Hip-Hop & the Global Imprint of a Black Cultural Form

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> To me, hip-hop says, "Come as you are." We are a family. . . . Hip-hop is the voice of this generation. It has become a powerful force. Hip-hop binds all of these people, all of these nationalities, all over the world together. Hip-hop is a family so everybody has got to pitch in. East, west, north or south – we come from one coast and that coast was Africa.
>
> – DJ Kool Herc

> Through hip-hop, we are trying to find out who we are, what we are. That's what black people in America did.
>
> – MC Yan[1]

It is nearly impossible to travel the world without encountering instances of hip-hop music and culture. Hip-hop is the distinctive graffiti lettering styles that have materialized on walls worldwide. It is the latest dance moves that young people perform on streets and dirt roads. It is the bass beats and styles of dress at dance clubs. It is local MCs on microphones with hands raised and moving to the beat as they "shout out to their crews." Hip-hop is everywhere!

The International Federation of the Phonographic Industry (IFPI) reported that hip-hop music represented half of the top-ten global digital songs in 2009.[2] *Hip-hop* refers to the music, arts, media, and cultural movement and community developed by black and Latino youth in the mid-1970s on the East Coast of the United States.

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It is distinguished from the term *rap* in that it does not focus solely on spoken lyrics. Hip-hop initially comprised the artistic elements of (1) deejaying and turntabalism, (2) the delivery and lyricism of rapping and emceeing, (3) break dancing and other forms of hip-hop dance, (4) graffiti art and writing, and (5) a system of knowledge that unites them all.[3] Hip-hop *knowledge* refers to the aesthetic, social, intellectual, and political identities, beliefs, behaviors, and values produced and embraced by its members, who generally think of hip-hop as an identity, a worldview, and a way of life. Thus, across the world, hip-hop "heads" (or "headz") – as members of hip-hop culture describe themselves – frequently proclaim, "I *am* hip-hop."[4]

As hip-hop has grown in global popularity, its defiant and self-defining voices have been both multiplied and amplified as they challenge conventional concepts of identity and nationhood. Global hip-hop has emerged as a culture that encourages and integrates innovative practices of artistic expression, knowledge production, social identification, and political mobilization. In these respects, it transcends and contests conventional constructions of identity, race, nation, community, aesthetics, and knowledge. Although the term is not official, the use of "hip-hop nation" to describe the citizens of the global hip-hop cultural community is increasingly common. Moreover, it is one of the most useful frameworks for understanding the passionate and enduring investment hip-hop heads have in hip-hop culture. The hip-hop nation is an international, transnational, multiracial, multiethnic, multilingual community made up of individuals with diverse class, gender, and sexual identities. While hip-hop heads come from all age groups, hip-hop culture is primarily youth driven. Citizenship in the hip-hop nation is defined not by conventional national or racial boundaries, but by a commitment to hip-hop's multimedia *arts* culture, a culture that represents the social and political lives of its members.[5] In this way, the hip-hop nation shares the contours of what international studies scholar Benedict Anderson calls an "imagined community," a term he uses to explain the concept of nationhood itself.[6] Though not a conventional political community, it sometimes functions in that manner.

The hip-hop nation serves as an imagined cultural community and, just as important, it functions as a community of imagination – or an imagination community. Its artistic practices are not merely part of its culture; rather, they are the central, driving force that defines and sustains it. Moreover, hip-hop culture is based on a democratizing creative and aesthetic ethos, which historically has permitted any individual who combines authentic self-presentation with highly developed artistic skills in his or her hip-hop medium to become a legitimate hip-hop artist. Because most hip-hop artists are self-taught or taught by peers in the hip-hop community, hip-hop has empowered young people of all socioeconomic backgrounds all over the world to become artists in their own right. That is, it has supported artists whose worth is validated not by commercial success or elitist cultural criticism, but by the respect of their peers in local hip-hop communities as well as by their own sense of artistic achievement and integrity.

Intellectual debate by hip-hop heads about hip-hop art and culture is also a central feature; thus, regardless of their artistic ability, young people worldwide are developing into what political theorist Antonio Gramsci describes as "organic intellectuals": those who use hip-hop to develop critical thinking and analytical skills that they can apply to every aspect of their lives.[7] The result is the emergence of local hip-hop "scenes," where young people practice the elements of hip-hop and debate, represent, and critique the cultural form and their social lives.

The significance of these scenes became apparent in the early months of 2011, a time that proved to be among the most politically significant in the recent history of hip-hop culture. When revolution swept through North Africa and the Middle East, it did so to the sound of hip-hop music. In North Africa, where young people played a central role in the national protest movements, hip-hop emerged as the music of free speech and political resistance.

It began in Tunisia. A week before the self-immolation of fruit vendor Mohamed Bouazizi became a catalyst for national protest, a twenty-one-year-old Tunisian MC released a hip-hop song that has been described by *TIME* magazine as "the rap anthem of the Mideast revolution." Hamada Ben Amor, who is known by his MC name, El Général, told *TIME* that he has been inspired by African American hip-hop artist Tupac Shakur, whose lyrics he describes as "revolutionary."[8] For years, the government had banned El Général's music from the radio and forbid him from performing or making albums. In December 2010, the artist posted the protest rap "Rais Lebled" (which translates as "President of the Republic" or "Head of State") on YouTube. The video went viral on YouTube and Facebook and was broadcast on Al Jazeera. Tunisian youth found the song so compelling – and the government found it so threatening – that after El Général released another hip-hop song supporting the protest movement, thirty police officers arrested him. Overwhelming public protest following his arrest prompted a phone call from then-President Ben Ali; days later, he was released.[9] Within weeks, the national protest movement led to Ben Ali's removal, and in late January 2011, El Général performed the song live, for the first time, before an audience of protesters in the nation's capital city.[10]

El Général's songs became popular with young Egyptians, who had their own hip-hop soundtrack for Egypt's national revolution. Despite government warnings, Egyptian hip-hop crew Arabian Knightz released its song "Rebel" in support of the protest. Soon, hip-hop artists all over the world began to express solidarity with the Egyptian revolutionary movement by recording songs and posting them online. Master Mimz, a Moroccan-born, United Kingdom-based woman MC, released "Back Down Mubarak" in support of the movement. The song includes a feminist class critique as she rhymes, "First give me a job / Then let's talk about my hijab."

After President Mubarak resigned as a result of the protest, *Al-Masry Al-Youm*, one of Egypt's largest independent newspapers, noted on its English-language website, "Although singers affiliated with various musical styles have shown support for the Egyptian people, the style that prevailed – or at least that had the biggest impact – in this fight for freedom and liberty is rap music. East and west, north and south, rappers have emerged as the voice of the revolution."[11]

In February 2011, inspired by the protest activities throughout North Africa and the Middle East, a group of Libyan hip-hop artists in exile compiled *Khalas Mixtape Vol. 1: North African Hip Hop Artists Unite*. (*Khalas* means "enough" in Arabic.) The album features songs by artists from Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, and Algeria.

The global influence of hip-hop directly relates to its popularity as a major music source among youth in the United States. In 1996, there were 19 million young people aged ten to fourteen years old and 18.4 million aged fifteen to nineteen living in the United States.[12] According to a national Gallup poll of adolescents between the ages of thirteen and seventeen in 1992, hip-hop music had become the preferred music of youth (26 percent), followed closely by rock (25 percent).[13] Moreover, the Recording Industry Association of America (RIAA) reports that from 1999 to 2008, hip-hop music was the second-most-purchased music after rock for all age groups.

There is a growing body of scholarship on hip-hop as well. Academic analyses of hip-hop culture began to appear in the 1990s and include the 1994 publication of Tricia Rose's *Black Noise: Rap Music and Black Culture in Contemporary America* and Russell Potter's *Spectacular Vernaculars: Hip-Hop and the Politics of Postmodernism*, which, in 1995, was the first critical work to examine hip-hop as an artistic, social, and cultural phenomenon.[14] Also in the 1990s, the First Amendment free-speech issues associated with the group 2 Live Crew drew public comments from Henry Louis Gates, Jr., and Houston Baker, Jr., who were then new academic stars and rising public intellectuals.[15] Angela Davis and bell hooks, both authors and activists, published separate conversations about politics and feminism with Ice Cube, a former member of the hip-hop group N.W.A. (Niggaz with Attitude).[16] The significance of hip-hop in African American culture was also addressed by the philosopher Cornel West, historian Robin D.G. Kelley, political scientist Michael Dawson, and sociologist Paul Gilroy, all of whom celebrated and critiqued the impact of the relentless and often problematic images, philosophies, and personas underlying hip-hop culture.[17]

Today, this scholarship extends across most disciplines in the humanities and social sciences, from political scientist Cathy Cohen's *Democracy Remixed: Black Youth and the Future of American Politics* to *The Anthology of Rap*, a collection edited by literary scholars Adam Bradley and Andrew DuBois.[18] Volumes have also been published in the emerging field of global hip-hop studies, including *Global Noise: Rap and Hip-Hop Outside the USA*; *The Vinyl Ain't Final: Hip Hop and the Globalization of Black Popular Culture*; *Tha Global Cipha: Hip Hop Culture and Consciousness*; *Global Linguistic Flows: Hip Hop Cultures, Youth Identities, and the Politics of Language*; and *The Languages of Global Hip Hop*.[19]

We consider hip-hop to be the lingua franca for popular and political youth culture around the world. In this essay, we analyze hip-hop's role as a global imprint that symbolizes unity, justice, and equality through its interpretation of black cultural and political practices and values. Our purpose is to examine the perspectives of many followers of hip-hop. These perspectives include, for example, a Japanese young person who stated: "I mean a culture like Hiphop ... that's bringing us together like this – that's amazing! That's the power of music, I think. And not only that, the power of Hiphop. I'll say this: it is black power."[20]

Though hip-hop is now ubiquitous, its adoption and adaptation into cultures outside of the United States have at times been problematic. Researchers have recoiled at the explicit racist parody and comic-like copies of the gangster persona that appeared in the early stages of hip-hop's global presence. For instance, early attempts by Japanese youth to "represent" hip-hop's African American heritage reportedly involved intensive tanning, the use of hair chemicals to grow Afros and dreadlocks, and caricatures of hyper-stereotyped urban black masculinity as a rationale to abuse young women.[21] As hip-hop's cultural beliefs became more widely understood, global hip-hop began to take on a character of its own, reflecting the culture, creativity, and local styles of the youth who embraced and produced it. Hip-hop is now a multibillion-dollar global industry that continues to grow and diversify, but its impact remains underreported; often overlooked is the fact that hip-hop influences not only conventional "rap music," but also all forms of popular music as well as radio, music, television, film, advertising, and digital media throughout the world.[22]

Though commercial hip-hop represents a significant part of the music industry, it is only a fraction of the artistic production and performance of hip-hop culture, most of which is local. Every populated continent (and most countries) have thousands of local hip-hop scenes shaped by artistic and cultural practices that are produced, defined, and sustained primarily by youth in their own neighborhoods and communities. In the United States, these scenes are generally described as *underground hip-hop*, both to characterize their critical challenge to conventional norms and to distinguish them from commercial hip-hop.[23] And as it turns out, the underground is more densely populated and deeply substantive than the commercial cultural space on hip-hop's surface. The Internet has added a new and transformative dimension to local and global hip-hop cultures and communities, empowering young people to document and distribute their personal and local art, ideas, and experiences. These local scenes are rarely financed by multinational media corporations yet are more essential to hip-hop culture and the hip-hop nation than commercial production. Commercial production could end, but hip-hop culture would continue, and even thrive, through local scenes.

Some observers have conceived of the movement of hip-hop culture around the globe as a hip-hop diaspora that shares characteristics of ethnic constructions of diaspora.[24] Global hip-hop scenes are sometimes (quite accurately) described as *translocal* because they so often represent complex cultural, artistic, and political dialogues between local innovations of diverse hip-hop art forms; transcultural interactions between local hip-hop scenes in cities and nations outside of the United States; and exchanges between local scenes and U.S.-based hip-hop media.[25]

While the translocal dynamics of the hip-hop diaspora foster countless routes of cultural interaction and exchange, at least two major routes of cultural globalization are at the crossroads of these numerous pathways. African American culture and African diasporic cultural forms are integral to the formation of both these major routes. Here, we focus primarily on hip-hop music, but the routes characterize other hip-hop art forms as well.

The first route of diaspora relates to the origins of hip-hop culture. While hip-hop may have emerged in New York in the 1970s, many of its diverse global and multicultural beginnings can be tied to African diasporic cultural forms and communities.[26] Especially in the case of rapping/rhyming, it is almost impossible to isolate a single cultural trajectory because the aesthetic and linguistic features of lyrical rhyming can be found throughout Africa and the Caribbean as well as the United States. Many of the young black and Latino artists who collaborated in the development of hip-hop culture in New York were recent immigrants from the Caribbean and, therefore, were shaped by a range of African diasporic cultures. Jamaican musical forms, for example, have been particularly significant in the development of hip-hop aesthetic practices.[27] Yet reflections on African American musical traditions reveal that many aesthetic features of early hip-hop were already a part of the complex cultural roots, and routes, of African American history.

Musician and sound curator David Toop traced these many trajectories in his discussion of the origins of hip-hop culture:

> Whatever the disagreements over lineage in the rap hall of fame or the history of hip hop, there is one thing on which all are agreed. "Rap is nothing new," says Paul Winley. Rap's forbears stretch back through disco, street funk, radio DJs, Bo Diddley, the bebop singers, Cab Calloway, Pigmeat Markham, the tap dancers and comics, the Last Poets, Gil Scott-Heron, Muhammad Ali, a cappella and doo-wop groups, ring games, skip rope rhymes, prison and army songs, toasts, signifying and the dozens, all the way to the griots of Nigeria and the Gambia. No matter how far it penetrates into the twilight maze of Japanese video games and cool European electronics, its roots are still the deepest in all contemporary Afro-American Music.[28]

The second major route of hip-hop culture is its movement into local youth cultures around the world. Soon after it was developed in the United States, hip-hop culture traveled as part of the larger processes of America's global media distribution. While multiethnic collaboration produced early hip-hop forms, African Americans played a vital cultural and political role in its development. As African American studies scholar Imani Perry argues, "[P]romiscuous composition does not destroy cultural identity.... The African aesthetic origins of hip hop, as with all black American music, allows for it to have a shared resonance among a wide range of diasporic and continental Africans."[29] Moreover, in addition to representing a shared cultural terrain for members of international African diasporic cultures, these African aesthetics have also shaped the aesthetic consciousness and tastes of non-African Americans for centuries. The world's youth have responded with a stunning proliferation of hip-hop-based artistic and cultural production.

Aside from being translocal, the movement of hip-hop between local and global contexts can also be explained by the concept of *glocalization*: that is, simultaneously engaging the intersections of global and local dynamics.[30] In their analysis of European hip-hop, sociolinguists Jannis Androutsopoulos and Arno Scholz suggest that glocalization involves a recontextualization of cultural forms through "local" appropriations of a globally acceptable cultural model "that are then integrated into a new social context."[31] *Transculturation*, which describes the cultural features of glocalization, refers to a process of continuous cultural exchange; historically, it has been used to critique the unidirectional model of cultural transmission implied by the concepts of acculturation, appropriation, or cultural imperialism. Complex transculturation processes shape global hip-hop; they have been observed within and across international, national, local, and digital environments, and they sometimes result in entirely new cultural or artistic products and forms. Consequently, global hip-hop cultures retain many qualitative features of African diasporic and U.S.-based hip-hop cultures while simultaneously engaging in dynamic and prolific processes of aesthetic innovation, production, and diversification.[32]

Along with hip-hop's cultural norm of inclusion, global hip-hop remains symbolically associated with African Americans. It has incorporated many aspects of African American language ideology, even when the English language itself is not part of a particular expression of hip-hop culture. In other words,

> it is not mere words and expressions that create a bond among hiphop followers throughout the world. Rather, it is based on African American language ideology where the words signify multiple meanings and critiques of power. Hiphop presents African American English (AAE) as a symbolic and politicized dialect where speakers are aware of complex and contradictory processes of stigmatization, valorization and social control. The hiphop speech community is not necessarily linguistically and physically located but rather bound by this shared language ideology as part of politics, culture, social conditions, and norms, values, and attitude.[33]

Hip-hop language ideology remains central to the construction and continuation of all hip-hop cultures, local and global. The use of dialects and national languages, including complex code-switching practices, serves as a declaration that hip-hop culture enables all citizens of the hip-hop nation to reclaim and create a range of contested languages, identities, and powers.[34]

In her introduction to *The Languages of Global Hip Hop*, sociolinguist Marina Terkourafi recalls her first encounter with hip-hop in the mid-1980s in Heraklion, Greece. A new student at her high school, whose family had emigrated, returned from Germany with a new dress code "consisting mainly of hooded sweatshirts – a new style of 'calligraphy' (graffiti) – which we quickly adopted for the headlines of the class newspaper – and, last but not least, a new style of dance: breakdancing."[35] She remembers that in the same summer, she and some friends watched *Beat Street*, the 1984 classic hip-hop movie, at the local open-air cinema. Terkourafi's story was repeated many times over around the world as the 1980s generation was introduced to hip-hop culture through *Beat Street* and *Wild Style*.[36] These films played a central role in making international youth aware of hip-hop culture, music, graffiti, and dance. In Japan, Germany, and other nations, youth initially responded less to the English language-based rapping and more to the graffiti and dance representations.[37]

The particulars of hip-hop's more recent emergence reveal an old story of how African American culture has circulated throughout the world. In fact, the global influence of African American culture has been inextricably linked with the rise of the American Empire since at least the late nineteenth century: for example, in 1873, the Fisk Jubilee singers performed "Negro" spirituals for England's Queen Victoria. African American music and culture historically have traveled when and where African American bodies could not. During the twentieth century, while Jim Crow segregation restricted African Americans' movement in their own country, African American music, including blues, jazz, and, later, rock and roll and soul, traveled the world, shaping world music in ways that have yet to be fully acknowledged.[38] Beginning in the late twentieth century, hip-hop music, the first African American musical form to be created in the post–civil rights era, continued this global journey, a journey whose impact has been expanded and problematized in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries by processes of corporate globalization and new – especially computer-based – technologies for musical production and distribution.

Understanding the global presence of hip-hop culture is like putting together puzzle pieces from around the world. Over the last several decades, international newspapers and magazines have collectively printed thousands of articles (many of which we reviewed for this essay) about the presence of hip-hop culture worldwide. There are hundreds, if not thousands, of websites devoted to hip-hop in different areas. Every nation, region, and even neighborhood that represents hip-hop culture does so with a unique history. Yet much of this culture remains undocumented or under-documented, particularly because only hip-hop media that engage conventional commercial markets achieve wide recognition. Given that much of hip-hop culture is local, including in the United States, and that it is produced by young people who do not have access to mainstream media outlets, it is often ignored by conventional modes of recognition and assessment.

Despite the fact that much of local hip-hop culture does not receive commercial or global attention, a number of emergent themes and trajectories indicate hip-hop's significance as a global arts and media movement. These factors include the use of hip-hop culture to expose injustice or fight for justice and, in an ironic parallel, to conventionalize the nationalization of hip-hop cultures as the political, commercial, and even spiritual arbiters of national and international culture.

One of the most influential groups to uncover injustice and encourage activism, Public Enemy (PE) shaped the early overt politicization of hip-hop music and culture in the United States and elsewhere. In 1992, when PE toured Europe with the rock group U2, their charge to hip-hop's nation of millions was "Fight the Power!" This slogan began to appear on walls in England, Poland, and Italy, among other nations. According to PE's highly politicized MC Chuck D, the group visited more than forty countries within the first ten years of its formation.[39] In 2010, PE launched its seventieth tour, which included numerous world destinations. MC Ferman of the Basque group Negu Gorriak describes the impact PE had on him as an artist: "[W]e had been listening to a whole lot of music, especially linked to the rap explosion. We were shocked by Public Enemy, by the force that the rap movement had, its power to criticize."[40] Chuck D himself was particularly affected by a conversation he had in 1994 with a fan in Croatia. The fan applied PE's African American political analysis to the religious and ethnic conflict that had long affected the region, explaining:

> Public Enemy showed us that Rap music is not afraid of subjects connected with national and race issues. We started to see how powerful rap could be if it were used in expressing our attitudes. The kind of lyrics and consciousness that reveals the whole process of civilization, which is the story of dominance, the dominance of white people over Black people, the dominance of male over females, the dominance of man over nature, and the dominance of majorities over minorities.[41]

Another significant influence in the international spread of hip-hop as grounded in the African American and black experience is the Universal Zulu Nation.[42] American DJ Afrika Bambaataa founded the community-based organization in the 1970s to promote peace, unity, and harmony among battling gangs and peoples.[43] The Zulu Nation utilized black liberation ideologies to bring to its many global followers a mantra of interplanetary humanism. Bambaataa explains:

> [M]y thing is to always try to bring people together in unification and to see ourselves as humans on this planet so-called Earth, and what can we do to change the betterment of life for all people on the planet Earth and to respect what so-called black, brown, yellow, red and white people have done to better civilization for people to live on this planet so-called Earth, and recognize that we are not alone.[44]

Bambaataa and other hip-hop pioneers adhered to belief systems that upheld basic human equality and that explicitly denounced constructions of race and racist activities to separate and hierarchically situate human beings. Inspired by singer James Brown's "I'm Black and I'm Proud," Negu Gorriak produced what anthropologist Jacqueline Urla calls the group's "anthem": "Esan Ozenki," whose main rhyme – "*Esan ozenki. Euskaduna naiz eta harro nago*" – translates as, "Say it Loud: I'm Basque, and I'm proud."[45]

In the 1980s, nations with English-speaking populations easily engaged with hip-hop music and rapping, while nations where English was not the primary language often forged their initial relationship with hip-hop through graffiti and break dancing. As a result, places such as England and Anglophone former colonies, including South Africa, Australia, and Nigeria, have been creating hip-hop music since it emerged in the United States. Certainly, Jamaican musical forms have been in a cultural dialogue with African American music since before hip-hop was formally constructed. Both African American and Jamaican verbal genres, such as toasting (a style of chanting over a beat in dance hall music), were actively engaged in that construction.

France's long-standing engagement with African American culture through artists such as dancer and singer Josephine Baker, writer James Baldwin, and countless jazz musicians enabled that country to build a bridge to American hip-hop culture with relative ease. In 1982, for example, the French radio network Europe 1 sponsored the New York City Rap Tour that brought to France important American hip-hop artists, some of whom were themselves immigrants or the children of immigrants. Artists included Fab 5 Freddy, the Rock Steady Crew, and Afrika Bambaataa, whose Zulu Nation took root in Paris at the same time.[46]

As American hip-hop artists began to achieve tremendous economic success and cultural influence in other countries and music markets, global youth quickly began not only to consume but also to produce their own hip-hop cultural forms.[47] Not surprisingly, thousands of local scenes and national hip-hop artists emerged in different areas of the world. Though influenced by American hip-hop forms, these artists typically developed their own styles, drawing from local and national cultural art forms and addressing the social and political issues that affected their communities and nations. These scenes generated a widespread interest in hip-hop culture and the growth of commercial hip-hop music in national contexts; thus, hip-hop music was no longer accessible only as an American import. Both international and American hip-hop artists have topped music charts and sales throughout Europe and Africa as well as in parts of Asia and Latin America and, more recently, Australia.

France is the world's second-largest hip-hop market, and it is one of the largest producers and consumers of hip-hop culture.[48] In 2003, four hip-hop singles were nominated for the Victoires de la Musique, the French version of the Grammy Awards. France's MC Solaar, who was born in Senegal and whose parents are from Chad, has topped French charts with his singles and albums for nearly two decades; he has had best-selling albums in dozens of other countries, too. In 1995, he was named Best Male Singer in the Victoires de la Musique awards. He has launched successful world tours of Europe, Asia, Africa, and the United States; received recognition from American hip-hop artists; performed with American hip-hop group De La Soul; appeared on albums with rappers Guru and Missy Elliott; released a song through American hip-hop, R&B, and pop label Tommy Boy Records; and appeared in Bollywood movies.

American multinational record corporations have hip-hop divisions all over the world. Def Jam Records, for example, is one of hip-hop's most iconic record labels. Founded by Russell Simmons and Rick Rubin in 1984, it is famous for acts such as Public Enemy, Run DMC, and the Beastie Boys. Currently owned by Universal, Def Jam now operates in Germany, the United Kingdom, and Japan. It has an international hip-hop music game, Def Jam Rapstar, which features international artists. In November 2010, the company created a Web portal to enable unsigned artists around the world to access Def Jam online distribution resources.

National record companies in other countries have also developed hip-hop divisions or labels, or they showcase a roster of hip-hop acts. In 1981, Germany's Bombastic Records released one of the first German hip-hop albums, featuring songs in German and English by German MCs. (The album title, *Krauts with Attitude: German HipHop Vol. 1*, referred to the American group N.W.A.) Cantonese hip-hop's MC Yan, a member of Hong Kong's first major hip-hop act, has created an independent hip-hop label (Fu©kin Music) that successfully promotes the new group Yellow Peril. Nigeria's Kennis Music distributes hip-hop along with R&B and pop and promotes itself as "Africa's Number One Record Label." Nigerian MC Ruggedman, who holds a political science degree, famously called out Kennis Music in his song "Big Bros" for excluding gifted hip-hop artists and promoting mediocre ones; he has created his own label, Rugged Records, to promote acts according to his vision.

In response to hip-hop's continued popularity, national and international music awards ceremonies have incorporated hip-hop into their productions, and artists have won awards both within the hip-hop music genre and in broader categories. Hip-hop music videos, which were initially excluded from America's MTV along with all other African American musical forms, have been broadcast worldwide on television since the 1980s and, more recently, on the Internet. Hip-hop artists, both in the United States and elsewhere, use music videos to promote their brands and their music. Although music videos have always served primarily to boost record sales, they have long aided another significant process: the transcultural exchange of hip-hop. Young people who watch videos from other cultures or nations can acquire a great deal of knowledge not only about the music, but also about the dance, fashion, style, and overall aesthetics of hip-hop in diverse cultures.

Moreover, arbiters of national culture have increasingly come to recognize hip-hop as a legitimate art form. This validation may have reached an unusual zenith in 2004, when a Polish break dancing crew performed for Pope John Paul II at the Vatican. The video – widely viewed on the Internet – shows the Pope smiling, nodding, and clapping during the performance and blessing the dancers afterward. As just one example of hip-hop's growing cultural validity, the episode hints at hip-hop's potential reach.

Cultural acceptance of hip-hop, however, is often accorded to dance rather than music. Although hip-hop dance historically has been less explicitly controversial than hip-hop music, it nonetheless implicitly challenges a range of institutional and cultural norms about dance, movement, and the body. International break dancing competitions and hip-hop dance festivals have existed for decades, but in the twenty-first century they are acquiring more institutional and commercial support and funding. The year 2010 offers three striking examples: In July, Salzburg, Austria (birthplace of Mozart and stomping ground of Hitler) witnessed its first Urban Culture Festival, featuring hip-hop dancers from around the world. Australia sent Kulture Break, its multiethnic break dancing crew, to the Shanghai Expo to represent its national culture in a performance for thousands of international participants. In South Korea, where the b-boys are considered among the best hip-hop dancers in the world, the government spent millions on the second annual global invitational hip-hop dance competition, only to make millions more – an estimated $35 million – in advertising revenues.

Hip-hop culture is also used to educate and socialize young people. In 2004, the United Nations Human Settlements Programme, UN-HABITAT, sponsored a Global Hip-Hop Summit to organize and educate world youth about a range of issues. Fidel Castro sponsors an annual hip-hop conference in Cuba; he has described hip-hop as "the existing revolutionary voice of Cuba's future."[49] Indeed, hip-hop is the main source for discussion of racial injustice in Cuba today: at least two documentaries have been made about Cuban hip-hop culture; African American MC Common has demonstrated a long-term commitment to collaborating with Cuban hip-hop artists; and former Black Panther and American exile in Cuba, Assata Shakur, has been actively engaged in helping Cuban youth become empowered through hip-hop.

Music Mayday, an organization that promotes youth empowerment and education through the arts in Africa, puts particular emphasis on hip-hop and sponsors a range of hip-hop-related educational and cultural activities. One of their biggest events is B-Connected, an annual music and arts festival that links youth through concurrent festivals in five different countries, including The Netherlands, Tanzania, South Africa, Ethiopia, and Hungary. These festivals feature an international roster of MCs that includes, but is not limited to, artists from the host countries.

In South America, Brazilian hip-hop culture has in many ways mirrored themes in African American hip-hop. On the one hand, the Brazilian media have stereotyped hip-hop as the music of drugs and violence, and on the other, Brazilian artists use hip-hop to address racism, poverty, and police brutality – issues that Brazil's myth of racial harmony attempts to conceal. Brazil's traditional martial art, *capoeira*, is widely recognized for its remarkable similarity to break dancing, and both forms emerge from African diasporic roots. However, more recently, hip-hop in Brazil has distinguished itself, through its aesthetic complexity, engaging diverse musical forms and becoming increasingly accepted as a social and political tool to educate and empower Brazilian youth.[50] The 2005 documentary *Favela Rising*, which has won dozens of international awards, examines the music group and social project Grupo Cultural AfroReggae. AfroReggae is Rio's most successful hip-hop band, merging hip-hop with other musical forms and touring the world. (The group opened for the Rolling Stones in Brazil in 2006.) It is also an NGO, a dynamic hip-hop organization that empowers Rio's poorest young people through dozens of arts and social justice projects. Led by former small-time drug-dealer-turned-MC Anderson Sa, Grupo Cultural AfroReggae has become so powerful that it serves as one of the most effective mediators between different institutions, groups, and factions within Rio de Janeiro's complex social and political structure.[51] In 2007, Brazil nationalized its investment in hip-hop culture when its Ministry of Culture began to apply AfroReggae's mission to the entire nation through its Culture Points program. By providing grants to fund local organizations, such as the project Hip Hop Nation Brazil, the program empowers local hip-hop communities to educate and serve Brazilian youth. The organizations are often run by local hip-hop artists, including one run by MC Guiné Silva in São Paolo. As he explained to *The New York Times*: "This program has really democratized culture. . . . We've become a multimedia laboratory. Getting that seed money and that studio equipment has enabled us to become a kind of hip-hop factory."[52]

During the 2010 World Cup in South Africa (the first to be held in Africa), hip-hop played a meaningful role in the international soccer championship. Nomadic Wax, a Fair Trade international media company that focuses on hip-hop and the diaspora, brought together fifteen international hip-hop artists from Africa, the Caribbean, Latin America, the United States, and Europe to create "World Cup," a twelve-minute mix track that is described as a "transnational hip-hop collaboration." Nomadic Wax released the track for free online. Coca-Cola chose "Wavin' Flag" – whose lyrics were changed for the promotion by K'Naan, the world-famous Somali-born Canadian MC – as one of the anthems for its World Cup campaign and World Cup Trophy Tour, which traveled internationally and featured K'Naan as a headlining act. K'Naan also performed the song at the World Cup concert with Alicia Keys, Shakira, and the transnational, multiracial, and multicultural American hip-hop group the Black Eyed Peas. The performance was broadcast to millions.

In another example of national and institutional endorsement of hip-hop and of the role of technology in the development of hip-hop culture, the National Museum of Australia commissioned MC Wire and Morganics, a white MC and hip-hop theater artist, to undertake a hip-hop-based oral history project. They toured Australia to collect more than 1,500 autobiographical rap songs by youth from across the continent. Both men then used the songs to conduct youth workshops and trainings throughout Australia.

Women hip-hop MCs are appearing in greater numbers, though there are far more male artists. Their limited numbers reflect larger issues of global sexism and the international marginalization of women's voices as well as the gender politics of hip-hop culture. Many women MCs perform lyrics about gender and are often actively involved in using hip-hop to educate and empower youth.

In the global Muslim hip-hop movement, women MCs are playing an increasingly vital role, a phenomenon that contests stereotypes of Muslim cultures and people as universally misogynistic. Lebanese MC Malikah was proclaimed "Best MC in Libya" with another finalist on MTV Arabia's program *Hip HopNa*.[53] Palestinian-British MC Shadia Mansour, known as "the first lady of Arab hip-hop," explains, "Hip-hop holds no boundaries. It's a naked testimony of real life issues. You just break down your message and get your point across in the music."[54]

The 2008 film *Slingshot Hip Hop* documented how Palestinian rappers form alternative voices of resistance within the Israeli-Palestinian struggle. It featured female artist Abeer Al Zinati (also known as Sabreena da Witch). The 2006 film *I Love Hip Hop in Morocco* featured the female MC Fati, who is now a solo artist.[55]

Fijian-Australian MC Trey is one of the most prominent hip-hop artists in Australia and one of the world's preeminent female hip-hop artists. She has collaborated with Maya Jupiter, an Australian MC of Mexican and Turkish descent, in the hip-hop group Foreign Heights. In addition to her work as an MC, Trey is an activist and aerosol artist whose artwork has been displayed on the streets of three continents. She has collaborated with a collective of U.K. and Australian hip-hop artists on a theater project called "East London West Sydney." Vodafone, one of the world's largest telecommunications companies, provided a grant to MC Trey and other Australian hip-hop artists to work with Australia's Information Cultural Exchange program (ICE) to develop hip-hop arts and digital education workshops for at-risk youth in Australia. MC Trey's work with ICE is a practical example of the theoretical model that indigenous Australian MC Wire – who claims that, for him, MC means "my cousin" – elucidates in describing his album and identity, AboDigital. The "original abodigital" explains that his identity "has an ambiguous meaning because of the word digital. I'm abodigital because I'm a twenty-first century Aboriginal, I'm down with laptops and mobile phones and home entertainment. But digital also means your hands and your fingers, so I'm still putting my fingers in the dirt; I'm still using my hands to create things. So that's the ambiguity."[56]

Israeli hip-hop music reflects Israel's complex political dynamics and includes Zionist, pro-Palestinian, and Jewish Ethiopian-Israeli artists. Sagol 59 is a prominent Jewish Israeli MC who uses hip-hop to build bridges between Jewish and Muslim communities. In 2001, he organized and produced "Summit Meeting," which is believed to be the first recording featuring a collaboration between Jewish and Arab artists in Israel. He also hosts Corner Prophets/Old Jeruz Cipher Hip Hop series, a cultural project focused on uniting diverse groups in Israel through hip-hop culture.[57]

In one of the lighter examples of hip-hop's reach, Finland-based multinational communications corporation Nokia has incorporated hip-hop into a Chinese commercial in which elderly rural Chinese farmers claim to have created hip-hop music using local farming tools and labor. The hilarious commercial reveals not only Nokia's assessment of hip-hop's selling power, but also the advertisers' complex knowledge of the debates regarding origins, cultural authority, and individual authorship that play a significant role in hip-hop culture around the world.

The above examples of record labels, artists, events, campaigns, and social programs are just a handful of the thousands of ways in which hip-hop exerts a cultural and economic force worldwide. Most of these examples reflect hip-hop's inclusion in commercial media and privileged cultural spaces, but these institutional representations and events are possible only because they are fueled by the originality, imagination, commitment, and endurance of local hip-hop cultures.

While the influence of PE and the Zulu Nation is widespread, global hip-hop culture has a complex relationship with other aspects of African American cultural representation. First, though the originators and innovators of hip-hop included a diverse group of talented, determined, and creative youth, media outlets created a hyper-stereotypical account of hip-hop as the product of poor, young black men who were literally "wild" and menacing.[58] While this depiction has stuck in the United States, it is not as effective globally, where African American youth are credited for social justice struggles like the civil rights and Black Power movements. American forms of racism are so widely known and studied as an example of injustice that individuals all over the world know both the explicit signs and the smoldering, everyday existence of repression. Yet there is extensive commentary and critique of the representation of U.S.-style violence in hip-hop. Among African hip-hop artists in particular, there is a sustained critique of hardcore hip-hop. Commercial gangsta rap lyrics have been central to hardcore hip-hop culture, and have historically represented, (in some cases) analyzed, and (in too many others) glamorized the intersection of masculinity, dominance, and violence. As a result, hardcore hip-hop culture has been the historical target of global and American communities; and it has produced a contested relationship with local hip-hop cultures in the United States and elsewhere.

When hip-hop came to Africa from the United States, it had among its first fans (and imitators) elite and upper-middle-class African youth. Hip-hop developed as several former colonial powers, including France, served as conduits bringing hip-hop to Francophone Africa. Countries that embraced the new cultural form included Senegal, the first African country to adopt and develop rap music; Tanzania, one of the first countries to develop a strong "mother tongue" rap presence; Ghana; and Nigeria. However, given that hip-hop has its roots in an African diasporic art form, its presence in Africa has raised a complex discourse about origins and homecomings.[59] Senegalese trio Daara J, whose music combines hip-hop with a range of global styles, describes hip-hop's return to Africa in the title track of their album *Boomerang*: "Born in Africa, brought up in America, hip-hop has come full circle!" As a result of their sense of cultural authority, African hip-hop artists have actively engaged in the process of redefining hip-hop culture in ways that challenge colonial norms and values; indeed, they do not hesitate to critique the practice of those norms and values by African Americans.

One common theme throughout Africa has been the question of how to adapt hip-hop so that it represents local and national issues without incurring violence. African artists focus on both culture and the realities of violence. For example, politically motivated hip-hop was pioneered in the Western Cape by the groups Prophets of the City (POC), Black Noise, and, later, Brasse Vannie Kaap (BVK, or Brothers of the Cape). These groups continue to promote the ideals of socioeconomic and racial parity through community development programs. In contrast to this overtly "conscious" message, a contemporary genre known as *kwaito* has emerged in the vicinity of Johannesburg, South Africa. This style is dance-oriented, incorporating elements of house music, indigenous black languages, and vernacular dialects. Arthur Mafokate, the self-proclaimed King of Kwaito is widely regarded as the progenitor of this style. The late Brenda Fassie and crossover artists such as TKZee have contributed to the mainstream success of *kwaito* in South African culture.

Hip-hop MCs often rhyme in their own language and in local dialects that have been historically marginalized. African MCs, who are often multilingual, and who have a long intellectual and literary history of rejecting colonial languages in favor of their own, frequently code-switch into two or more languages within a single song, just as some bilingual U.S. and Caribbean-Latino MCs code-switch between English and Spanish.[60] The musical and linguistic possibilities of hip-hop culture are particularly dynamic in Africa's most populated nation, Nigeria. One of the most linguistically diverse countries in the world, Nigeria has more than five hundred languages spoken within its borders. English is the official language, used in schools and government offices, but Nigeria also recognizes three dominant languages: Hausa (spoken primarily in the North), Yoruba (spoken mostly in the Southwest), and Igbo (spoken in the Southeast). The country's unofficial lingua franca is Nigerian Pidgin English. About half of Nigerians are Muslims; 40 percent are Christians; and about 10 percent practice indigenous religions. (Indigenous practices are often infused into both Islam and Christianity as well.)

Popular music in Nigeria has a reputation for melding local melodies, languages, and polyrhythms with influences from all over the world, including Brazil, Cuba, Niger and the Sahara, Congo, Jamaica, and the United States. It is often used to express religious messages, and even hip-hop contains a subgenre of gospel rap. Popular music also carries political and social messages. The most famous example is Fela Kuti, the king of Afrobeat, whose inflammatory lyrics (in Nigerian Pidgin) and non-traditional lifestyle endeared him to millions inside and outside Nigeria. Local music, especially in the Hausa north, might address a particular political candidate or officeholder, or it might exhort the populace to take a particular action. For the past several years, the most widely listened-to music has been American-inspired rap and dance hip-hop based on local beats and enhanced with music production technology. As young Nigerian rappers – who as children idolized American stars like Tupac, KRS-One, Jay-Z, and Nas – are coming of age and have greater access to production equipment, Nigerian rap is becoming increasingly popular. Artist JJC talks about avoiding guns because "we got too much drama already." For other Nigerian artists, avoiding gangster posturing is about "keeping it real." Says GrandSUN, "We fight with our hands." Certainly, on a continent where oral literatures and literacies have been culturally and politically central for longer than written history is capable of documenting, African hip-hop heads also fight with their words.

As global hip-hop maintains the tradition of American hip-hop, it must also account for equally powerful local traditions of art, culture, and protest. It must represent life on a local level. The critique and constant examination of the genre is at the heart of hip-hop culture. It focuses on growth and analysis – even when it also takes American hip-hop to task for its gangster posturing, as K'naan does in "What's Hardcore?":

> I'm a spit these verses cause I feel annoyed,
> And I'm not gonna quit till I fill the void,
> If I rhyme about home and got descriptive,
> I'd make Fifty Cent look like Limp Biskit,
> It's true, and don't make me rhyme about you,
> I'm from where the kids is addicted to glue,
> Get ready, he got a good grip on the machete,
> Make rappers say they do it for love like R-Kelly,
> It's HARD,
> Harder than Harlem and Compton intertwined,
> Harder than harboring Bin Laden and rewind,
> To that earlier part when I was kinda like
> "We begin our day by the way of the gun,
> Rocket propelled grenades blow you away if you front,
> We got no police ambulances or fire fighters,
> We start riots by burning car tires,
> They looting, and everybody starting shooting."
> […]
> So what's hardcore? Really?
> Are you hardcore? Hmm.
> So what's hardcore? Really?
> Are you hardcore? Hmm.[61]

K'naan criticizes the senseless posturing in U.S. hip-hop as a way to critique the senseless destruction and oppression in Somalia and to indict a world that does not have the stomach or heart to make a difference.

As the lingua franca of global youth, hip-hop unifies young people across racial and national boundaries while honoring their diversity, complexity, intellect, and artistry. As mentioned above, the role of hip-hop in the protests in North Africa and the Middle East demonstrates how hip-hop continues to function as a dynamic culture of resistance. It also reveals how hip-hop artists have used online technology to reach audiences who would not otherwise have access to their work. This is particularly true in the case of artists who have been banned by their governments from performing or releasing albums. Many of the hip-hop songs in the North African protest movements include musical or aesthetic references to African American hip-hop, and the artists acknowledge African American influences on their music. They have transformed those influences to achieve local and national, aesthetic and political goals. The hip-hop songs of the North African and Middle Eastern revolutionary movements collectively represent a meaningful moment in the history, not only of hip-hop culture, but also of popular and youth culture. African American hip-hop artist Nas famously rhymed, "All I need is one mic to spread my voice to the whole world." North African and Middle Eastern hip-hop artists have embraced that ethos, using their voices and hip-hop culture as powerful instruments of revolutionary change.

While mainstream American discourses have marginalized, maligned, and trivialized hip-hop music and culture, multicultural youth in America and around the world have come together to turn hip-hop into one of the most dynamic arts and culture movements in recent history. It is disturbingly ironic that the nation that produced hip-hop culture has the least respect for it; meanwhile, the United Nations and individual countries are crossing the bridge that the global hip-hop nation has been building for decades. Nations are using hip-hop to see, hear, understand, serve, and, ultimately, be transformed for the better by their brilliant and powerful young people.

Hip-hop's aesthetic culture – which began with the four core elements of rapping, deejaying, breaking, and graffiti art – now encompasses all those elements along with an ever-growing and diversifying range of artistic, cultural, intellectual, political, and social practices, products, and performances. These developments include, but are not limited to, studio, live, and digital music production; writing and rhythmic performance of spoken words alone and to beats; street, club, and studio dance innovations; fashion and style expressions; visual arts, including graffiti innovations; theater and performance arts; international club cultures' engagement with diverse music, dance, and style expressions; and digital, public, and academic knowledge-production and distribution practices. The artistic achievements of hip-hop represent, by themselves, a remarkable contribution to world culture. However, the hip-hop nation has not just made art; it has made art with the vision and message of changing worlds – locally, nationally, and globally.

The hip-hop nation has done more than heed Public Enemy's famous call to "Fight the Power." It has *created and become* the power. U.S. and global hip-hop heads have put into practice and expanded on psychiatrist Frantz Fanon's theory: namely, that an individual or group that "has a language consequently possesses the world expressed and implied by that language. . . . Mastery of language affords remarkable power."[62] Citizens of the global hip-hop nation have not merely mastered a language, they have formed a new one. They have used that new language to redefine, name, and create their many worlds and worldviews. Through their unprecedented global movement of art and culture, the citizens of the hip-hop nation have used their unique and collective aesthetic voices both to "possess" and transform the world, a process that has not merely afforded them power, but has also enabled them to produce new forms of power, beauty, and knowledge.

ENDNOTES

[1] DJ Kool Herc, Introduction to Jeff Chang, *Can't Stop Won't Stop: A History of the Hip-Hop Generation* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2005), xi – xii. DJ Kool Herc (Clive Campbell) is considered one of the originators of hip-hop music and culture. He is credited with developing the art of combining deejaying and rhyming. This skill became the foundation not only for hip-hop music, but also for a range of other musical forms. He was born in Jamaica and immigrated to the Bronx as a child in the 1960s. MC Yan, quoted in Tony Mitchell, ed., *Global Noise: Rap and Hip-Hop Outside the USA* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 2001), 7.

[2] Though these figures indicate the popularity of hip-hop music, its audience may be larger than suggested. Many youth purchase digital singles rather than physical formats. The IFPI reports that digital music revenues increased by roughly 12 percent in 2009. Yet the estimated $4.2 billion in revenue did not offset the decline of physical purchases; John Kennedy, *IFPI Digital Music Report 2010: Music How, When, Where You Want It* (IFPI Digital Music, 2010), 30.

[3] Afrika Bambaataa of the Zulu Nation introduced *knowledge* as the fifth element of hip-hop, though some argue that it is beat boxing (vocal percussion). For further discussion, see Emmett G. Price, *Hip Hop Culture* (Santa Barbara, Calif.: ABC-CLIO, 2006); and Chang, *Can't Stop Won't Stop*.

[4] See Marcyliena Morgan, *The Real Hiphop: Battling for Knowledge, Power, and Respect in the LA Underground* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2009); and H. Samy Alim, Awad Ibrahim, and Alastair Pennycook, eds., *Global Linguistic Flows: Hip Hop Cultures, Youth Identities, and the Politics of Language* (New York: Routledge, 2009).

[5] Morgan, *The Real Hiphop*; Murray Forman and Mark Anthony Neal, eds., *That's the Joint!: The Hip-Hop Studies Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2004); Cheryl Lynette Keyes, *Rap Music and Street Consciousness* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004).

[6] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (New York: Schocken Press, 1983).

[7] Antonio Gramsci, *Prison Notebooks, Volume* 2 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 205.

[8] Vivienne Walt, "El Général and the Rap Anthem of the Mideast Revolution," *TIME*, February 15, 2011, http://www.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,2049456,00.html#ixzz1Ei26RZZC.

[9] Ibid.; Steve Coll, "Democratic Movements," *The New Yorker*, January 31, 2011, http://www.newyorker.com/talk/comment/2011/01/31/110131taco_talk_coll#ixzz1EgVecZMy.

[10] Dario Thuburn and Najeh Mouelhi, "Tears and Joy as Tunisia's Revolution Rap Debuts," *AFP*, January 29, 2011, http://news.yahoo.com/s/afp/20110129/wl_mideast_afp/tunisiapoliticsunrestmusic_20110129162358.

[11] Louise Sarant, "Revolutionary Music: Rap Up," *Al-Masry Al-Youm*, February 15, 2011, http://www.almasryalyoum.com/en/news/revolutionary-music-rap.

[12] Bruce A. Chadwick and Tim B. Heaton, *Statistical Handbook on Adolescents in America* (Phoenix, Ariz.: Oryx Press, 1996).

[13] Robert Bezilla, ed., *America's Youth in the 1990s* (Princeton, N.J.: The George H. Gallup International Institute, 1993).

[14] Tricia Rose, *Black Noise: Rap Music and Black Culture in Contemporary America* (Hanover, N.H.: Wesleyan/University Press of New England, 1994); Russell A. Potter, *Spectacular Vernaculars: Hip-Hop and the Politics of Postmodernism* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1995).

[15] In 1990, the American Family Association lobbied to have 2 Live Crew's 1989 album *As Nasty As They Wanna Be* classified as obscene in Florida's Broward County. Store owners who sold the record after the ruling and members of 2 Live Crew who performed it were arrested. In 1992, a court of appeals overturned the ruling. Henry Louis Gates, Jr., served as an expert witness in the case and defended his testimony in a *New York Times* op-ed; Henry Louis Gates, Jr., "2 Live Crew, Decoded: Rap Music Group's Use of Street Language in Context of Afro-American Cultural Heritage Analyzed," *The New York Times*, June 19, 1990. Houston Baker, Jr., also reviews the case, placing it in the context of cultural and political arguments; Houston A. Baker, Jr., *Black Studies, Rap, and the Academy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993).

[16] bell hooks, "Ice Cube Culture: A Shared Passion for Speaking Truth," *Spin*, April 1993; bell hooks, *Outlaw Culture: Resisting Representations* (New York: Routledge, 1994); "Nappy Happy: A Conversation with Ice Cube and Angela Y. Davis," *Transition* 58 (1992): 174 – 192.

[17] Cornel West, *Race Matters* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1993); Robin D.G. Kelley, "Kickin' Reality, Kickin' Ballistics: Gangsta Rap and Postindustrial Los Angeles," in *Droppin' Science: Critical Essays on Rap Music and Hip Hop Culture*, ed. William E. Perkins (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1995), 117 – 158; Robin D.G. Kelley, *Yo' Mama's Dysfunktional!: Fighting the Culture Wars in Urban America* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1997); Michael Dawson, "Structure and Ideology: The Shaping of Black Public Opinion" (Department of Political Science, University of Chicago, 1997); Paul Gilroy, "'After the Love Has Gone': Bio-Politics and Etho-Poetics in the Black Public Sphere," *Public Culture* 7 (1994): 49 – 76. There are

now a number of works on hip-hop that explore these topics. They include: Imani Perry, *Prophets of the Hood: Politics and Poetics in Hip Hop* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2004); Carla Stokes, "Representin' in Cyberspace: Sexual-Scripts, Self-Definition, and Hip Hop Culture in Black American Adolescent Girls' Home Pages," *Culture, Health, and Sexuality* 9 (2) (2007); Gwendolyn Pough, *Check It While I Wreck It: Black Womanhood, Hip-Hop Culture, and the Public Sphere* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2004); Elaine Richardson, *Hiphop Literacies* (New York and London: Routledge, 2006); Ethne Quinn, *Nuthin' but a "G" Thang: The Culture and Commerce of Gangsta Rap* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004); Halifu Osumare, *The Africanist Aesthetic in Global Hip-Hop: Power Moves* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); Derrick Darby and Tommie Shelby, *Hip Hop & Philosophy: Rhyme 2 Reason* (Peru, Ill.: Open Court Publishing, 2005); Felicia Miyakawa, *Five Percenter Rap: God Hop's Music, Message, and Black Muslim Mission* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005); Adam Krims, *Rap Music and the Poetics of Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Murray Forman, *The 'Hood Comes First: Race, Space, and Place in Rap and Hip-Hop* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 2002); Forman and Neal, *That's the Joint!*; Dawn-Elissa Fischer, "Kobushi Agero (=Pump Ya Fist!): Blackness, 'Race' and Politics in Japanese Hiphop," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Florida, 2007; H. Samy Alim, *Roc the Mic Right: The Language of Hip Hop Culture* (New York: Routledge, 2006); Todd Boyd, *The New H.N.I.C. (Head Niggas in Charge): The Death of Civil Rights and the Reign of Hip Hop* (New York: New York University Press, 2002); Ian Condry, *Hip-Hop Japan: Rap and the Paths of Cultural Globalization* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2006); and Greg Dimitriadis, *Performing Identity/Performing Culture: Hip Hop as Text, Pedagogy, and Lived Practice* (New York: Peter Lang, 2001).

[18] Cathy J. Cohen, *Democracy Remixed: Black Youth and the Future of American Politics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010); Adam Bradley and Andrew DuBois, *The Anthology of Rap* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2010).

[19] Mitchell, *Global Noise*; Dipannita Basu and Sidney J. Lemelle, *The Vinyl Ain't Final: Hip Hop and the Globalization of Black Popular Culture* (London: Pluto Press, 2006); James Spady, H. Samy Alim, and Samir Meghelli, *Tha Global Cipha: Hip Hop Culture and Consciousness* (Black History Museum Press, 2006); Alim, Ibrahim, and Pennycook, *Global Linguistic Flows*; Marina Terkourafi, ed., *The Languages of Global Hip Hop* (New York: Continuum, 2010).

[20] Fischer, "Kobushi Agero (=Pump Ya Fist!)," 19.

[21] Cf. Ian Condry, *Hip-Hop Japan*; Fischer, "Kobushi Agero (=Pump Ya Fist!)."

[22] Mitchell, *Global Noise*; Forman and Neal, *That's the Joint!*; Alim, Ibrahim, and Pennycook, *Global Linguistic Flows*.

[23] Morgan, *The Real Hiphop*.

[24] Tope Omoniyi, "'So I Choose to Do Am Naija Style': Hip Hop, Language, and Postcolonial Identities," in *Global Linguistic Flows*, ed. Alim, Ibrahim, and Pennycook, 113 – 138; Carol M. Motley and Geraldine Rosa Henderson, "The Global Hip-Hop Diaspora: Understanding the Culture," *Journal of Business Research* 61 (3) (2008): 243 – 253.

[25] Andy Bennett and Richard A. Peterson, eds., *Music Scenes: Local, Translocal, and Virtual* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2004); Alim, Ibrahim, and Pennycook, *Global Linguistic Flows*; Mitchell, *Global Noise*.

[26] Osumare, *The Africanist Aesthetic in Global Hip-Hop*.

[27] Forman and Neal, *That's the Joint!*; Mark Anthony Neal, *Soul Babies: Black Popular Culture and the Post-Soul Aesthetic* (New York: Routledge, 2002); Chang, *Can't Stop Won't Stop*.

[28] David Toop, *Rap Attack #2* (London and New York: Serpent's Tail, 1992), 19.

[29] Perry, *Prophets of the Hood*, 12 – 13.

[30] Alim, Ibrahim, and Pennycook, *Global Linguistic Flows*; Jannis Androutsopoulos and Arno Scholz, "On the Recontextualization of Hip-hop in European Speech Communities: A

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[31] Androutsopoulos and Scholz, "On the Recontextualization of Hip-hop in European Speech Communities," 1; Samira Hassa, "*Kiff my zikmu*: Symbolic Dimensions of Arabic, English and Verlan in French Rap Texts," in *The Languages of Global Hip Hop*, ed. Terkourafi, 48.

[32] Osumare, *The Africanist Aesthetic in Global Hip-Hop*.

[33] Morgan, *The Real Hiphop*, 62.

[34] Ibid.; Terkourafi, *The Languages of Global Hip Hop*; Alim, Ibrahim, and Pennycook, *Global Linguistic Flows*.

[35] Terkourafi, *The Languages of Global Hip Hop*, 1.

[36] *Beat Street*, directed by Stan Lathan (MGM Studios, 1984); *Wild Style*, directed by Charlie Ahearn (Rhino Home Video, 1983).

[37] Condry, *Hip-Hop Japan*; Mark Pennay, "Rap in Germany: The Birth of a Genre," in *Global Noise*, ed. Mitchell, 111–133.

[38] Guthrie P. Ramsey, Jr., *Race Music: Black Cultures from Bebop to Hip-Hop* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003); George Lipsitz, *Dangerous Crossroads: Popular Music, Postmodernism and the Poetics of Place* (London and New York: Verso Press, 1994); Tony Mitchell, *Popular Music and Local Identity: Rock, Pop and Rap in Europe and Oceania* (London: Leicester University Press, 1996).

[39] Chuck D with Yusuf Jah, *Fight the Power: Rap, Race, and Reality* (New York: Dell Publishing, 1998).

[40] Jacqueline Urla, "'We are all Malcolm X!': Negu Gorriak, Hip Hop, and the Basque Political Imaginary," in *Global Noise*, ed. Mitchell, 175.

[41] Chuck D with Jah, *Fight the Power*, 58.

[42] Marcyliena Morgan and Dawn-Elissa Fischer, "Hiphop and Race: Blackness, Language, and Creativity," in *Doing Race: 21 Essays for the 21st Century*, ed. Hazel Rose Markus and Paula M.L. Moya (New York: W.W. Norton, 2010), 522.

[43] Chang, *Can't Stop Won't Stop*; Perkins, *Droppin' Science*.

[44] Afrika Bambaataa, quoted in Adhimu Stewart, "Afrika Bambaataa Can't Stop the Planet Rock," Earwaks.com, 2007.

[45] Urla, "'We are all Malcolm X!'" 175.

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