in. If you would like to take part you would need to understand the information contained in this letter and complete the consent form.

I am training to be a psychologist this study is being done as part of my professional doctorate in clinical psychology at the University of East London.

Project Title

Hip-hop is Community Psychology? A Participatory Action Research Project with Adolescent + Young Adult Co-Researchers

What does the project involve?

People who take part in this study will also be the researchers. Everyone will be finding out together about the impact of UK Hip-hop/Grime music and culture on young people. All participants will be supported to do individual and collective research and gather data. We will work together to decide on a focused topic to investigate. Some topics that might be explored for example are:

- What does UK Hip-hop and Grime have to do with mental health?
- How does UK Hip-hop and Grime explore social issues and link them with emotional wellbeing?
- What impact does UK Hip-hop and Grime, containing emotional health references have on young people?

A lot of researchers research young people but it is less common for young people to do the research themselves. You will have a say in what topics are explored and what you think is important.

To take part in the project you will need to be able to attend meetings on xxxxxxxx afternoons every two weeks each meeting will take 1-2 hours each with the first meeting on the xxxxxxxx and the project will end in xxxxxxxxxx. These will be regular support meetings to support you to be a researcher. After you have collected all the information you need for the research, there will be a 1or 2day workshop where the information will be collected together and summarised. As a group we will decide what you think are the most important findings. The findings can be presented as a song, a document, a video recording, etc. – this will be up to you and the other researchers to decide.

The research is not designed to cause you any harm, discomfort or distress. We will try to make sure that the researcher groups are a safe space. There will be information about how to get support if you feel uncomfortable at any time. You are also free to leave the project at any time – you do not have to give a reason.

What if I don't want my parent/guardian/carer to know?

We would like your parent/guardian/carer's permission for you to take part in the project. This is because they are responsible for keeping you safe and helping you to make important decisions. You might not feel comfortable asking your parent/guardian/carer's consent for you to take part in the project. We would still advise you to ask permission from your parent/guardian/carer but if you really do not feel comfortable with doing this, you would still be able to take part.

Do both my parents have to agree?

You just need consent from one adult who is responsible for you.

Will the project be accessible for disabled people?

We encourage disabled young people to take part. Please let us know if you have any specific access needs as soon as possible. We will do our best to make sure the project is accessible to all disabled people.

Where will the project take place? xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx

What happens to the things I share? Will they be kept private?

When we meet together as a group for the first time we will make a agreement together with guidelines about how we are all going to work with each other. One of the things we will have to put in this agreement is that we will keep things private between people in the group. This will be taken very seriously as it is very important that everyone feels safe to talk about things that are important to them and some people may want to share things that are personal and private to them. We will all decide what should be done if anyone breaks these guidelines.

Will I get anything for taking part?

You will not be paid for taking part in this study. However, I hope that you will enjoy the chance to be a researcher exploring the music and culture of UK Hip-hop. There may be some items that we make together that you will be able to keep such as audio or video recordings.

Do I have to take part?

You do not have to take part in this study and should not feel under any pressure to do so. You are free to change your mind at any time and leave the study. If you choose to leave the study you may do so without disadvantage to yourself and you do not need to give a reason.

If you do leave the study, some of your research may already be used in the research anyway. This is if you do group research and the other researchers are keen for the piece of research you were involved in to be used. I will have to write a report at the end of the research and I may use quotes of things that you say, when I do this I will make sure that I change all the identifying details, such as your name.

Where possible, if you leave the study, we will try not to use your quotes but I may still use your quotes in my report, if I think they are important and helpful to the research, unless you have let me know that you do not want me to use any quotes from you.

Please feel free to ask me any questions. If you want to take part you will be asked to sign a consent form before you can take part. We would also like your parent/guardian/carer to sign a consent form. Please keep a copy of this letter in case you want to refer to it later.

If you have any questions or concerns about how the study has been carried out, please contact:

Supervisor: xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx

Second supervisor: xxxxxxxxxxxxx

or:

Thank you for considering taking part in this project.

Yours sincerely, Dzifa Afonu, Trainee Clinical Psychologist

xxxxxxxxxxxxx.com

Information Letter (18+)

This letter gives you information about a research study that you can take part in. If you would like to take part you would need to understand the information contained in this letter and complete the consent form.

I am training to be a psychologist this study is being done as part of my professional doctorate in clinical psychology at the University of East London.

Project Title

Hip hop is Community Psychology? A Participatory Action Research Project with Adolescent + Young Adult Co-Researchers

What does the project involve?

People who take part in this study will also be the researchers. Everyone will be finding out together about the impact of UK Hip hop/Grime music and culture on young people. All participants will be supported to do individual and collective research and gather data. We will work together to decide on a focused topic to investigate. Some topics that might be explored for example are:

- What does UK Hip hop and Grime have to do with mental health?
- How does UK Hip hop and Grime explore social issues and link them with emotional wellbeing?
- What impact does UK Hip hop and Grime, containing emotional health references have on young people?

A lot of researchers research young people but it is less common for young people to do the research themselves. You will have a say in what topics are explored and what you think is important.

To take part in the project you will need to be able to attend meetings on xxxxxxx afternoons every two weeks each meeting will take 1-2 hours each with the first meeting on the xxxxxxxxxx and the project will end in xxxxxxxxxxx. These will be regular support meetings to support you to be a researcher. After you have collected all the information you need for the research, there will be a 1or 2day workshop where the information will be collected together and summarised. As a group we will decide what you think are the most important findings. The findings can be presented as a song, a document, a video recording, etc. – this will be up to you and the other researchers to decide.

The research is not designed to cause you any harm, discomfort or distress. We will try to make sure that the researcher groups are a safe space. There will be information about how to get support if you feel uncomfortable at any time. You are also free to leave the project at any time – you do not have to give a reason.

Will the project be accessible for disabled people?

We encourage disabled young people to take part. Please let us know if you have any specific access needs as soon as possible. We will do our best to make sure the project is accessible to all disabled people.

Where will the project take place?
Xxxxxxxxxxxxxxx

What happens to the things I share? Will they be kept private?

When we meet together as a group for the first time we will make a agreement together with guidelines about how we are all going to work with each other. One of the things we will have to put in this agreement is that we will keep things private between people in the group. This will be taken very seriously as it is very important that everyone feels safe to talk about things that are important to them and some people may want to share things that are personal and private to them. We will all decide what should be done if anyone breaks these guidelines.

Will I get anything for taking part?

You will not be paid for taking part in this study. However, I hope that you will enjoy the chance to be a researcher exploring the music and culture of UK Hip-hop. There may be some items that we make together that you will be able to keep such as audio or video recordings.

Do I have to take part?

You do not have to take part in this study and should not feel under any pressure to do so. You are free to change your mind at any time and leave the study. If you choose to leave the study you may do so without disadvantage to yourself and you do not need to give a reason.

If you do leave from the study, some of your research may already be used in the research anyway. This is if you do group research and the other researchers are keen for the piece of research you were involved in to be used. I will have to write a report at the end of the research and I may use quotes of things that you say, when I do this I will make sure that I change all the identifying details, such as your name.

Where possible, if you leave the study, we will try not to use your quotes but I may still use your quotes in my report, if I think they are important and helpful to the research, unless you have let me know that you do not want me to use any quotes from you.

Please feel free to ask me any questions. If you want to take part you will be asked to sign a consent form before you can take part. We would also like your parent/guardian/carer to sign a consent form. Please keep a copy of this letter in case you want to refer to it later.

If you have any questions or concerns about how the study has been carried out, please contact:

Primary researcher Dzifa Afonu xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx

Supervisor: xxxxxxxxxxxxxx

Second supervisor: xxxxxxxxxxxxxxx

or:

Thank you for considering taking part in this project.

Yours sincerely, Dzifa Afonu, Trainee Clinical Psychologist

Xxxxxxxxxxxxxxx.com

Information Letter for Parents and Guardians

I have invited your child to take part as a co-researcher in a study. The study aims through examining UK Hip-hop and Grime to explore the social issues that young people face and the ways that these impact on their emotional and psychological health.

I am training to be a psychologist and this study is being done as part of my Professional Doctorate in Clinical Psychology at the University of East London.

Project Title

Hip-hop is Community Psychology? A Participatory Action Research Project with Adolescent Co-Researchers

What does the project involve?

A lot of researchers research young people but it is less common for young people to be part of doing the research themselves. As a co-researcher your child will have a say in what topics are explored and what they think is important about young people's experiences and how they relate to their emotional wellbeing. Some topics that might be explored are:

- What does UK Hip-hop and Grime have to do with mental health?
- How does UK Hip-hop and Grime explore social issues and link them with emotional wellbeing?
- What impact does UK Hip-hop and Grime, containing emotional health references, have on young people?

As a co-researcher they will be expected to take part in research peer support meetings, which will take place every two weeks on xxxxxxx afternoons. Each meeting will last around 1-2 hours and take place the first meeting will be xxxxxxxxxx and the project will end in xxxxxxxxx. These regular support meetings will help the young people to develop the tools to be co-researchers and give them the space to share and discuss their findings.

After we have collected all the data, all of the co-researchers will come together to have a 1-2 day workshop where all the data will be pulled together and summarized. The findings might be presented as a song, a document, a video recording, etc. – we will try to decide this together.

It is hoped that this research will not cause your child any harm, discomfort or distress. We will try to make sure that our meetings are a safe space for people to talk and share together. There will be information about how to get support if any of the participants feel personally affected by the things we talk about. All the young people will be free to leave the project at any time and do not have to give a reason.

Will the project be accessible for disabled people?

We encourage disabled young people to take part. Please let us know your child's access needs as soon a. s possible. We will do our best to make sure the project is accessible to all disabled people.

Where will the project take place?

What about confidentially?

When the young people meet together as a group for the first time we will make a contract together with guidelines about how we are all going to work with each other. One of the things we will have to put in this contract is that we will keep things private between people in the group. We will also agree what the consequences will be if anyone breaks these guidelines. This will be taken very seriously as it is very important that everyone feels safe to talk about things that are important to them and some people may want to share things that are personal and private to them.

Will my child get anything for taking part?

Your child will not be paid for taking part in this study. However, I hope that they will enjoy the chance to be a researcher exploring the music and culture of UK Hip hop and Grime. There may be some items that we make together that they will be able to keep such as audio or video recordings.

Does my child have to take part?

Your child does not have to take part in this study and should not feel under any pressure to do so. They are free to change their mind at any time and withdraw from the study. If they choose to withdraw from the study they may do so without disadvantage to themselves and they do not need to give a reason.

If they do withdraw from the study, some of their research data may still be used in the final research presentation. For example if they involved in group research and the other co-researchers in the group are keen for the piece of research to be used.

This project will be written up into an academic report and all identifying details will be made annoymous. If your child withdraws from the study, I will try not to use their quotes where possible but I may still use their quotes in my final report, if I think they are important and helpful to the research, unless you or they have let me know that you do not want me to use any quotes.

Please feel free to ask me any questions. If you are happy for your child to take part want to take part you will be asked to sign a consent form before they can take part. Please keep a copy of this letter in case you want to refer to it later.

If you have any questions or concerns about how the study has been carried out, please contact:

Primary researcher Dzifa Afonu xxxxxxxxxxx

Supervisor: xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx

Second supervisor: xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx

or:

Thank you for considering taking part in this project.

Yours sincerely, Dzifa Afonu, Trainee Clinical Psychologist

xxxxxxxxxxxxx.com

APPENDIX 5: Consent Forms

Consent to participate as a researcher in a research study

"Hip hop is Community Psychology? A Participatory Action Research Project with Adolescent Co-Researchers"

The primary researcher has explained what the research study is about, how I will be involved and what I'll be asked to do. I have been given information about the research in a letter, which I can keep a copy of.

I understand that all audio recordings and video recordings will be destroyed, unless otherwise agreed, after they have been used (this maybe for a max of 2 years) and the primary researcher will anonymise any content that is transcribed.

By signing this consent form, I am showing that I freely and fully consent to participate in the study, which has been fully explained to me. I understand that even once I have given this consent I have the right to withdraw from the study at any time without disadvantage to myself and without needing to give any reason. I also understand that if I withdraw, the researcher may still use my anonymous data in the write-up of the study and in any further analysis that may be conducted by the researcher.

Participant's Name (BLOCK CAPITALS)
Participant's Signature
Researcher's Name (BLOCK CAPITALS)

Researcher's	s Signature		
Date:			

Consent form for Parents and Guardians

Parental consent to allowing my child to participate as a co-researcher in a research study

"Hip Hop is Community Psychology: A Participatory Action Research Project with Young People"

The researcher has explained what the research study is about, how my child will be involved and what my child will be asked to do. I have been given information about the research in a letter which I can keep a copy of.

I understand that all audio recordings and video recordings will be destroyed, unless otherwise agreed, after they have been used (this maybe for a max of 2 years) and the primary researcher will make anonymous any content that is transcribed.

By signing this consent form, I am showing that I freely and fully consent for my child to participate in the study, which has been fully explained to me. I understand that even once I have given this consent my child has the right to withdraw from the study at any time without disadvantage to themselves and without needing to give any reason. I also understand that if they withdraw, the researcher may still use their anonymous data in the write-up of the study and in any further analysis that may be conducted by the researcher unless I inform the researcher that I do not want my child's data to be included.

Parent or guardian's Name (BLOCK CAPITALS)

Parent or guardian's Signature
Researcher's Name (BLOCK CAPITALS)
Researcher's Signature
Date:

APPENDIX 6: Ground Rules

Listen to others points

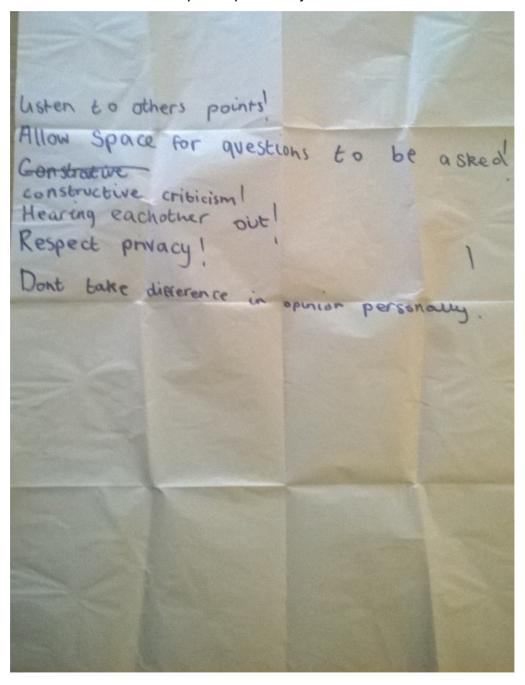
Allow space for questions to be asked

Constructive criticism

Hearing each other out

Respect privacy

Don't take difference in opinion personally



APPENDIX 7: Proposed topic areas for research focus

The body beautiful

Young people's social situations

Young people's views on misogyny

Young people's views on Crime

Do you think that Grime and Hip-hop music affects you in any way

Attitude towards education/knowledge

London Riots

Escapism & Creativity

Trusting your self your own space

Young people's social behaviour

Being a man being a woman

Identity

Racism

(Black) Identity

APPENDIX 8: Research Questions

Questions with Artists

•	How does Hip-hop music affect your every day life? ☐
•	What are your memories of when you first began listening to Hip hop?
•	What has been your journey from when you first started to listen to Hip-
	hop to now?
•	Does the music you listen to reflect the mood your in? □
•	Are there issues that can be talked about in Hip hop that are difficult to talk
	about in other spaces? If so what are these issues? □
•	Do you think Hip-hop can be therapy and how?
•	What was your journey from when you first started making Hip hop to
	now? How has your art changed and why?
•	Where do you want to take your work?
•	What kind of knowledge do you want to communicate to your fans through
	your Hip-hop?
•	If you had a daughter would you want her to listen to your music?
•	What do you think is the impact of UK Hip hop and Grime on young
	people?
•	Considering that a lot of young people listen to your music what do you
	want young people to take away from what you are producing?
•	How do you define knowledge?
•	Do you think there is a difference between wisdom and knowledge? If so
	what?
•	What is the kind of knowledge that Hip-hop communicates?
•	Do you think of Hip hop of has the potential to be a vehicle for change? $\hfill\square$
•	What do you think Hip-hop could teach the mental health system?☐

Questions with Fans

•	How does Hip-hop music affect your every day life? ☐
•	What has been your journey from when you first started to listen to Hip-
	hop to now?
•	What are your memories of when you first began listening to Hip hop?
•	Does the music you listen to reflect the mood your in?
•	Are there issues that can be talked about in Hip hop that are difficult to talk
	about in other spaces? If so what are these issues? \square
•	What do you think is the impact of UK Hip-hop and Grime on young
	people?
•	How do you define knowledge?
•	Do you think there is a difference between wisdom and knowledge? If so
	what?
•	What is the kind of knowledge that Hip-hop communicates? \square
•	Do you think of Hip hop of has the potential to be a vehicle for change? \Box
•	What do you think Hip hop could teach the mental health system? •

APPENDIX 9: Table Showing Research Questions Used in Each Forum

Does the music you listen to reflect the mood your in?
Are there issues that can be talked about in Hip hop that
are difficult to talk about in other spaces? If so what are
these issues?
What do you think is the impact of UK Hip hop and Grime
on young people?
What is the kind of knowledge that Hip-hop
communicates?
What do you think Hip-hop could teach the mental health
system?
How does Hip-hop music affect your every day life?
Does the music you listen to reflect the mood your in?
Are there issues that can be talked about in Hip-hop that
are difficult to talk about in other spaces? If so what are
these issues?
What do you think is the impact of UK Hip-hop and Grime
on young people?
What is the kind of knowledge that Hip-hop
communicates?
Do you think of Hip hop of has the potential to be a
vehicle for change?
What do you think Hip-hop could teach the mental health
system?
Does the music you listen to reflect the mood your in?
What do you think is the impact of UK Hip-hop and Grime
on young people?

APPENDIX 10: Ethical Clearance for Amendments

UNIVERSITY OF EAST LONDON School of Psychology

REQUEST FOR AMENDMENT TO AN ETHICS APPLICATION

FOR BSc, MSc/MA & TAUGHT PROFESSIONAL DOCTORATE STUDENTS

Please complete this form if you are requesting approval for proposed amendment(s) to an ethics application that has been approved by the School of Psychology.

Note that approval must be given for significant change to research procedure that impacts on ethical protocol. If you are not sure about whether your proposed amendment warrants approval consult your supervisor or contact (Chair of the School Research Ethics Committee).

HOW TO COMPLETE & SUBMIT THE REQUEST

- 1. Complete the request form electronically and accurately.
- 2. Type your name in the 'student's signature' section (page 2).
- When submitting this request form, ensure that all necessary documents are attached (see below).
- 4. Using your UEL email address, email the completed request form along with associated documents to: xxxxxxxxxx
- Your request form will be returned to you via your UEL email address with reviewer's response box completed. This will normally be within five days. Keep a copy of the approval to submit with your project/dissertation/thesis.
- Recruitment and data collection are not to commence until your proposed amendment has been approved.

REQUIRED DOCUMENTS

- A copy of your previously approved ethics application with proposed amendments(s) added as tracked changes.
- Copies of updated documents that may relate to your proposed amendment(s). For example an updated recruitment notice, updated participant information letter, updated consent form etc.
- 3. A copy of the approval of your initial ethics application.

Name of applicant: Dzifa Afonu

Programme of study: Doctorate in Clinical Psychology

Title of research: Hip hop is Community Psychology?: A Participatory Action

Research Project with Adolescent Co-Researchers

Name of supervisor: xxxxxxxxxxxxxx

Briefly outline the nature of your proposed amendment(s) and associated rationale(s) in the boxes below

Proposed amendment Rationale

Hosting a focus group which will bring together Hip hop artists and additional young people to talk about the impact of UK Hip hop on young people. As part of this phase of the research process I hope to recruit more young people (16-25) and artists (16-35) to take part in this forum. We would like to recruit individuals from colleges, schools, youth clubs and Hip hop events through email, phone calls, and social networking sites.

Parental consent will be sought for young people (16-18). Individual consent will be sought for anyone 18+.

Artists and young people (18+) who have met at Hip hop events and have been happy to give their phone details will be contacted by phone with information about the project.

Schools will be contacted by email and asked to distribute posters and information about the project to the target groups. Permission for this will be sought from Head Teachers.

Social networking sites will be used to promote the event and to approach Hip hop artists.

I have attached an information sheet, which I have adapted for the participants that take part in the forum. The meeting will be recorded and filmed and will form As I stated in my proposal, the research process has evolved through dialogue and input from the young people and the Hip hop community that I have been working with.

Although I have around 8 young people who have asked to be part in the project, only around 4 young people have been able to attend the meetings. In addition, due to the sub group of young people that I am looking to recruit being often described as 'hard to reach', I am trying to be flexible with my recruitment process and methods. Much of the difficulty with recruiting young people through the methods I originally aimed for is that the youth leaders and organisers are the gatekeepers to young people, and it has been difficult to get these individuals to respond to emails, or set dates for meetings within the short time frame that I have.

part of my data set for the thesis. I will be filming and voice recording to help me with transcribing the event. These recordings will be deleted after 2 years.

There will be a film crew filming the focus group to use in a documentary. This is an initiative supported by the organisation YPI that the young people who have been part of the research team belong to. YPI is a small young peoples' participation organisation that I used to work with. The youth workers from this organisation will be supporting the young people to make a documentary after the research project is over. The film will be shown at community events or conferences to young people and professionals that work with young people.

This has consequences for the confidentiality of the research. These consequences are that people would be identifiable in the documentary. All participants will be informed of this and YPI will produce consent forms and communicate with parents about this. It will be made clear to all those taking part in the research before the actual day of the forum that they can opt out of the documentary if they do not want to be featured in it.

The young people involved as co researchers in the project want to create a documentary that they would like other young people and professionals to see. For the young people I have been working with it is important to them that the work they have been doing makes some kind of difference. That they can develop the project on after the research phase.

We have a strong relationship with the parents of these young people who are happy to have their children involved in the documentary.

We have spoken about the consequences in regards to the anonymity of this and I have spoken with their parents about this and they are keen to feature in the documentary.

In relation to the young people that may attend the forum meetings, I have asked the HEYA workers to produce their own consent forms for the documentary they are hoping to make. As this is separate from and will not be part of my thesis I thought it important to create a division between these, but I also wanted to support the young people in continuing

the project beyond the research phase. As the majority of the participants will be hip hop artists and young adults, I judge that they will be in the position to make informed choices about this.

Please tick	YES	NO
Is your supervisor aware of your proposed amendment(s) and agree to them?	х	

Student's signature (please type your name): Dzifa Afonu

Date: 08/04/14

TO BE COMPLETED BY REVIEWER			
Amendment(s) approved YES			
Comments			

Reviewer. xxxxxxxx

Date: 8/04/14

APPENDIX 11: Transcript Notation

(.)	Short pause
(2 secs)	Pauses longer than 1 sec.
[xxx]	detail made anonymous
(addition information)	single brackets used to indicate
	additional information eg. (talking
	over each other).
((laughter))	double brackets used to indicate non-
	verbal information.
-	interruptions and incomplete
	sentences

	APPENDIX	12: Example of	of Transcript	t with Notes	s in Margin
--	----------	----------------	---------------	--------------	-------------

0	
	ch identical lives, pretty much rap about identical things, but

41	п	п	it's "perceived "in "a "certain "way "because "of, "you "know, "they "might"	п	
42		п	throw a little bit here and they but the fact of the matter is a lot	Critique" continues"	
43	п	п	of artists are talking about very similar things."	п	
44	п	п	(2sec"gap)"	п	
45	п	Shadow" box:"	Yeah 'music 'actually 'sells, 'you 'know 'what' I'm 'saying?' If 'you 'look'	п	
46	n	п	at'music'with"Hip"hop'music, "there's "often, "there "is "associated"	п	
47	п	п	a'products'with'it, 'like, 'clothes' for 'instance. 'You'know'so'it, 'it's"	п	
48	п	п	commercialisation and "t" l'feel commercialisation is a good thing	п	
49	п	п	because obviously we live in a system which requires money,"	п	
50	п	п	you'understand, "so "music'that 'we "can 'use "Hip 'hop 'in 'a 'sense 'to,"	п	
51	п	п	urm, 'how'can'l'put'it?'Not'only'to'get'a'message'out, 'but'we'can'	п	
52	п	п	also"earn money from it, which to me, there's, there's nothing"	п	
53	п	п	wrong with that, but the only situation would be for instance as	n	
54	п	п	far "as "Hip "hop "is "concerned" if hegative "images "are "portrayed "in"	n	
55	п	n	music, "but"the "average "artist" wouldn't "have "any "control "over"	ū	
56	п	п	that "because" they "are "talking "about" major "corporations "that"	Music" industry"as" oppressor"	
57	п	п	actually "control" the "music "industry "they "control "the "imagery,"	п	
58	п	п	etcetera, "this "obviously "affects, "affects "the "youth." Both "males" and "	п	
59	n	п	females, "it"can "encourage "them "to, "um, "live, "um, "live "more, "how"	п	
60	п	n	can'l'put'it?"Live more promiscuous lives, for instance, because	п	
61	п	п	if you look at certain influence in the Hip hop industry you have	п	
62	п	п	young females that, 'um, 'they wear 'scantly" [12:26] "	п	
63	п	п	Clothing, "etcetera, "and "some" mainstream "artist they, "they"	п	
64	п	п	actually"sanction"that"and "that"can "have "a "knock"on "effect "with""	п	
65	п	п	the 'females' and 'also 'with 'the 'males' as 'well. 'So' I 'feel 'it' is'"	п	
66	п	п	important'that,'um,'that'Hip'hop'music'ls'also,'umm'reflected'''	п	
67	п	п	in a positive manner and that's where the average artist, um, "	п	
68	п	п	that "aren't known by mainstream they come in, and they"	п	
69	п	п	actually produce conscious music with a conscious message,"	п	
70	п	п	conscious visualisation, and I'think that helps to create a'''	п	
71	п	п	balance from mainstream. But music has always been, how can	п	
72	n	п	I'put'it,"a'stimulus'really,"it'moves'the"emotions'even'when'it"	Music"and" emotion"-" Music"as" therapy"	
73	п	п	predates, "um, "Hip "hop. "You "go "to "the "African "drums, "for "instance"	п	
74	n	п	the "signature being "the "heart beat "that "was used "to "stimulate""	п	
75	п	п	people, "either "when "they "were "doing "ceremonies "or "whether"	п	
76	п	п	it'was'to'prepare'them'for'war.'So'music'has''always'been''a'tool'''	п	
77	п	п	that "we've "used "and "Hip "hop "is "a "fusion, "for "instance, "of "African"	п	
78	п	п	music, 'um, 'the blues' the jazz and it's fused in its form today, but"	п	
79	п	п	it's "maintained "a "purer "form "in "what's "called "the "underground"	п	
	п	п	'cause"a"lot"of'underground"artist'main'tain'that'purer'form'of'	Good"bad"hip"	
80			, r	hop"	

ly here in London-

APPENDIX 13: Mindmap for Organising Codes



APPENDIX 14: Highlighting of Selected Extracts



APPENDIX 15: Example of Coding of Full Transcript

!	Codes!	Line! Number s!	Extracts!	Reflections/Analysis!
1!	Hip hop las!political! ! ! ! ! ! ! ! ! ! ! ! ! ! ! ! ! ! !	337@45!	Kofi:!Um,!at!the!moment!right!now!!'m!just!starting! off!one!or!two!social!enterprises.!I'm!part!of!a! partnership,!we!have!a!studio!in![xxx],!um,!we!work! with!the!community!we!work!with!kids,!um,!we! work!with!the!disabled!and!we!are.just!expanding! we!are!part!of,!er,!a!charity!fundraiser!at![xxx]!town! hall!this!month!and!provide!PA!equipment,!mic!and! the!sound!anything!like!hat!so,!um,!a!whole!load!of! other!stuff.!!wouldn't!want!to!bore!you,!but!my! main!thing!is!an!interest!in!what!Hip!hop!can!do!for! society.!	Hip!hop!as!a!potential!tool!for!positive!social!change.! Kofi!is!already!using!hip!hop!in!his!work!in!the! community!working!with!marginalised!groups,!he!is! involved!in\the!producing.!organising!and!community! building!part\of!UK!Hip!hop!culture.! What!Hip!hop!can!doffor!society!is!described!as!a!on! going!question!that\the\tis!interested!in!exploring.!An! example!of!how!UKHHG!Culture\tis!used!for!social!and! community!change.!
	: ! ! ! ! ! ! ! ! ! ! ! ! ! ! ! ! ! ! !	1040@	(in!this!monologue!Xposelis!talking!aboutlthe! history!of!UK!Hip!hop!and!Grime!and!comparing! and!contrasting!with!the!history!of!Hip!hop!in! America)!Xpose:!()Yeah,!at!the!same!time!in! England!we!had,!like,!this!breeding!ground!for!Hip! hop.!Yeah,!we!had all!this!political!stuff!going!on! and!that!Margret!Thatcher's!Britain!we!hadlthe!poll! tax!people!rioting!we!had!stuff,like,!Scar!two!tone! music!it!was,!like,!black!and!white!people!coming! together!mix!the!cultures!and!stuff!like!that!and! basically!we!had,!like,!the!same!breeding!ground.! and,!like,!atlthe!same!time!when!Kool!Herc!and! them!went!to!A,!America!we!had!sound!systems,! like,!!think!Coxton!and!Saxon!Sounds!and!that,!that!	Here!Xpose!situates!the istory!of!UKHHGkulturelas! coming!out!of!andlin!response!to!a!political!climate!of! unrest!comparing!to!the!breeding!groundlin!the!US! for!Hip!hop.!He!is!describing!a!paralle!!and! intersecting!narrative!of!the!development!of!UK! urban!music!and!US!Hip!hop.!! The!need!for!a!marrative!of!the!history!of!UKHHG! gives!it!identity,!speaks!to!the!core!of!what!UKHHGis! about,!young!people!innovating!and!expressing! themselves!in!the!context!of!difficult!political!times.!!

! ! Hip hop!as political! ! ! ! ! ! ! ! ! ! ! ! ! ! ! ! ! ! !	1700@ 1704!	cameloverhhelsamelgeneration!that!camelto! London.!And!welhad!thelsort!of!sound!system! culture!yeah,!like,!all!these!south!London!dancers! and!stuff,Jike,!that!and!that!kind!of!went!into!drum! and!bass!and!theljungle!scene,!which!kind!of!went! into!garage.!Which,!kind!of,!went!into!grime! Xpose:!(raps)!()!True!change!comes!from! within!you better believethat!tougher!policing!is! not!thelanswer!more!ASBOstishot!thelanswer,! stopping!and!searching!is!not!thelanswer,!look! these!youths,!won't!get!a!chance!ta!have!a!stab!at! life!without!being!made!a!martyr.!!	Here!he!references!the!different!social!contexts!that! the!government!isk:reating!in!its!attempts!to!deal! with!youth!krime!and!violence.!Here!Xpose!states!that! government!policies!are!not!working!and!are! removing!young!peoples!chances!to!make!something! of!their!lives.!The!context!for!young!people!is!one!of! increasing!policing!of!their!behaviour,!increased! surveillance.! !Touches!on!some!of!the!issues!that!link!to!the!anger! and!destruction!of!the!uprisings.!Which!were!actually! responded!to!by!the!government!with!even!more! policing.!!
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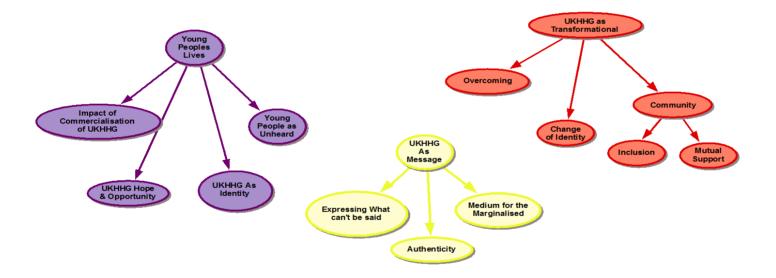
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Hip!hop!as! resistance! ! ! ! ! !	4055@ 4059!	Blake:!(raps)!()A!billion!man!march!ignored!!! campaign!but!all!!!can!say!is!its!damn!shame!but! I'm!a!spit!(in!audible)!the!truth!to!my!fan!base.!!! don't!need!guidance!just!truth!that!comes!out!when! I'm!in!the!booth,!here's!truth!I'm!my!own!worst! enemy,!self!critic!self!doubt!that's!effecting!me,! gotta!push!the!remedy?!! !	Reference!to!his!political!action!protest!and! campaigns!that!go!unheard!but!the!importance!of! communicating!it!to!his!fans!through!Hip!hop.!An! important!thing!here!is!that!speaking!the!truth!is! seen!as!an!important!act!in!itself.!Even!if!that!truth!is! unheard!that!truth!is!spoken!and!shared!with!those! who!respect!his!music.!
! ! ! Hip!hop!as! resistance! ! ! !	4076!@ 4084!	Josh: !(raps)!U se!your!mind!exceed!revolutionise!be! the!best!you!can!be!unlike!these!other!stupid!guys!if! you!want!it!bad!enough!it!will!happen!quick!don't! follow,!be!a!leader!please!don't!grab!a!stick!cos!this! is!the!best!thing!for!the!power!hungry!and!pour! guns!and!drugs!in!and!out!of!the!country!and!then! steal!the!money!of!the!innocent!!its!peak!in!the! system!and!were!living!in!oblivion.! Politics!obvious!go!reading!an!apologist!we!need!to! reallystop!and!think.! !	Resistancelaslusingloneslmindlandlgoinglagainstithel grain.!Resistancelaslnotlengaginglinlactivities!thatl actually!feed!thelsystemlagainstithelmarginalised.!!
! ! Hip!hop!as! resistance! !	4098!@ 4105!	Josh:!(raps)!Corruption!greed!and!insanity!power! controlled!system!feeded!by!vanity.!need!a!new! don't!follow!them!just!be!what!you!have!to!be.!I'm! teaching!you!gradually!Look!deeper!at!the! underlying!faculties!humans!are!profit!so!product! is!what!we!have!to!be!forced!into!categories,!do! what!they!say!obey!or!die!classically!believing!is!	Here!Joshlislusing!rap!tolencourage!resistance!calling! on!his!listeners!to!not!follow!what!is!expected!of! them!by!the!system.!He!is!talking!about!the!workings! of!capitalism!and!the!high!level!of!control!that!that! system!has!over!young!people.!When!he!states! change!from!alkid!tola!true!G!there's!something!about! young!people!developing!akritical!consciousness!

	! ! ! ! ! ! ! ! Hip!hop!as!a! medium!for!the! marginalised!	!	! ! ! ! !	!
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	Hip!hop!as! message!medium! ! !	34@9!	Motion:!()!Trying!to!put!out!a!message!about! whatis!real!hip!hop!not!the!negativity!just!to!teach! our!youth!and!the!generations!to!come!and!!!am! trying!to!do!it!in!different!languages!so!that!!!can!	Helis!using!Hip!hop!consciouslylas!a!method!of! communicating!to!young!people.!Hip!hop!has! international!value.!The!need!for!translation!to! support!the!distribution!of!Hip!hop's!messages!to!

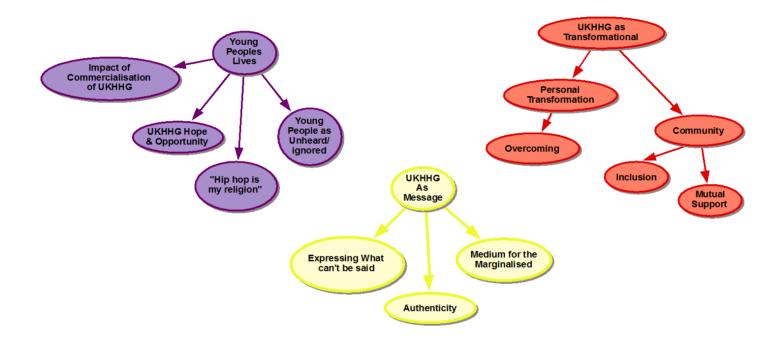
! ! ! !		spread!the!word!and!not!onlylin!English!but!I!can! do!itlin!other!languages!so!other!peoplelin!other! countries!can!be!aware!in!the!same!situation.!That's! what!I!do.!	people!inkdifferent!countries!facing!similar!social! contexts!and!marginalisation.!
! ! Hip!hop!as! message!medium! ! ! ! ! ! ! ! ! ! ! ! ! ! thip!hop!as! message!medium! ! ! !	345@60!	Josh:So,lum,lyeah!lthink!l!will]justlasklitlagain! though!justlinkcaselare!therelissues!thatkcan!be! talkedlaboutlin!Hip!hop!thatlare!difficultto!talk! aboutlin!other!spaceslif!so!whatlare!theselissues?! Motion:!@es! Endgame:!@Illof!them.! Motion:!Because!basically!Hip!hop!obviously!in!the! form!of!music!where!youkcan!be!sometimes!braver! than!you!can!be!in!let's!say!camera!people!listening! to!all!speech!for!example!and!people!know!it's!not! that!you!feel!braver!but!in!different!ways!a!form!of! spreading!the!message!which!you!can!be!more! confident!and!use!it,llike,!people!want!to!listen!to!it! maybe!even!and!they!wannaklance!with!itlor! whatever,land!they!are!going!to!be!listening!to!the! right!message!that!should!be!spread!aroundland,! er,lanother!way!itlcould!affect!someklifferent! aspects!people!might!be!more!confident!to!put!it! out!there!a!track!maybe(inaudible)!might!not!even! know!who!they!are.!	HerelitsIrolelasImessagelimpactsIonItheIsenselof!Hip! hop!beinglalway!tolexpressImessagesIthatlareIhard!to! express!inIotherIformats.!TheImediumIof!Hip!hop! makesIpeopleIfeel!braver,IisIitItheIperformance! bravery,Ibeinglable!toItakeIonIanotherIsideIofIones! self.!IsIitItheIresponsibility!theIrapperIholdsItoIthe! peopleIwhoIareIlistening,IandItoItheIneedItoIspreadIa! messageIthatIhasImeaningIandIvalueItoIthose!whoIareI listening.!
: ! ! !	619 @ 82!	Endgame:!You!know!what!you!were!saying!about! Hip!hop!learning!from!Hip!hop!when!!!first!heard,! um,!Killer!Priest!Heavy!Metal.!Yeah,!that!album! there!kind!of!change!my!whole!life!in!a!way!	Here!they!are!talking!about!Hip!hop!as!a!message!to! me!what's!important!is!the!suggestion!that!Hip!hop! might!be!a!better!message!delivery!culture!than! formal!education.!That!the!type!of!message!and!they!

becauselit,!kind!of,!when!l!first!heardlit,!l!did!not! waylitlis!delivered!makeslit!more!accessible!to!those! Hip!hop!as! knowlanything!what!you!were!talking!about.!!!liked! wholhavelalpersonallconnection!to!the!music.!! message!medium! it!like!I!loved!the!album!but!in!it's,!like,!everyday!I! "you've!never!heard!it!to!you"!Hip!hoplis!perceived!as! would!listen!tolit!and!hear!something!new!and!l!go! a!personal!message!to!the!listener.!! and!research!itland!this!was,llike,!'98.!Welhavelno! Endgame!talks!about!how!the!Killer!Priest!album! Internet,!you!couldn't!even!Google,!you!had!to,!like.! changed!his!life,!the!messages!he!connected!to!and! You!know!what!I!mean,!go!look!in!books!and!ask! that!grew!his!knowledge!had!a!profound!impact!on! my!dadland!stuffland,land!just!finding!out!little! his!life!as!a!young!person.!! Xpose!talkslabout!how!the!Killer!Priestlalbum!also! things,land!that!kind!of!took!me!onlanother!path.! changed!his!life!and!inspired!him!to!study!religion.! And!then!moving!on!a!little!bit!further!when!urm! The!message!has!such!a!powerful!significance!to!him.!! Dead!Prez!came!out!with,!um,!Get!Free,!that!was! another!kind!of,llike,!growth!spurt!because!you're! Hip!hop!as! hearing!things!and!you're,!you're!hearing!ideas! message!medium! that,!that!you!were!aware!of!before!but!really! forcinglyoultolfindloutlwholdifferentlpeoplelwerel and!that!kind!of!changed!the!whole!direction!of! where!my!music!was!going!at!that!point.!And!I! think!that's!definitely!alit's!algood!way!of!getting! messageslacross,!like!you!were!saying!before,!like,! you've!heard!all!these!things!before!but!you!never! heard!it!talking!to!you,!um,!so!a!lot!of,!like,!Killer! Priestlallotlof!things!I've!heard5n!church!but!I! weren'tlinterested.!But!then!when!Killer!Priest!said! Hip!hop!as! it!I!was,!like,!whoa,!'Related!to!the!thrones!of!David,! what!you!talking!about?'land!then!all!of!a!sudden!it! message!medium! becomes!interesting.!And!I!think!that's!what!urm! the!power!that!music!has!over!and!or!the!power! that!art!has!over!other!forms,!cause!sometimes!

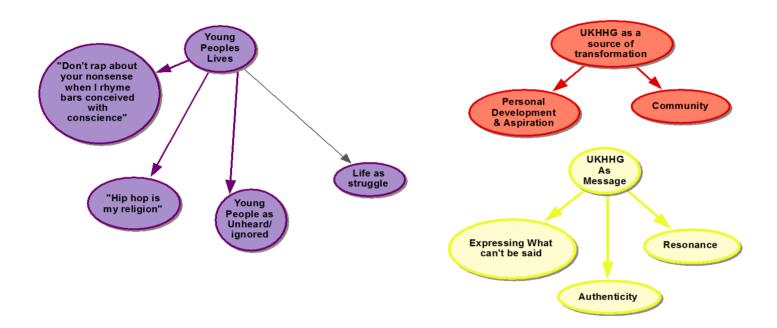
APPENDIX 16: Thematic Maps



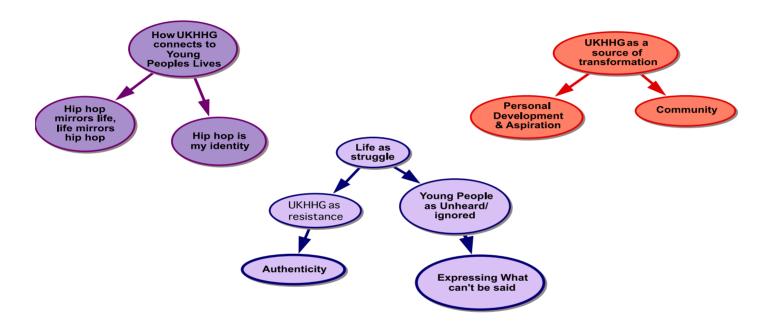
Thematic Map 1



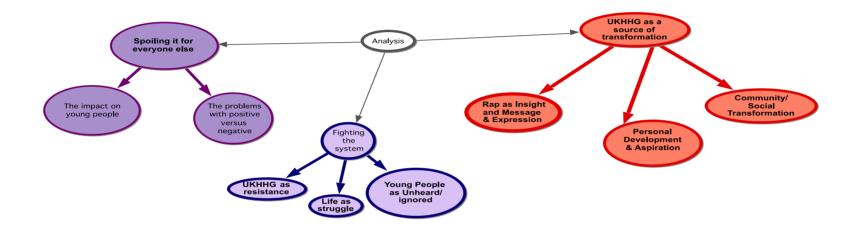
Thematic Map 2



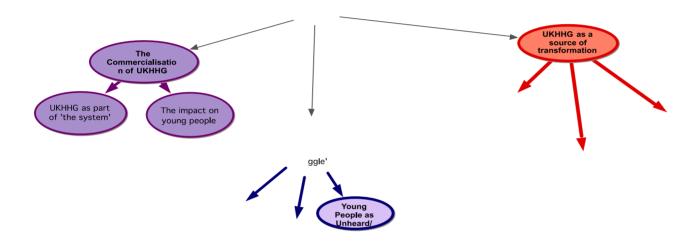
Thematic Map 3



Thematic Map 4



Thematic Map 5



Thematic Map 6

APPENDIX 17: Diagram Showing Non-Linear PAR process

