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## Can It Be Bigger Than Hip Hop?: From Global Hip Hop Studies to Hip Hop

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### **Abstract**

Global Hip Hop Studies has grown tremendously since it started in 1984. Scholars from a number of disciplines have published numerous journal articles, books, dissertations and theses. They have also presented at multiple academic conferences and taught classes on global Hip Hop. "Can It Be Bigger Than Hip Hop?: From Global Hip Hop Studies to Hip Hop Studies" traces this history and examines the key authors, intellectual interventions, methods, and theories of this field. I used an interdisciplinary methodology entailing participant observations of local Hip Hoppas and the examination of more than five hundred scholarly texts that I assembled into a Global Hip Hop Studies bibliography. I conducted this study from the perspective of an Africana scholar who also identifies as Hip Hop. While analyzing Global Hip Hop Studies, I made two discoveries: scholars created artificial boundaries between Hip Hop Studies and Global Hip Hop Studies and they too narrowly focused on their specific region without accounting for Hip Hop's global connections. As such, "Can It Be Bigger Than Hip Hop?" sets the tone for the special issue and lays out "If I Ruled the World's" central argument: Global Hip Hop Studies is Hip Hop Studies. If we are to understand Hip Hop, we need to go beyond the United States. Moreover, Hip Hop is an African diasporic phenomenon that consists of multiple flows that create Hip Hop ciphaz around the world.

## Introduction

Can it be “bigger than Hip Hop?”<sup>1</sup> Think about the multiple ways scholars and Hip Hop heads have defined “Hip Hop.” The variety of explanations in and of itself are numerous. Moreover, several scholars and Hip Hoppas have discussed the depth of this phenomenon. The various conceptions of how we understand Hip Hop also entails race, ethnicity, religion, philosophy, feminism, sexuality, language, education, legislation, policies, politics, economics, popular culture, various media modalities, technology, the environment, and materiality. Any Hip Hop head would say that real Hip Hop is more than rap music.<sup>2</sup> Real Hip Hop is more than what is being played on the radio and television, trending on YouTube, at the top of the iTunes chart, or hot on Tidal. While there is no uniform perspective on what “real Hip Hop” is, it is clear that real Hip Hop is deeper than what is easily identifiable on the surface. Hip Hop is a global phenomenon: it is present in Havana and Paris, the Mississippi Delta and Rakvere, small rural towns in the Midwest and London, colleges and gym classes in elementary schools, after school programs and daycares, hoods in the United States and banlieues in France, Bucharest, and Tokyo, churches and mosques, studios in Nordweststadt and SWEM Media Center at the College of William and Mary, and countless number of cities, towns, buildings, streets, blocks, countries, and regions. From deejays to some of the most unlikely characters, such as Vladimir Putin, conservative Toshio Tamogami, Buddhist monk Kansho Tagai, Sri Lankan Tamil refugee and rapper M.I.A., and Indian b-girl Shawty Pink.<sup>3</sup> There are Hip Hoppas who know about M.I.A. and Toshio Tamogami, while others have never heard these names before. Each of these individuals have different relationships with Hip Hop and point to differing ways of understanding Hip Hop.

This multidimensional, multifaceted, interconnected, and dynamic perspective on Hip Hop<sup>4</sup> raises the question: How significantly does “global Hip Hop” contribute to what scholars and Hip Hoppas mean by “Hip Hop?” This is the overarching question of this special issue “If I Ruled the World.” I argue that Hip Hop/Hip Hop Studies cannot comprehensively understand Hip Hop without adequately accounting for “global Hip Hop.” Scholars and Hip Hoppas must think about Hip Hop from a global perspective and consider the many areas that intersect with Hip Hop.<sup>5</sup> Global Hip Hop Studies is Hip Hop Studies. Hip Hop Studies *is* Hip Hop. Global Hip Hop is Hip Hop (see figure 1). I argue that if we fully understand global Hip Hop, then we will not think of global Hip

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<sup>1</sup> I acknowledge that Dead Prez and the many scholars who quote them focus on shifting away from the stereotypical and demeaning notions of Hip Hop.

<sup>2</sup> When I say, “Hip Hop head,” I am referring to those in the culture who self-identify by this name and are keen to the arguments surrounding what is real Hip Hop. I use the term “Hip Hoppa” to refer to those whose identity is Hip Hop or are a part of the Hip Hop culture.

<sup>3</sup> Toshio Tamogami, the right-wing politician who Show-K would later support in the Tokyo Election. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KDsrg6p7pAY>

<sup>4</sup> The “this” I am referring to are the many ways different people understand Hip Hop that I explain in the opening paragraph.

<sup>5</sup> As mentioned above, these intersections include Hip Hop and religion, gender, sexuality, and so on.

Hop as something different than Hip Hop. Therefore, global Hip Hop is Hip Hop and global Hip Hop Studies should be understood as Hip Hop. While this argument is straightforward, the difficulty in presenting it lies in the variety of perspectives that define “Hip Hop.” In addition to not having a universal understanding within the Hip Hop culture, scholars also identify Hip Hop and the elements of Hip Hop differently.

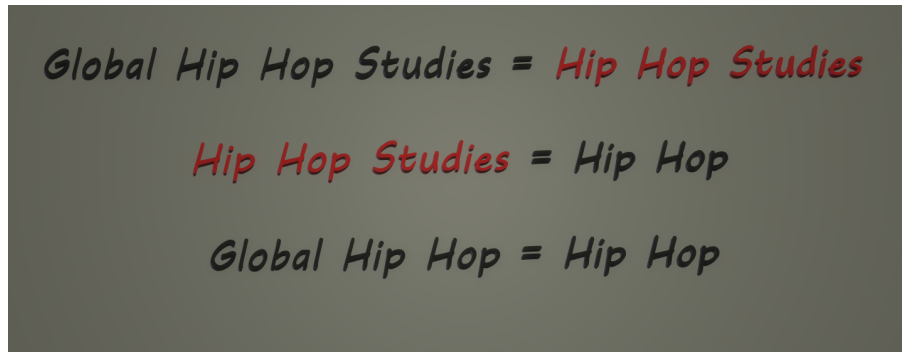


Fig. 1

Murray Forman and Mark Anthony Neal have provided a marquee point for Hip Hop studies with *That's the Joint: The Hip Hop Studies Reader* (2004). While there had already been a massive amount of scholarship at that point, numerous meetings around the world, classes, and an active presence of Hip Hop throughout the academy, Forman and Neal's reader provides a definition of Hip Hop Studies and brings together key pieces that had shaped the field. Forman states:

*With That's the Joint!, we assert that research and writing, whether in journalistic or academic contexts, is absolutely part of the wider hip-hop culture [italics in original]. Analyzing, theorizing, and writing about hip-hop are also forms of cultural labor and should accordingly be regarded as consequential facets of hip-hop. Hip-hop's first chroniclers were always more than dispassionate objective observers. They were in many cases fully implicated in the emergent culture of hip-hop, circulating within the same social circles as the prime innovators and entrepreneurs, and they counted themselves among the earliest audience members who cohered at both formal and informal events.<sup>6</sup>*

He reveals that the academic study of Hip Hop is Hip Hop. Since there is no separation between Hip Hop Studies and Hip Hop, what then, is Hip Hop?

### Hip Hop Identified

This hotly debated question has produced a plethora of answers that, due to the complex nature of Hip Hop, readers will respond to differently. Therefore, I contend for

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<sup>6</sup> Murray Forman and Mark Anthony Neal, *That's the Joint: Hip-Hop Studies Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2004) 3.

an adaptive and multifaceted definition that attempts to address the multiple ways of theorizing about Hip Hop. I believe our conception of Hip Hop should be adaptable because we have not fully thought of all the factors that thinking about Hip Hop globally brings. While, ideally, Hip Hop is Hip Hop Studies, there is a divide between the academy and the Hip Hop culture. The academy is behind. Hip Hop moves and transforms without boundaries, the academy still has global Hip Hop Studies as a subfield. The academy must catch up with the culture, and all parties involved can contribute to what we mean by “Hip Hop.”

My multilayered idea of Hip Hop builds on the existing definitions of Hip Hop. Due to the diversity of scholarship on Hip Hop, I will not rehash what has already been described. My definition of Hip Hop directly connects to my argument of enfolding global Hip Hop into Hip Hop. I am influenced by Lawrence “KRS-One” Parker, Gwendolyn D. Pough, and numerous scholars of global Hip Hop Studies. In “Ain’t It Evil to Live Backwards,” I explain KRS-One’s three different spellings of Hip Hop.<sup>7</sup> The most important aspect of KRS’ definition of Hip Hop that applies to my thinking about Hip Hop and global Hip Hop is his belief that Hip Hop is “a shared idea” that “does not appear in any physical reality” and “is outside of space and time.”<sup>8</sup> Also, KRS provides a hierarchical description of Hip Hop. He calls the “shared idea” “collective consciousness,” and when “collective consciousness is in action, it’s the culture.” When the culture is in action, it produces products.<sup>9</sup>

I am not attempting to proselytize, rather I would like to use the framework KRS provides in order to define Hip Hop. Starting with his notion of a “collective consciousness,” Pough makes a similar statement about Hip Hop that leads to thinking about it beyond space and time. She states: “Hip-Hop is a state of mind; a way of living and being that expands further than what kind of music one listens to. And there is power there, so much power that some people are scared of it.”<sup>10</sup> In light of the plethora of ways in which one sees the world, whether one believes in a metaphysical reality or not, KRS and Pough helps us to reach the unseen and provide a language to articulate the influences, motivations, and desires that are present throughout of Hip Hop.

Additionally, KRS’ hierarchy provides room to think about the many ways in which people can be involved with Hip Hop and the level of commitment of their involvement. He explains that to really be Hip Hop, the Hip Hoppa must “be Hip Hop

<sup>7</sup> Travis T. Harris and Cassandra D. Chaney, “Introduction: Ain’t It Evil to Live Backwards: A Hip Hop Perspective of Religion,” *Journal of Hip Hop Studies*, Special Issue “Religion and Hip Hop And,” 5, no. 1 (2018): 8.

<sup>8</sup> Lawrence “Kris” Parker (KRS-One), “40 Years of Hip Hop” - KRS 1 Lecture, *YouTube*, 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gYEgYnGVOwo>.

<sup>9</sup> Parker, “40 Years of Hip Hop.”

<sup>10</sup> Gwendolyn D. Pough, “Seeds and Legacies: Tapping the Potential in Hip-Hop,” in *That’s the Joint: Hip-Hop Studies Reader*, edited by Murray Forman and Mark Anthony Neal (New York and London: Routledge, 2004), 284.

all the time,” not just when convenient for them.<sup>11</sup> At the level of collective consciousness, where there is unseen power, KRS contends that Hip Hop questions the very identity of the Hip Hoppa and requires them to make a sacrifice in order to be fully Hip Hop. This classification of Hip Hop presents a spectrum. There are those who casually engage with the product, listening to rap music, watching Hip Hop movies and so on, but they are not making the full sacrifice in the way KRS explains. Then there are those who make the full sacrifice. The various levels of engagement points to the ways in which people all over the world (global) engage with Hip Hop and reveals how global Hip Hop is indeed Hip Hop.

In addition to how KRS and Pough describe Hip Hop, I build on the work of scholars who posit that Hip Hop is an African diasporic phenomenon. Numerous scholars have identified the African continuities and contributions to Hip Hop using Paul Gilroy’s notion of a “Black Atlantic,” and while they recognize the African roots, they still identify Hip Hop as an African American popular culture. This is where I differ and aim to move the field forward. I contend that a continual focus on Hip Hop as an African diasporic phenomenon is necessary to collapsing global Hip Hop into Hip Hop. Also, I argue that we should go “beyond” the Black Atlantic and utilize Paul Zeleza’s conception of global African diasporas.<sup>12</sup>

Since Hip Hop is an African diasporic phenomenon, KRS’ collective consciousness and Pough’s belief that Hip Hop is a way of life becomes clearer. I intentionally use the term “phenomenon,” instead of just aesthetic or culture to make space for them both (aesthetic and culture), and the worldview that comes out of African diasporas. Africa is the birthplace of humanity.<sup>13</sup> As the birthplace, it is also a wellspring giving life to the elements that eventually coalesce into Hip Hop and flourish around the world. The African drum provide the beats and rhythm of Hip Hop. Dispossession, saltwater slavery, forced and voluntary migration, and being strangers in a foreign land shapes a Hip Hop worldview. Also, the ability to create and sustain life, persist in the midst of oppression, party in the middle of the fire, speak truth to power and envision a new future are the sinews, bones, and joints that make up the culture and Hip Hop as a way of life.

### Theoretical and Methodological Approach

I came to this perspective of Hip Hop through Africana Studies, Hip Hop Studies, and my own personal experiences of being raised by a single mother in the hood. I am Hip Hop. My direct confrontation with systemic racism in the hood greatly influences

<sup>11</sup> Lawrence “Kris” Parker (KRS-One), “‘40 Years of Hip Hop’ - KRS 1 Lecture,” *YouTube*, 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gYEgYnGVOwo>.

<sup>12</sup> Paul Tiyambe Zeleza, “Rewriting the African Diaspora: Beyond the Black Atlantic,” *African Affairs* 104, no. 414 (2005): 35-68.

<sup>13</sup> Njoki Nathani Wane, “African women and spirituality.” In *Expanding the Boundaries of Transformative Learning*, eds Edmund O’Sullivan, Amish Morrell and Mary Ann O’Connor (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 135-150.

my understanding of how KRS and Pough define Hip Hop. I needed a definition that spoke to my personal struggles of not having a father, attending non-accredited schools, consistently being racially profiled by the police, only seeing negative images of Black men, walking and driving on streets with potholes, living in the midst of run-down buildings and on blocks that the city does not maintain, constantly running from stray dogs so that I would not get a disease, and all of the rest of the effects of systemic racism on the hood. The aesthetics and the cultural depiction of Hip Hop do not fully provide an identity for me based on my life. My place in what KRS describes as a “shared idea,” where I am a part of something bigger than myself, creates a space in Hip Hop that accounts for my personal experience in the hood and that of many others around the world.

My personal experience is part of the larger and multiple African diaspora(s).<sup>14</sup> Potentially the ancestors or the “Spirit” brought my thinking together with the ideas of KRS One, Pough, and several Africana scholars in order to present this idea of Hip Hop as an African diasporic phenomenon entailing a collective consciousness. In African American studies scholar Nathaniel Norment’s description of African-centered psychology, he states:

Relying on the principles of harmony within the universe as a natural order of existence, African-centered/Black psychology recognizes the Spirit that permeates everything that is; the notion that everything in the universe is interconnected; the value that the collective is the most salient of existence; and the idea that communal self-knowledge is the key to mental health.<sup>15</sup>

Norment’s explanation of African-centered psychology provides a mode of thinking that elevates the importance of interconnectedness in the universe. If we recognize and value the interconnectedness within the universe, then we can make sense of collective consciousness. The individual self does not exist in and of itself but “as a component of collectivity.”<sup>16</sup> Wade Nobles identifies this as collective consciousness and posits that whatever happens to the individuals affects the community and vice versa.<sup>17</sup> Cedric Robinson contends that the Black radical tradition must consist of “a collective consciousness informed by the historical struggles for liberation” in order “to preserve the collective being.”<sup>18</sup> In this essay, after explaining the first two waves of global Hip Hop Studies, I propose a third wave that views Hip Hop via this interconnected lens.

My methodological approach to studying Hip Hop (Studies) and global Hip Hop (Studies) entails working with local Hip Hoppas in my community, Streetz and Pres, and reading every single article and book that I can find that examines Hip Hop beyond just in America (see bibliography). Streetz is more than a rapper; he records, directs, edits,

<sup>14</sup> Later in this essay, I explain Zeleza’s notion of diasporas.

<sup>15</sup> Nathaniel Norment, Jr., *African American Studies: The Discipline and Its Dimensions* (Bern, Switzerland: Peter Lang US, 2016), 253.

<sup>16</sup> Norment, *African American Studies*, 257.

<sup>17</sup> Norment, *African American Studies*, 257.

<sup>18</sup> Cedric J. Robinson, *Black Marxism: The Making of the Black Radical Tradition* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 171.

and publishes music videos, produces, mix and masters music, and has his own video log. I have built a close relationship with Streetz and observed his daily life. Moreover, I have been behind the scenes of music videos and witnessed him shoot videos; I have spent time with him while he writes songs; I have seen him edit music videos and have interviewed him for his video logs. Pres graduated from the College of William & Mary and I have mainly spent time with him discussing African diasporic scholarship and mentoring him. Pres produces music, raps, and is a former member of the Student Hip-Hop Organization (SHHO) at the College. Pres is also a part of the local Hip Hop scene in Richmond, Virginia. My in-depth relationship with these two Hip Hoppas reveals a thorough portrayal of Hip Hop.

In reviewing the literature of global Hip Hop Studies, I went through several stages based on my own understanding of the subfield. I started, similar to those who have not studied global Hip Hop Studies, by searching for international Hip Hop. My initial thought was that international Hip Hop was Hip Hop outside of the United States. As my research progressed, I realized that Hip Hop has always been “international.” This shift in perspective changed my research approach and what I considered “international Hip Hop.” Since Hip Hop has always been international, then the secondary sources have analyzed Hip Hop in America without American limitations. For example, David Toop’s *The Rap Attack: African Jive to New York Hip Hop* (1984) brings African roots into the discussion.

The scholarship on global Hip Hop Studies is quite expansive. As a result, it is written in several languages, published by companies and maintained by academic institutions around the world. I have included in the bibliography every work that I could find, but I am certain that I did not find everything. The one problem that I had faced involves access to these scholarly works. In addition to university libraries not having every subscription, I could not obtain access to institutions throughout the world. I highlight this situation not only to explain why I could not read everything, but to show how scholars worldwide do not have access. To combat this problem, I am providing this literature review and an extensive bibliography.

### Scholarship on Global Hip Hop Studies

I, with some contributions from several scholars, have developed a bibliography of global Hip Hop studies.<sup>19</sup> I have developed this list from the perspective of Hip Hop as an African diasporic phenomenon. Therefore, I have included all works that view Hip Hop from this perspective, even if it focuses on Hip Hop in the United States. The bibliography also includes works on non-African Americans in America such as Latinx and Chican@s because they bring forth those who had contributed to Hip Hop’s manifestation in America but are left out of the narrative. Also, South Asian Americans

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<sup>19</sup> For details on the scholars, see the Acknowledgments.



elucidate the experiences of those who are living in a diaspora. My reasoning for providing this discourse is because I could not find a systematic study that charted out the subfield of global Hip Hop Studies. As such, instead of alphabetical order in the way most bibliographies are listed, I have placed them in chronological order to go along with the development of the subfield.

My research approach to finding these scholarly works include the traditional searches at the College of William and Mary's library, SWEM, online catalog searches and checking for books in the section next to the books I found in the catalogue. Since SWEM library (like most libraries) does not have access to every subscription, I also searched on Google Scholar. After I found a number of sources through SWEM and Google Scholar, I then checked the bibliographies and citations of those sources, which led to another set of sources. I have discovered that cross-referencing is the best way to find scholarly works outside of the United States that are not accessible through library resources and Google Scholar. I have also received assistance from a network of Hip Hop scholars around the world who have shared their own work and pieces that are important to their particular location. Lastly, John Gray has done Hip Hop Studies a tremendous service through his reference book *Hip-Hop Studies: An International Bibliography and Resource Guide* (2016).

In this massive text, the seventh volume in the Black Music Reference Series, Gray documents "scholarly works—monographs, these and journal articles—and all known book-length works, whether scholarly or popular—written by academics, journalists, artist-performers, and others."<sup>20</sup> He provides a bibliography of general Hip Hop Studies, topical studies, biographical works, and a list divided by region. Gray's bibliography, just like the one I have developed, is not all inclusive. He describes that he only includes sources that he can verify, and unlike this bibliography, he includes audiovisual materials, magazine, and newspaper articles. This special issue recommends that libraries purchase *Hip-Hop Studies* for scholars to use alongside the bibliography provided in the issue. However, the *Journal of Hip Hop Studies* recognizes that some scholars will not have access to Gray's bibliography, therefore, this special issue is providing a bibliography. I did not include every text that he provides due to the availability of his text and there are sources in my bibliography that are not included in *Hip-Hop Studies*. Additionally, *Hip-Hop Studies* stops at 2016 and the bibliography in this special issue stops at 2019.

I posit that there are the three waves of global Hip Hop studies. The first wave started with Toop's *The Rap Attack* (1984) and is marked by an examination of Hip Hop studies but without any defined subfield. I will also refer to this first wave as early global Hip Hop studies. The second wave starts with Tony Mitchell's edited volume *Global Noise: Rap and Hip Hop Outside the USA* (2001). Although Mitchell does not provide a specific category of global Hip Hop studies, plenty of subsequent scholars point to this book as starting the subfield of global Hip Hop studies. I am arguing for this special issue to start the third wave of global Hip Hop studies. My aim is that scholars inside and

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<sup>20</sup> John Gray, *Hip-Hop Studies: An International Bibliography and Resource Guide* (Nyack, NY: African Diaspora Press, 2016).

outside of America will respond to this special issue and we will ultimately end global Hip Hop studies by identifying global Hip Hop studies as Hip Hop studies. For each wave, I will not discuss every piece published during that time, rather I will discuss the main themes, theories, methods and works that move the field forward.

### **First Wave 1984 - 2000: Early Global Hip Hop Studies Before the Subfield**

Tony Mitchell wrongly states the following in the introduction of *Global Noise* (2001):

This book documents and analyzes for the first time some of the other roots hip-hop has developed outside the USA, filling a vacuum in academic writing on the subject, in which the expression of local identities globally through the vernaculars of rap and hip-hop in foreign contexts has rarely been acknowledged.<sup>21</sup>

Contrary to Mitchell's assessment, the bibliography in this special issue reveals that there are over one hundred scholarly works (books, book chapters and articles) on Hip Hop outside of America before 2000. This does not include the scholarly works that are focused on Hip Hop in America but recognize it as an African diasporic phenomenon, nor the works I have been unable to find. This massive amount of literature illustrates the volume of academic work that has been done on Hip Hop outside of the United States.

Scholars of early global Hip Hop studies deserve credit, because some of them were writing without the clearly defined parameters of a field of Hip Hop studies; all those works before 1994 did not have a text as strong as Rose's *Black Noise*, and many were writing about Hip Hop in their respective region for the first time. In addition to the early pieces sparking the conversations, this is also the time when the first Hip Hop scholars began presenting at conferences and teaching classes. In comparison, second wave global Hip Hop studies have seen the creation of minors in Hip Hop studies, the development of Hip Hop archives at several colleges, numerous conferences where Hip Hop can be discussed and a thriving Hip Hop educational community where scholars can talk to each other about their research.

#### *First Wave Methodology*

The only common characteristic across the first wave is the methodology for studying Hip Hop. Rose's approach is representative of many scholars of the first wave:

I have listened attentively to a large majority of rap albums available, transcribed over five dozen songs, taped and viewed hundreds of rap music videos, researched rap samples, attended over

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<sup>21</sup> Tony Mitchell, *Global Noise: Rap and Hip Hop Outside the USA* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2001), 2.

thirty rap concerts and conferences, and carefully followed the coverage of rap music in popular music magazines, newspapers, and scholarly publications.<sup>22</sup>

In addition to a thorough analysis, many of the scholars conducted ethnographies that involved interviews, participant observation, living in a particular area for a specified amount of time, taking notes, and building relationships with those in that specific community.

### *First Wave Fields of Study and Theoretical Approaches*

Another important component to understanding the first wave is the spread of and access to scholarly works. This greatly shapes the scholarship of early global Hip Hop studies. Scholars from several continents, who speak different languages, live in different cultures, attend a variety of colleges and universities, where they receive differing educational training, from numerous fields of study and learn about various theories study Hip Hop in and outside of their regions. Granted that a clearly defined field had not actualized, scholars write from several fields such as Black Studies, Youth Studies, Popular Music studies, Cultural Studies, Sociology, Dance Studies and Musicology. Some of the main theorists who are utilized include Stuart Hall, Dick Hebdige, Paul Gilroy, Arjun Appadurai and Antonio Gramsci. I offer this set of theorists because early global Hip Hop scholars of popular music and cultural studies such as Tony Mitchell, Sanjay Sharma, Sunaina Maira and Andy Bennett use these theorists.

The theoretical approaches in the first wave best illustrate the plethora of ways scholars initially had studied global Hip Hop (and Hip Hop for that matter). For example, Louis Chude-Sokei, a Black literary scholar living in America, uses Countee Cullen to theorize about Africa; French theorist Chantal de Gournay uses Gilles Deleuze in her description of material objects, Hip Hop, movement and technology; Brazilian scholar Maria Aparecida da Silva utilizes Sueli Carneiro for feminist theory; and Jamaican literary scholar Carolyn Cooper uses Kamau Brathwaite's concept "bridges of sound" to describe the "creative potential" of Africans throughout the diasporas.<sup>23</sup> Also, since many of the scholars are journalists or are simply providing an account of the movement, they either do not implement a particular theory or do not share their theoretical approach in the text.

### *First Wave Subjects*

In charting out the subjects of the first wave, the most discussed is the development and presence of Hip Hop within a particular region. I have counted more than sixty books, book chapters and journal articles of the approximately one hundred fifty works that I can find that discuss global Hip Hop. One interesting point is that Hip

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<sup>22</sup> Tricia Rose, *Black Noise: Rap Music and Black Culture in Contemporary America* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1994), xiv.

<sup>23</sup> Carolyn Cooper, "Ragamuffin Sounds Crossing Over from Reggae to Rap and Back," *Caribbean Quarterly*, 44 no. 1/2 (1998): 153.

Hop scholars outside of the United States provide some of the earliest scholarship on Hip Hop studies. British scholars Iain Chambers and Simon Frith publish in 1985 and 1986, respectively, French scholar André Prévos and New Zealand scholar Tania Kopytko both publish in 1986. One of the first full-length texts on Hip Hop in French, *Yo! Révolution Rap – L’histoire – Les Groupes – Le Mouvement* (1991), is published by French writer David Dufresne. This look at Hip Hop outside of the United States points to several themes that can be used to summarize early global Hip Hop studies.

The most salient argument that marks the more than sixty regionally focused pieces is the importance of the local within the global Hip Hop culture. Sociologist Roland Robertson’s seminal work, “Glocalization: Time-Space and Homogeneity Heterogeneity,” provides a detailed explanation about “glocalization” and “glocal” in which, after 1995, global Hip Hop studies scholars regularly use.<sup>24</sup> Robertson argues against the polarity of local agency opposite of global trends. Instead, he believes, globalization, which is a business term that originated with the Japanese, provides a better explanation of social processes. He defines glocalization: “The compression of the world - has involved and increasingly involves the creation and the incorporation of locality, processes which themselves largely shape, in turn, the compression of the world as a whole.”<sup>25</sup> First wave global Hip Hop studies scholars utilize this perspective contending against cultural imperialism, which becomes cultural globalization, where, essentially global popular cultures dominate smaller nations.<sup>26</sup> Instead of local regions mimetically creating an Americanized Hip Hop, they develop their own localized version, each with its distinct identity.

The next closest subjects are more than fifteen works that detail Hip Hop’s African nature (roots, diasporic network and Afrocentricity) and eleven or more general books about Hip Hop. Surprisingly, there are at least eleven works solely focused on graffiti whereas there are only a few on breakdancing and deejaying. Globalization and Hip Hop within popular culture are other subjects that scholars of the first wave cover to a lesser extent. Then, there are works here and there that consider education, feminism, technology, and language.<sup>27</sup> In the one essay that provides a feminist lens, “O Rap Das

<sup>24</sup> Robertson does not focus on Hip Hop in his scholarship and while he is the first to apply the term glocal to social theory, he is not the first to theorize about the relationship between the local and the global. Louis Chude-Sokei in “Post-Nationalist Geographies: Rasta, Ragga, and Reinventing Africa,” states: “Community is narrated there in that very tense space between the local and the global: the space they call ‘the borderline’.” *African Arts* 27, No. 4. (1994): 81.

<sup>25</sup> Roland Robertson, “Glocalization: Time-Space and Homogeneity-Heterogeneity,” in *Global Modernities* eds Mike Featherstone, Scott Lash and Roland Robertson (London: Sage, 1995), 13.

<sup>26</sup> Tony Mitchell discusses the scholarly trajectory of cultural imperialism and cultural globalization in *Popular Music* (1996), pg. 50. Early global Hip Hop studies scholars do not necessarily cite Robertson’s notion of glocalization or respond to the “cultural imperialism,” argument but they do all contend that specific areas create a distinct form of Hip Hop.

<sup>27</sup> Elaine Nunes de Andrade, “A Mobilização Juvenil Hip Hop: Desenvolvendo Um Recurso Alternativo de Educação” *Anais do 2º Simpósio de Pesquisa da FEUSP* (São Paulo: FEUSP, 1995), 225 - 237, John Fenn, and Alex Perullo, “Language Choice and Hip Hop in Tanzania and Malawi,” *Popular Music & Society* 24, no. 3 (2000): 73-93, Elaine Richardson and Sean Lewis, “‘Flippin’ the Script’/‘Blowin’ up the

Meninas,” Maria da Silva examines three Black women rappers who share their understanding of feminism and how it is a part of their music. Da Silva’s article is important because it brings to light how a feminist focus raises a different theoretical framework and set of questions to understanding Hip Hop globally.

The diversity of scholars, fields of studies and subjects also point to the fact that they did not converse with each other and build on previous works. Therefore, in my presentation of the scholarship of the first wave, I place the scholars in conversation with each other. Although the regional focus takes up the most amount of attention in the early literature, I start with the African nature of Hip Hop. I then move from the atmosphere in New York to Hip Hop’s spread around the world during the first wave. From what scholars have defined as African roots, I move on to the locations around the world Hip Hop manifested, and then highlight some of the scholarly areas that receive little attention.

### *Hip Hop’s African and Diasporic Nature*

The book that commences global Hip Hop studies is David Toop’s *The Rap Attack: African Jive to New York Hip Hop* (1984).<sup>28</sup> The premise of *Rap Attack* is that Hip Hop, by way of the dozens and signifying, has “clear roots in West Africa.”<sup>29</sup> William Perkins in *Droppin’ Science* states: “Without doubt the African elements are part of rap’s foundation.”<sup>30</sup> The positioning of Hip Hop as having African roots starts its history not in the Bronx, but with Africa. In *Nation Conscious Rap* (1991), Joseph Eure and James Spady’s *Hiphopography* provide the interviews with Doug E. Fresh and Professor X. Doug E. says that “I’m going to do this beat box thing... And when I went to Africa some of the brothers over there told me that they think it’s African, tribal.”<sup>31</sup> Professor X breaks it down this way: “Because, via the drum it connects our African genes whether we are conscious of our connections or not.” This connection to Africa is bolstered by the arguments of Jeffrey Decker “The State of Rap: Time and Place in Hip Hop Nationalism” (1993), Louis Chude-Sokei in “Post-Nationalist Geographies: Rasta, Ragga, and Reinventing Africa” (1994), R. J. Stephens in “Keepin’ it Real: Towards an Afrocentric Aesthetic Analysis of Rap Music and Hip-Hop Subculture” (1996) and numerous other scholars. In addition to the historical fact that the transatlantic slave trade involuntary created diasporas in what becomes the Americas,<sup>32</sup> Chude-Sokei explains that “Africa

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Spot’: Puttin’ Hip-Hop Online in (African) America and South Africa,” in *Global Literacies and the World-Wide Web*, 2000, 251-276.

<sup>28</sup> I may be wrong about this because it is possible that in a library in another part of the world, they may have a source about Hip Hop. Also, although I could not find any mention of African influences in the scholarly works before *The Rap Attack* does not mean that it does not exist.

<sup>29</sup> David Toop, *The Rap Attack: African Jive to New York Hip Hop* (London: Pluto Press), 31.

<sup>30</sup> William Perkins, *Droppin’ Science: Critical Essays on Rap Music and Hip Hop Culture* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1996), 2.

<sup>31</sup> Joseph Eure and James Spady, *Nation Conscious Rap: The Hip Hop Vision* (New York: PC International Press, 1991), 2.

<sup>32</sup> Paul Gilroy and Louis Chude-Sokei contends that Europe must be included in the conversation of identifying Hip Hop based on Europeans’ enslavement of Africans.

constantly changes, but the meanings of Africa change too; they change and are adapted to fit the local notions of black identity and cultural survival."<sup>33</sup>

The forced migration of Africans across the Atlantic - dispossession, created the diasporas from which people, ways of living, cultures and aesthetics come from and eventually merges together in New York in the later 1960s. George Lipsitz, in *Popular Music, Postmodernism and the Poetics of Place*, posits that Hip Hoppas in New York have a "global consciousness."<sup>34</sup> This global consciousness comes from "a politics of diasporic affinity and articulation" that had been "part and parcel of the phenomenon's early development via the cultural exchange between African American, Puerto Rican, and West Indian youth in mid-1970s New York City."<sup>35</sup> Juan Flores has ardently argued that Latinos should not be left out of the narrative and highlight that African-descended people lived in New York.<sup>36</sup> He describes how Blacks and Puerto Ricans all grow up together and had lived in community with one another since "the early 1900s."<sup>37</sup> Spady and Eure shares that "the Bronx is a vast cityscape of multiple realities."<sup>38</sup> The combination of all these scholars illustrate a vibrant diasporic community in the Bronx composed of Africans from Jamaica and Barbados, living alongside Puerto Ricans, and African Americans, with the distinct flavors of each culture mixing together to create an atmosphere ripe for the emergence of something new.

Two key elements of Hip Hop's manifestation in New York continue as Hip Hop spread around the world, communal identity and resistance. Lipsitz contends that Hip Hop's energy comes from responding to the realities of the African diaspora.<sup>39</sup> Therefore, it is precisely their diasporic identity that plays an integral role in the development and establishment of Hip Hop. While there is not one unanimous worldview that every Hip Hoppa held to and holds to, the culture ties Hip Hop together. Early global Hip Hop scholars present two ways in which Hip Hop responds to systemic injustice: Black nationalism and Afrocentrism.<sup>40</sup> Toop and Decker describe both while Decker goes into

<sup>33</sup> Chude-Sokei, "Post-Nationalist Geographies: Rasta, Ragga, and Reinventing Africa," 80.

<sup>34</sup> George Lipsitz, *Dangerous Crossroads: Popular Music, Postmodernism and the Poetics of Place* (New York: Verso, 1994).

<sup>35</sup> Marc D. Perry, "Global Black Self-Fashionings: Hip Hop as Diasporic Space." *Identities* 15, no. 6 (2008): 638. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10702890802470660>.

<sup>36</sup> Juan Flores, "'Que Assimilated, Brother, Yo Soy Asimilao': The Structuring of Puerto Rican Identity in the US," *The Journal of Ethnic Studies* 13 no. 3 (1985): 1-16.

<sup>37</sup> Juan Flores, "Rappin, Writtin, and Breakin," *Dissent*. 34 no. 4 (1986): 580.

<sup>38</sup> Joseph D. Eure and James G Spady, *Nation Conscious Rap: The Hip Hop Vision*, (New York: PC International Press, 1991) xi.

<sup>39</sup> George Lipsitz, *Dangerous Crossroads: Popular Music, Postmodernism and the Poetics of Place* (New York: Verso, 1994).

<sup>40</sup> David Toop, *Rap Attack 2: African Rap to Global Hip Hop*. Rev., Expanded and Updated ed. (London: Serpent's Tail, 1991); Alejandro Frigerio, "Artes Negras: Una Perspectiva Afro-Céntrica," *Estudios Afro-Asiáticos* 23 (1992): 175-190; Jeffrey Louis Decker, "The State of Rap: Time and Place in Hip Hop Nationalism," *Social Text*, no. 34 (1993): 53-84; Clarence Lusane, "Rap, Race and Politics," *Race & Class* 35, no. 1 (1993): 41-56; Errol A. Henderson, "Black Nationalism and Rap Music," *Journal of Black Studies* 26, no. 3 (1996): 308-39. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2784825>.

detail. Decker posits “sixties-inspired hip hop nationalism” focuses on time while Afrocentrism focuses more on place. This is how Decker defines the two:

Sixties-inspired hip hop, espoused by rap groups such as Public Enemy, is time conscious to the degree that it appropriates the language of organized black revolts from the 1960s around the concept of ‘nation time.’ Afrocentric rap, which can be found in the music of X-Clan, reclaims the ancient Egyptian empire as the African origin in order to generate racial pride and awareness in the struggle over injustice in America.<sup>41</sup>

In forging this communal identity and resisting White Supremacy, early Hip Hoppas create the Hip Hop nation. The Hip Hop nation segues into the spread of Hip Hop outside of the United States as people around the world join the nation.

### *Imitation and Indigenization*

Hip Hop enters countries through rap music on radios, tours, movies, and pioneers traveling to different countries. Iain Chambers in *Urban Rhythms* (1985) explains how the British had heard “Rapper’s Delight,” “The Breaks,” and “The Message.”<sup>42</sup> Alain Bellet in “Les Rats des Villes Peinturlurent le Silence,” reveals how television shows, as early as 1983, show Hip Hop and talk about the Zulu nation excursion throughout Europe.<sup>43</sup> Andre Prévos and Juan Flores account for the tours that rappers, breakers, and graffiti artists go on to such locations as the Middle East, Africa, Europe, and Latin America.<sup>44</sup> Eure and Spade’s Hiphopography elucidate that several of the Afrocentric rappers traveled to Africa.<sup>45</sup> Günther Jacob in *Agit-Pop* and Dietmar Elflein in “From Krauts with Attitudes to Turks with Attitudes: Some Aspects of Hip-Hop History in Germany,” both point to the movie *Wild Style* as the introduction of Hip Hop into Germany. Furthermore, due to the plethora of locales Hip Hop reaches and the variety of receptions, the growth, timetable, phases, and indigenization process all differ.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>41</sup> Jeffrey Louis Decker, “The State of Rap: Time and Place in Hip Hop Nationalism,” *Social Text*, no. 34 (1993): 54.

<sup>42</sup> Chambers does not explain how they listen to Hip Hop, but several other scholars bring up the radio as a tool to disseminate rap music around the world: France (David Dufresne, *Yo! Révolution Rap*, 1991 and François Bensignor, “Le Rap Français vers L’âge Adulte,” 1994) and Holland (David Toop, *Rap Attack 2*, 1991).

<sup>43</sup> Several scholars describe the Zulu’s visit to France in particular but do not agree on the date, ranges from 1982 - 1984. Georges Lapassade, “Qu’est-Ce Que Le Hip-Hop?” *Hommes et Migrations* 1147, no. 1 (1991): 31-34, Françoise Robert l’Argenton “Graffiti: tags et grafs.” *Communication et langages* 85, no. 1 (1990): 59-71 and François Bensignor, “Le Rap Français vers L’âge Adulte.” *Hommes et Migrations* 1175, no. 1 (1994): 52-56.

<sup>44</sup> André Prévos, “CB’ers and Cibistes: The Development and Impact of CB Radio in France,” *The Journal of Popular Culture*, 19 (1986): 145-154. doi:10.1111/j.0022-3840.1986.1904\_145.x, Juan Flores, “Rap Latino Sabor,” in *Droppin’ Science* ed. William Perkins (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1996).

<sup>45</sup> Joseph D. Eure and James G Spady, *Nation Conscious Rap: The Hip Hop Vision*, (New York: PC International Press, 1991).

<sup>46</sup> What I am getting at is how in one place, breakdancing could be more prevalent at first, while graffiti could be more popular in another.

Scholars researching Hip Hop in a specific region also agree that when Hip Hop first arrives, the receiving community imitates Hip Hop by copying the dances, rapping in English, having a “sense of imagined cultural affinity with African Americans,” playing rap music made in America at Hip Hop parties and just generally copying African American Hip Hop style.<sup>47</sup> After this imitation phase, Hip Hop indigenizes in that local area. In addition to the conditions of the local context, the particular community that forms the Hip Hop culture determines how Hip Hop takes on its unique character in that particular locale. Flores argues that Hip Hop expands because of its afro diasporic identity: “Precisely because of its grounding in Black and Puerto Rican street culture, hip-hop harbors a radical universal appeal.”<sup>48</sup> What he is getting at is the way in which the very fabric of Hip Hop’s identity entails multiple communities coming together. He points to how those outside of New York are drawn to Hip Hop’s character of cultivating a communal identity and providing multiple ways of resistance.

After indigenization, based on the group, scholars will follow a particular pattern. If they are analyzing White teens or young adults, then they will discuss appropriation and/or authenticity. If the scholar examines immigrant communities then they will talk about their political identity in that community or how they respond to oppression. Those scholars that research Africans throughout the diasporas talk about the Hip Hop nation, and/or how Hip Hoppas continue with Black nationalism or Afrocentrism. They do not specifically cite the aforementioned scholarly pieces, rather they discuss how they are Black nationalist or Afrocentric.

### *Estranhamento*

In almost every piece on a specific region, the scholar either mentions or describes how Hip Hop brings together a group experiencing some form of “*estranhamento*.”<sup>49</sup> Marília Pontes Sposito posits that *estranhamento* creates idleness and indeterminacy about the future. She explicates that *estranhamento*:

(Q)uer sejam elas derivadas da situação de classe ou das determinações geracionais, não podem ser reduzidas apenas às suas expressões econômicas mas, pelo contrário, devem ser

<sup>47</sup> There are too many to list, so here are some examples: Andy Bennett, “Hip Hop am Main: The Localization of Rap Music and Hip Hop Culture,” *Media, Culture & Society* 21, (1999): 77–91; John Fenn and Alex Perullo, “Language Choice and Hip Hop in Tanzania and Malawi,” *Popular Music & Society* 24, no. 3 (2000): 73–93; Lisbet Torp, “Hip Hop Dances: Their Adoption and Function among Boys in Denmark from 1983–84,” *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 18 (1986): 29–36; André JM. Prévos, “The Evolution of French Rap Music and Hip Hop Culture in the 1980s and 1990,” *French Review*, 1996, 713–25; Heinz Ickstadt, “Appropriating Difference: Turkish-German Rap,” *Amerikastudien/American Studies* 44, no. 4 (1999): 571–78. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41157976>.

<sup>48</sup> Juan Flores, “Rappin, Writtin, and Breakin,” 584.

<sup>49</sup> Portuguese for estrangement. Marília Pontes Sposito, “A Sociabilidade Juvenil e a Rua: Novos Conflitos E Ação Coletiva Na Cidade,” *Tempo Social* 5 (1993): 161–178.



compreendidas no âmbito de um momento de abertura, de indeterminação e de ausência de poder que assume feições diversas, no plano sócio-cultural.<sup>50</sup>

The exclusionary dimensions cannot be reduced only to their economic expressions, but, on the contrary, they must be understood in the context of socio-cultural aspects of lacking purpose, indeterminacy and being without power.<sup>51</sup>

This estrangement includes several groups: youth, immigrants, those living in decolonized regions and Africans living throughout the diasporas.<sup>52</sup> In response, to their outcaste status, they come together and create a Hip Hop identity that directly relates to their specific socio-cultural context and the global Hip Hop culture. Dietmar Elflein's account of Da Crime Posse provides the perfect example. Elflein explains that they consist of two Turks, a German and one Cuban who all identify as "Turkish."<sup>53</sup> He makes clear that this "'Turkish' identity" is "a mythological one, standing as *pars pro toto* for the identity of all immigrants or foreigners."<sup>54</sup>

### *African Diasporic Networks*

Shoshanna Lurie's article, "Funk and Hip-Hop Transculture: Cultural Conciliation and Racial Identification in the 'Divided City'," (2000)<sup>55</sup> illustrates how Hip Hop in Brazil brings together dispossessed Blacks in the midst of and in resistance to systemic injustice resulting from "post-colonial domination and exploitation" in Brazil. Lurie also elucidates the ways in which globalization<sup>56</sup> can be beneficial to the Hip Hop community by allowing them to connect globally. Additionally, she presents the notion "aesthetics

<sup>50</sup> Marília Pontes Sposito, "A Sociabilidade Juvenil e a Rua: Novos Conflitos e Ação Coletiva na Cidade," *Tempo Social* 5 no. 1-2, (1993) 164.

<sup>51</sup> Author's translation.

<sup>52</sup> Georges Lapassade, *Ethnosociology: Anglo-Saxon sources* (Paris: Méridiens-Klincksieck, 1991), Lara Santos Amorim, "Cenas de Uma Revolta Urbana: Movimento Hip Hop na Periferia de Brasília," *Revista Brasileira de Pós-Graduação em Ciências Sociais* (1997), Kurt Iveson, "Partying, Politics and Getting Paid: Hip Hop and National Identity in Australia," *Overland*, no. 147, 1997 and Chris Warne, "Articulating Identity from the Margins: 'Le MouV' and the Rise of Hiphop and Ragga in France," in *Voices of France: Social, Political and Cultural Identity* (1997).

<sup>53</sup> Dietmar Elflein, "From Krauts with Attitudes to Turks with Attitudes: Some Aspects of Hip-Hop History in Germany," *Popular Music* 17 no. 3 (1998): 255-65.

<sup>54</sup> Elflein, "From Krauts with Attitudes to Turks with Attitudes."

<sup>55</sup> I am using Lurie's essay to capture the various components of an African diasporic community creating a Hip Hop identity in light of oppression because she is writing near the end of the first wave. She brings in many of the ideas, although she did not cite them, that have been developed throughout the first wave.

<sup>56</sup> Several scholars discuss globalization, Tony Mitchell, "Australian Hip Hop as a 'Glocal' Subculture,"; Deborah Pacini Hernandez and Reebee Garofalo, "Hip Hop in Havana Rap, Race and National Identity in Contemporary Cuba,"; Nina Cornyetz, "Fetishized Blackness: Hip Hop and Racial Desire in Contemporary Japan," and George Lipsitz in *Dangerous Crossroads*. Lipsitz provides a thorough explanation. Starting in the 1970s, "capital, communications and populations travel across the globe," and the need for capital forces decolonized nations to "accept the compulsory austerity measures required by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank as the price of securing loans" (29). Consequently, these nations experience both the problems of being formerly colonized and "new conditions in world politics, economics and culture" (29).

of dispossession,” which gets at the “political, militant, and racially identified” rap while showing how Brazilian rappers connect with the freedom struggles of the 1960s.<sup>57</sup> While Blacks in Brazil relate to the sixty’s freedom struggle, Louis Chude-Sokei provides an excellent example of how diasporic networks functions:

The legendary team of Steely and Cleevie in Jamaica, or maybe Bobby Digital in Kingston, may send a floppy disc with the basic rhythm track to Daddy Freddy, who is in London with the up-and-coming production team of Mafia or Fluxy (or maybe Fashion, today’s dominant U.K. sound). Within a few days this mix is booming down the fences at the weekly “sound-clash” between Metromedia Hi Fi and the mighty Stone Love Sound System somewhere in a crowded field in West Kingston. Or in a community center in Brixton. An ‘authentic’ Jamaican product! And this trade goes both ways, circulating throughout diaspora. (Even in Lagos, Nigeria, I have sat listening to Igbo rude-boys and Yoruba dreads rap in Jamaican Patwah about the virtues of Eddy Murphy!).<sup>58</sup>

Sokei’s telling story shows the key role of technology, the ways in which globalization support the African diasporic network, and hardcore evidence to the existence of the network. He actually connects back to Cooper’s explanation of Kamau Brathwaite “bridges of sound” and presents the literal ways in which diasporic aesthetics crossover the Atlantic.

### *Appropriation and Authenticity*

In focusing on the appropriation of African American popular music, several scholars indicate that there is a long history and relationship with other forms of Black and American popular music and culture. The historical influences of spirituals, blues, gospel, bebop, jazz, salsa, and reggae on Hip Hop in America, also plays an integral role in Hip Hop’s reception around the globe. When particular locations encounter Hip Hop for the first time, they have already heard jazz, gospel or reggae. For example, Iain Chambers, Anthony Marks, Carolyn Cooper, Deborah Hernandez, Reebee Garofalo and Andy Bennett provide evidence of this history in England, Italy, France, and Cuba.<sup>59</sup>

The early global Hip Hop Studies scholars who discuss appropriation and authenticity directly link their argument to the discussion on glocalization. In light of globalization, the question they consider is this: Can White Hip Hoppas who appropriate an African American popular culture be authentic or are they appropriating to the point of exploitation. Tony Mitchell first questions the “authenticity” of American made music and states: “The history of popular music is a constant flow of appropriations in which origins, and notions of originality, are often difficult, if not impossible, to trace.”<sup>60</sup> As a

<sup>57</sup> Shoshanna Lurie, “Funk and Hip-Hop Transculture: Cultural Conciliation and Racial Identification in the ‘Divided City’,” 649.

<sup>58</sup> Chude-Sokei, “Post-Nationalist Geographies: Rasta, Ragga, and Reinventing Africa,” 82.

<sup>59</sup> Deborah Pacini Hernandez and Reebee Garofalo, “Hip Hop in Havana: Rap, Race and National Identity in Contemporary Cuba,” *Journal of Popular Music Studies* 11, no. 1 (1999); Steve Wright, “‘A Love Born of Hate’: Autonomist Rap in Italy,” *Theory, Culture & Society* 17, no. 3 (2000); Hadj Miliani, “Banlieues Entre Rap et Raï,” *Hommes & Migrations* 1191, no. 1 (1995).

<sup>60</sup> Tony Mitchell, *Popular Music and Local Identity: Rock, Pop, and Rap in Europe and Oceania* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1996): 8.

result, Whites who create a form of Hip Hop in their own space are not “unauthentic or treasonable.”<sup>61</sup> Andy Bennett’s study of White Hip Hoppas in a predominantly White town in North-East England adds two factors that contribute to authenticity. Authentic White Hip Hoppas go against the “small-minded” racists in Newcastle and do not conform to the conventional social patterns of their community.<sup>62</sup> These real Hip Hoppas have an “intimate understanding of hip hop’s ‘blackness’,” and maintain a level of authenticity of Hip Hop in their community.<sup>63</sup>

I focus on this appropriation and authenticity discourse because this conversation continues into the second wave. I mark United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization dossier, “Focus: Youth’s Sonic Forces,” as the transition point between the first and second wave. “Focus” traces Hip Hop and electronic dance music due to their influence in popular music. The several short articles by Hip Hop scholars cover a variety of Hip Hop topics, “indigenous rights in New Zealand (32 - 33),” “identity among black youth in Colombia (38 - 39),” post-apartheid South Africa and political debates by Algerian rappers.<sup>64</sup> In addition to the time in which this work is published, I mark it as a transition point because it is a precursor of sorts to Mitchell’s edited volume, *Global Noise*. Although briefly, the articles touch upon different locations and aspects of Hip Hop globally.

### Second Wave 2001 - 2018: Start of the Subfield of Global Hip Hop Studies

The second wave commences with Tony Mitchell’s edited volume *Global Noise: Rap and Hip Hop Outside of the USA* (2001) and encompasses the time period of 2001 to 2018. Several historic events and technological advancements shape this period: 9/11 - the terrorist attacks on American soil that shifted how Muslims are viewed, the election of the first Black president in the United States - Barack Obama, several natural disasters - hurricane Katrina, earthquake in Haiti, tsunami in Indian Ocean, wars around the world and civil wars, threat of nuclear weapons such as in North Korea, the killing of Michael Brown, exponential growth of social media - MySpace, Facebook, Twitter, and the creation and growth of smartphones. Within this landscape, the recent phase of globalization, that I discussed during the early phase, has been in existence for decades and Hip Hop has transformed and been in existence for more than thirty years. Hip Hop studies has also grown by the time we reach the second wave. Although Forman and Neal’s *That’s the Joint* (2004) comes out three years after *Global Noise*, there is a vast amount of Hip Hop scholarship up to 2001 and all of the texts after 2004 can reference Forman

<sup>61</sup> Mitchell, *Popular Music and Local Identity*, 8.

<sup>62</sup> Andy Bennett, “Rappin’ on the Tyne: White Hip Hop Culture in Northeast England—an Ethnographic Study,” *The Sociological Review* 47, no. 1 (1999): 1–24.

<sup>63</sup> Bennett, “Rappin’ on the Tyne.”

<sup>64</sup> The Unesco Courier (53) no. 7, (2000): 21-56.

and Neal. This framework contextualizes the second wave of global Hip Hop studies and describes the content of what global Hip Hop scholars are examining.

The identification of *Global Noise* (2001) as a central text distinguishes the second wave from the first and provides a key feature of the second wave - a clearly defined conversation among scholars on global Hip Hop. Whereas during the first wave, scholars had not communicated with each other, the second wave consists of a coherent conversation. Overall, many of the other features of the first wave continue: scholarship from around the world, a variety of disciplines, using varying theoretical approaches to discuss Hip Hop in their particular region and the Hip Hoppa being recognized as a theorist. Additionally, global Hip Hop scholars of both waves become theorists. They contribute to the ways in which we understand "Hip Hop," and their specific field, such as linguistics or feminism.

The standardization of global Hip Hop studies leads to a massive explosion in scholarship in this subfield. The new components of the second wave entail an increase in the number of books, monographs and edited volumes, areas around the world being covered for the first time, expansion on the work of the first wave in particular regions, and additional fields of study analyzing Hip Hop that had received minuscule or no scholarly attention at all. Whereas the first wave had more than one hundred and fifty works, I have found at least three hundred and fifty scholarly works during the second wave. The themes introduced during the first wave, such as authenticity and glocalization, play a major role in the second wave. Likewise, the majority of scholarly works in the second wave are regionally focused with more than one hundred and fifty pieces (same number of the whole first wave) focusing on a specific region. Moreover, the growth leads to a tremendous increase in new subjects, theorists, methodological approaches, and fields of study engaging with Hip Hop. The two other main features of the second wave consist of important contributions from linguistics and a greater emphasis on "politics." By politics I am referring to the traditional institutional political systems around the world and power struggles - decolonization, resistance and activism-against the systems of oppression tied to and outside of the sovereignty of the nation-state.<sup>65</sup>

### *Second Wave Fields of Study and Theoretical Approaches*

Some of the new fields of study and subjects are linguistics, religion, technology, business, law, theater, spatiality, gender and sexuality. The new theorists include but are not limited to Nilüfer Göle (religion), Brenda Gottschild (dance), Robin D. G. Kelley, Cheikh Anta Diop, Chinua Achebe, Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'O's, Manning Marable, W.E.B. Du Bois, Edouard Glissant (African American, African and Diasporic), Paulo Freire (education), Roderick Ferguson, Raewyn Connell, Fatima El-Tayeb, Michael Kimmel,

<sup>65</sup> There are numerous arguments about politics outside of the institutional political system or politics of the everyday; Robin D.G. Kelley's well known "infrapolitics" in *Race Rebels: Culture, Politics and the Black Working Class* (1994) and Michael Hanchard's "Contours of Black Political Thought: An Introduction and Perspective," *Political Theory* (2010).

Teresa Ebert, Kimberlé Crenshaw, Patricia Hill Collins, Joan Morgan, Judith Baxter, Kumari Silva, (gender and sexuality) Edward Said, Bertolt Brecht, Pierre Bourdieu, Jacques Derrida, Sara Ahmed, Jürgen Habermas, Douglas Kellner, Michel Foucault, Benjamin Brinner and W.P. Mclean. The increase in the number of theorists and fields is also influenced by new locations being studied for the first time.<sup>66</sup> These regions include but are not limited to Accra, Ghana, Benin, Cameroon, Croatia, Estonia, Dakar, Dar es Salaam, Istanbul, Palestine, North Korea, Lapland, Finland, Taipei, Myanmar, São João de Meriti near Rio de Janeiro, Scandinavia, Slovakia, South Korea, Sri Lanka, and Tanzania. While some may question why I have provided this extensive list of fields, theorists and locations, I contend it is important to understanding global Hip Hop studies. If we do not recognize the breadth of scholarship, then we will miss interconnections as well as why certain scholars make particular arguments and who are their audiences. Furthermore, as I will explain in the third wave, my aim is to make Hip Hop studies truly global.

### *Second Wave Methodological Additions*

The second wave introduced two methodological approaches: Hiphopography and the usage of technology. James Spady had first introduced Hiphopography in *Nation Conscious Rap* (1991). He uses this same methodology in *The Global Cipa* (2006) and details several scholarly works that have discussed it in "Mapping and Re-Membering Hip Hop History, Hiphopography and African Diasporic History" (2013). Spady's goal of a Hiphopography is to ensure that "these historical actors' experiences and visions enter the historical record in their own voices."<sup>67</sup> Therefore, a Hiphopography utilizes techniques that aids in creating a post-colonial text and reflects."<sup>68</sup> Based on his review of the works that describe Hiphopography, the components of a Hiphopography entail ethnography, in depth interviews based on conversations where the involved parties are "mutually present," recognition of the Hip Hoppa's self-expression, comprehension of how Hip Hoppa's "understand who they are, how they became who they are, and what they make of the process of becoming who they are," and an "identification of the complex tropes, mythologies, subtle paralinguistic gestures, imaginings, and narrative strategies that are deployed to frame who they have been or will be."<sup>69</sup> Technologically,

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<sup>66</sup> I am not referring to scholars who mention that Hip Hop is found in a certain space, rather a full study about Hip Hop's localization and growth in a specific region. Also, while I usually argue against scholars making claims about writing about something for the first time, there claims in this instance is plausible for several reasons. Hip Hop has only reached some places within the last thirty to twenty years. In addition to it being a rather new culture, as late as 2008, Tricia Rose had to write a book arguing for Hip Hop studies legitimacy in *Hip Hop Wars*. The combination of Hip Hop being relatively new and its lack of acceptance throughout the academy contributes to some just now writing about it within the 21st century.

<sup>67</sup> James Spady, "Mapping and Re-Membering Hip Hop History, Hiphopography and African Diasporic History," *Western Journal of Black Studies* 37, no. 2 (2013): 126.

<sup>68</sup> Spady, "Mapping and Re-Membering Hip Hop History, Hiphopography and African Diasporic History," 126.

<sup>69</sup> Spady, "Mapping and Re-Membering Hip Hop History, Hiphopography and African Diasporic History," 126.

scholars now examine social media websites, virtual communities and digital courses created by teachers in the education field.<sup>70</sup>

### *Why Global Noise*

Scholars refer to *Global Noise* (2001) for two reasons: Mitchell provides a collection of essays in one book about Hip Hop around the world and argues for the glocalization of Hip Hop, as explained by Robertson. In many ways, Mitchell's argument has been forecasted by the first wave and he just so happened to bring the arguments and text together into one book. The primary statement of the text that many scholars refer to is: "Hip-hop and rap cannot be viewed simply as an expression of African American culture; it has become a vehicle for global youth affiliations and a tool for reworking local identity all over the world."<sup>71</sup> Throughout the first wave, Hip Hop scholars had discussed African American popular culture, glocality, appropriation, cultural imperialism, authenticity and identity. In the second wave, whereas scholars are responding to the first wave and Mitchell, the additional fields of study make the conversation more robust. There is a clearer delineation between African diasporic identity, "Blackness," and Latinidad in response to the position of Mitchell and some of the first wave.

### *Regional Studies*

The primary feature of the second wave is a focus on scholarly works on a specific region, which entails an examination of locations for the first time, building on the work of the first wave in those specific locales, and bringing in new topics, theoretical frameworks and methodological approaches to these small cities, states, or countries. The first wave had provided extensive scholarship on France and, to a lesser extent, Australia. Now there is a historiography of works on numerous countries throughout Europe (Sina Nitsche, *Walter Grunzweig Hip-Hop in Europe: Cultural Identities and Transnational Flows*, 2013), a heavy emphasis on the continent of Africa along with works specific to East Africa, West Africa, South Africa and several cities and countries throughout Africa (Mwenda Ntarangwi, *East African Hip Hop*, 2003; Halifu Osumare, *The Hiplife in Ghana: The West African Indigenization of Hip-Hop*, 2012; Msia Kibona Clark, *Hip-hop in Africa*, 2018) and a number of works on Cuba and Brazil (Marc Perry, *Negro Soy Yo*, 2016 and Derek Pardue, *Ideologies of Marginality in Brazilian Hip Hop*, 2008).<sup>72</sup>

<sup>70</sup> Adriana Helbig, *Hip Hop Ukraine: Music, Race, and African Migration* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2014); C. Moreno-Almeida, "Reporting on Selective Voices of Resistance: Secularism, Class and Islamist Rap," *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, 2017: 1-17; Yasser Mattar, "Virtual Communities and Hip-Hop Music Consumers in Singapore: Interplaying Global, Local and Subcultural identities," *Leisure Studies*, no. 22 (2003) 283-300; Akesha Horton, Keith Heggart, "Engaging the Community through a Creative Curriculum: A Hip-Hop Case Study," *Australian Educational Leader* 37, no. 3, Sep 2015: 66-69.

<sup>71</sup> Tony Mitchell, *Global Noise: Rap and Hip-Hop Outside the USA*, (Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 2001) 1.

<sup>72</sup> I am providing this list to highlight the location that received the most scholarly attention. I only provide a few texts as examples granted that the bibliography captures every scholarly work I can find. If

Some examples of new conversations that the second wave contributes are Ian Maxwell, *Phat Beats, Dope Rhymes: Hip Hop Down Under Comin' Upper* (2003) which responds to the literature on Hip Hop in Australia and Paul Silverstein's "Why are we waiting to start the fire?: French Gangsta Rap and the Critique of State Capitalism" (2005). Silverstein's chapter, in *Black, Blanc, Beur: Rap Music and Hip-Hop Culture in the Francophone World* (2005) provides the perfect example of regionally focused scholarship in the second wave. He responds to the literature on French Hip Hop from the first wave (Cachin 1996, Dufresne 1999, and Lappasasde 1990), utilizes theorists such as Gilroy, Arjun Appadurai and Dick Hebdige and focuses on gangsta rappers that come out of banlieues and cités. Silverstein is able to provide a thorough examination of globalization and neoliberalism in France after 2001 involving "the gradual dismantling of the public sector" to the point where "today (2004 or 2005) cities have been marked by significant physical dilapidation and the flight of local commerce, creating an atmosphere of depressed sterility and an experience of social exile." Within this context, Silverstein discusses the complexities of the relationship between French rappers and globalization: while they endure oppressive conditions, they also have the opportunity to profit.

#### *Appropriation and Authenticity, Again*

Alongside the conversation on Hip Hop in specific areas, global Hip Hop studies provide a significant amount of attention to appropriation, authenticity, and identity during the second wave. This conversation expands the notion of glocalization, focuses on immigration, and goes into greater detail into "Blackness," diasporic identity, and Latinidad. One of the earliest and most cited works is Halifu Osumare's "Beat Streets in the Global Hood: Connective Marginalities of the Hip Hop Globe," (2001) where she introduces the idea of "connective marginalities." Osumare positions African American popular culture at the center of global youth culture. She posits that Hip Hop entails "connective marginalities ... social resonances between black expressive culture within its contextual political history and similar dynamics in other nations."<sup>73</sup> In the midst of technological growth, which contributes to the expansion of Black popular culture, people with similar "culture itself (Jamaica and Cuba), class (North African Arabs in France), historical oppression (Native Hawaiians in Hawaii), or simply the discursive construction of 'youth' as a peripheral social status (Japan)" connect to Black's "historical marginalized status."<sup>74</sup> This connection to Hip Hop, that Osumare presents, reveals how those around the world develop an "authentic" Hip Hop in their locale. Authenticity in this case involves identifying culture as intertext and the ways in which Hip Hoppas around the world shape their own Hip Hop culture based on this international conceptualization of Black identity.

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you are interested in a specific locale, in addition to this bibliography, I recommend looking at the *Hip-Hop Studies* (2016) reference guide. He provides a bibliography based on regions.

<sup>73</sup> Halifu Osumare, "Beat Streets in the Global Hood: Connective Marginalities of the Hip Hop Globe," *The Journal of American Culture* 24, no. 1-2 (2001): 172.

<sup>74</sup> Osumare, "Beat Streets in the Global Hood," 172.

Yvonne Bynoe, in “Getting Real about Global Hip Hop,” adds another layer to this globalized understanding of Blackness mediated through Hip Hop that shapes the conversation during the second wave. In order to fully grasp Bynoe’s weighty claim, I will quote her at length:

This points to a basic premise: unless one has at least a working knowledge of Black Americans and their collective history, one cannot understand Hip Hop culture. While rap music has been globalized, Hip Hop culture has not been and cannot be. Anyone can be taught the technical aspects of deejaying, breakdancing, writing graffiti, and rhyming, or can mimic artists’ dress or swagger, but the central part of Hip Hop culture is the storytelling and the information that it imparts about a specific group of people.<sup>75</sup>

Bynoe, a Black woman, identifies Hip Hop distinctively as a Black culture that is connected to the traumatic experiences of being Black in America. Since it is more than the aesthetic components, such as the music, clothes and dancing, non-Blacks outside of America cannot fully adapt the unique “Black” aspects of the culture. Bynoe does provide space for appropriation but contends that those who attempt outside of the United States have “ill-informed notions about the United States in general, and about Black Americans in particular.”<sup>76</sup> Bynoe provides three examples, South Africa, Cuba, and Japan. In her examination of Japan, she explains “‘Blackness’ became a fad to be consumed, without the obligation of learning about or understanding Black people.”<sup>77</sup> Bynoe, along with Osumare, illustrate the importance of Black culture to a globalized understanding of Hip Hop.

Several scholars directly and indirectly responded to Bynoe’s claim making their argument for the authenticity of Hip Hop outside of the Black American experience. Three scholars that respond and provide a similar argument to many others for the authenticity of non-Blacks are Ian Maxwell *Phat Beats, Dope Rhymes: Hip Hop Down Under Comin’ Upper* (2003), Ian Condry *Hip-Hop Japan: Rap and the Paths of Cultural Globalization* (2006) and “Yellow B-Boys, Black Culture, and Hip-Hop in Japan: Toward a Transnational Cultural Politics of Race” (2007) and Laura Speers *Hip-Hop Authenticity and the London Scene* (2017). In Maxwell’s ethnography of Hip Hop by White teenagers in Sydney, Australia, he opens with a long history of racism in Australia. In light of this history, he goes on to identify authenticity for these White Hip Hoppas in a similar way that Osumare does and Andy Bennett had explained; he contends that it is location of the self to the world. Since authenticity is tied to the self, it encompasses an articulation of “embodied experiences,” and one’s “sense of linkages” shaped by “social practice and negotiation.”<sup>78</sup>

<sup>75</sup> Yvonne Bynoe, “Getting Real about Global Hip Hop,” *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs* 3, no. 1 (2002): 77.

<sup>76</sup> Bynoe, “Getting Real about Global Hip Hop,” 80.

<sup>77</sup> Bynoe, “Getting Real about Global Hip Hop,” 83.

<sup>78</sup> Ian Maxwell, *Phat Beats, Dope Rhymes: Hip Hop Down Under Comin’ Upper* (Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan, 2003) 12, 161-162.



Condry then adds that Bynoe does not adequately account for the factors that draw Japanese youth to Hip Hop, thereby making the same mistake that she claims others of making in not knowing about Black history. Since knowing someone's history is a prerequisite for appropriating a culture, Condry asks: "Should everyone read a book about Japan, or better yet live there, before eating sushi or watching an anime movie?"<sup>79</sup> Speers actually mentions all of these works and questions the very notion of authenticity in and of itself. She lays out the authenticity debates into two camps: one side believes that there is a true essence to their culture and the other contends that it is socially constructed. Speers ultimately agrees with Simon Frith, "who suggests values in music such as authenticity are not socially agreed upon constructs but produced through cultural activity, i.e. through 'living them out'."<sup>80</sup>

### *Blackness*

This discussion on authenticity and Blackness raises several questions: what is "Blackness," what about non-African Americans who have contributed to Hip Hop's creation and how do indigenous and immigrant populations that have already been discussed relate to this "Blackness"? The next book that adds significantly to these issues is Dipannita Basu's and Sidney Lemelle's edited collection *The Vinyl Ain't Final* (2006). In the Foreword, Robin D. G. Kelley contends that Hip Hop has not "gone global," it has always been global, especially since the pioneers are "the sons and daughters of immigrants who had been displaced by the movement of global capital."<sup>81</sup> Kelley, similar to those of the first wave such as Juan Flores, repositions and reminds Hip Hop scholars of the importance of Jamaicans and Latinidades to the fabric of Hip Hop's identity. Moreover, this volume makes a major addition to global Hip Hop studies, "It bridges the gap between studies of hip hop culture and rap music in the U.S. and its diasporan and global reach."<sup>82</sup> This completely shifts the conversation because Mitchell's volume and other scholars separate Hip Hop outside of the United States from Hip Hop in America. Basu and Lemelle argue against Mitchell's "monolithic and stagnant" view of Hip Hop in the U.S.<sup>83</sup> They do not explicitly use Osumare's connective marginalities, but this book focuses on third world spaces and "those of 'third world' places and peoples in the 'first world'."<sup>84</sup> Therefore, according to Osumare, there is no Black/White, United States/outside of US binary that exist, rather Hip Hop brings the third world together.

<sup>79</sup> Ian Condry "Yellow B-Boys, Black Culture, and Hip-Hop in Japan: Toward a Transnational Cultural Politics of Race" *Positions: East Asia Cultures Critique* 15, no. 3 (2007): 645.

<sup>80</sup> Laura Speers, *Hip-Hop Authenticity and the London Scene: Living Out Authenticity in Popular Music* (London: Routledge, 2017), 16.

<sup>81</sup> Robin D. G. Kelley, "Foreword" in *The Vinyl Ain't Final: Hip-Hop and the Globalisation of Black Popular Culture* (Ann Arbor, MI: Pluto Press, 2006) xi.

<sup>82</sup> Dipannita Basu and Sidney J. Lemelle, *The Vinyl Ain't Final: Hip-Hop and the Globalisation of Black Popular Culture*, 1-2.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid*, 5. They also respond to Maxwell and say that authenticity is not solely defined by African American roots while reducing these roots to "outmoded racial politics of essentialism."

<sup>84</sup> Hua Hsu, "Seeing Jay-Z in Taipei," *Daedalus* 140, no. 1 (2011): 163. [https://doi.org/10.1162/DAED\\_a\\_00068](https://doi.org/10.1162/DAED_a_00068).

Another component that Hua Hsu brings forth in “Seeing Jay-Z in Taipei” (2011) is when the attempts at solidarity across different localities fail. In her critical essay, she explains the ways in which youth of Taiwan had not connected to the struggle that Jay Z had presented to them in the concert and had been more interested in Taiwanese rapper MC Hot Dog. Her example raises bigger questions such as the adaptability of Hip Hop to certain areas and what does Hip Hop become as it goes through the adaptation process? In almost a direct response to Maxwell and those with a similar perspective, she asks: “How does one orient oneself in a sea of such endless connective possibilities?”<sup>85</sup>

Hsu also questions “the very idea of blackness”<sup>86</sup> and this is where Marc Perry’s exquisite article “Global Black Self-Fashionings: Hip Hop as Diasporic Space” comes in. Perry takes a look at Hip Hop in Brazil, Cuba, and South Africa and defines Blackness as a “a political signifier of a particular kind of racialized identity, one that binds African-descendant individuals and communities in lived historical terms of past and present.”<sup>87</sup> The brilliance of his notion of Blackness is that he provides space to capture folk descended from Africa and recognize the power struggles they endure. Since Blacks are African descended people, Americanized notions of race do not adequately capture what it means to be Black.<sup>88</sup> He also reveals the importance of being clear when talking about “African American” popular culture and “Black” popular culture. He critiques Mitchell’s assessment that Hip Hop is not simply an African American culture and argues “that race (or blackness for that matter) is necessarily” a part of the equation. This politicized Blackness reconfigures Black identity around the world creating a globalized Blackness. Therefore, Perry reveals: “These young people... ultimately realize the Afro-Atlantic itself as a lived social formation. Hip hop in this way can be seen as an active site for the global (re)mapping of black political imaginaries via social dynamics of diaspora.” He illustrates, then, how Hip Hop takes Blacks out of their country (i.e. Malcolm X is no longer an American) and places them within the Afro-Atlantic community.

Perry’s refocusing of the Afro-Atlantic portrays the significance of African diasporas to conceptualizing the issues surrounding Hip Hop authenticity, identity, and immigration. This points to the importance of several works, I will focus on Cheryl Sterling’s *African Roots, Brazilian Rites: Cultural and National Identity in Brazil* (2012).<sup>89</sup> I highlight Sterling’s book because of her usage of Édouard Glissant’s theory of roots and rhizomes. Numerous scholars throughout early global Hip Hop Studies and during the second wave present Hip Hop as having African roots. While Sterling is not against the idea of roots, she builds on Glissant’s notion of rhizome and contends that Afro-Brazilians

<sup>85</sup> Hsu, “Seeing Jay-Z in Taipei,” 163.

<sup>86</sup> Hsu, “Seeing Jay-Z in Taipei,” 171.

<sup>87</sup> Marc D. Perry, “Global Black Self-Fashionings: Hip Hop as Diasporic Space.” *Identities* 15, no. 6 (2008): 635–664. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10702890802470660>.

<sup>88</sup> Perry, “Global Black Self-Fashionings.”

<sup>89</sup> Sterling provides a very similar definition of Blackness, she states: “Blackness in this work is a purposeful injunction of a chosen identity as ‘Negra,’ ‘Preta,’ ‘Parda,’ Afro-Brasileira, or even ‘Afro-descendente,’ in relation to a discourse of empowerment and social transformation” *African Roots, Brazilian Rites: Cultural and National Identity in Brazil* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2012), 8-9.

develop their identity without the enforcement of hegemonic forces.<sup>90</sup> She posits: “Cultural reconversions happening through the hybridic, rhizomatic transposition of ritual forms, I contend, reassemble concepts of Africanness/blackness as markers and anchors for that identity.”<sup>91</sup> Her multifaceted, rhizomatic formation of identity entails the coming together of the past, present, and future (escaping time in a sense), in addition to the process by which this happens (praxis of embodiment), the signs and symbols that are used to construct this identity, and the ideas that Afro-Brazilians have about political freedom. From this perspective, she postulates that “hip-hop is a rhizomatic root of African aesthetic sensibility” because of its “percussive polyrhythms to the improvisational capacities of the disc jockeys (DJs), the verbal virtuosity of the emcees (MCs), and the antiphonal dimension of performance (Osumare 2007; Keyes 1996; Gottschild 1996).”<sup>92</sup> All of these characteristics points to the ways African roots continue in Afro-Brazilian Hip Hop and how Afro–Brazilians make their identity along with other Africans throughout the diasporas and how they develop Hip Hop in and through a variety of cultural influences not bounded by time or space.

### *Latinidades*

Whereas Perry and Sterling focus on Blacks in Cuba and Brazil, several scholars focus on Latinidad, which brings Indigenous and Mestizo communities into the conversation about adaptation, authenticity and identity. Lourdes de Fátima Bezerra Carril, in “Quilombo, Território e Geografia,” through her study in São Paulo, Brazil and discussion of Quilombos, reveals: “Rappers are bringing back the quilombo through the figure of Zumbi dos Palmares.”<sup>93</sup> Marco Cervantes and Lilliana Patricia Saldaña in “Hip hop and Nueva Canción as Decolonial,” adds that “Indigenous, Black, Afromestizos” peoples all had experienced European colonization. These scholars point to the long existing relationship between Blacks and Indigenous people and how their shared histories contribute to their Hip Hop identity.

Moreover, whereas Juan Flores had championed the inclusion of Latinas/os into the narrative of Hip Hop’s manifestation and growth to the West Coast, several works, such as Melissa Castillo-Garsow’s and Jason Nichols’ *La Verdad: An International Dialogue*

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<sup>90</sup> This is how Sterling describe rhizomes: “Glissant alternatively theorizes the rhizome within the contradictory experiences of cultural contact, reproduced in a network of relations, of fertile contacts and synergies, without a predetermined beginning or predictable end. It is rather part of a cycle of expansion and creation of the new, evident in the polyrooted character of Caribbean subjectivity. With its beginnings in the traumatic memory of slavery and its assertion of creolization, the tentacle-like proliferation of a rhizomatic identity allows differences to have a place; systems of shared belonging may then construct relational identities in concert, out of shared communication, without imposition or warrants from above (9).

<sup>91</sup> Sterling, *African Roots, Brazilian Rites*, 51.

<sup>92</sup> Sterling, *African Roots, Brazilian Rites*, 175.

<sup>93</sup> My translation, here is the original text: “No rap, o quilombo é resgatado da imagem da figura de Zumbi dos Palmares.” Derek Pardue in “Hip Hop as Pedagogy: A Look into ‘Heaven’ and ‘Soul’ in São Paulo, Brazil” explains that quilombo “a term referring to the self-liberated African-Indigenous communities dating back to the beginning of the Portuguese participation in the African slave trade” (684).

on *Hip Hop Latinidades* (2016), carry on the banner by portraying the significance of “Latin America” to Hip Hop and drawing more attention to the intricacies of Latinos/as’ space in Hip Hop. They frame the discussion by defining Hispanic, Latino and those included in “Latin America”<sup>94</sup> and undefining what has been understood as “Latin American Hip Hop.” More importantly, their research had revealed that “for every Latino ‘theme’ (immigration, discrimination, lack of opportunities) or ‘style’ (Spanish, English, sampling from salsa or Tejano music) there were numerous artists who were both Latino or Latin American and doing something completely different.”<sup>95</sup> Therefore, they use the term Hip Hop Latinidades (Latino-ness) in order to capture the variety and hybridity of cultural expression related to Latin America and Hip Hop.<sup>96</sup>

### Language

Another major discourse in analyzing authenticity and identity in global Hip Hop studies is on language. While identity and authenticity are imperative to this discourse, it also explicates linguistic characteristics found in Hip Hop, language ideologies, code switching, decolonization and resistance. There are two approaches to studying Hip Hop within this discourse, scholars from the discipline of linguistics who bring a particular training to their study of Hip Hop and non-linguists who recognize the importance of language usage within the Hip Hop segment they are studying. The variety of subjects that this discourse on language address and its intersection with multiple scholarly perspectives provides a clearer socio-historical and political depiction of particular Hip Hop communities within globalization.

Scholars of linguistics in particular have made some of the biggest advancements to not only global Hip Hop studies but also Hip Hop studies and the academy as a whole. Two scholarly works stand out: Alastair Pennycook’s *Global Englishes and Transcultural Flows* (2006) and H. Samy Alim’s, Ibrahim Awad’s, and Alastair Pennycook’s edited collection *Global Linguistic Flows: Hip Hop Cultures, Youth Identities, and the Politics of Language* (2009). *Global Englishes and Transcultural Flows* has been cited over one thousand and five hundred times by a variety of scholarly fields. It is mostly referred to because Pennycook details the relationship between English and Hip Hop within the dynamics of globalization. He presents this notion of “transcultural flows” which he describes as “the ways in which cultural forms move, change and are reused to fashion new identities in diverse contexts.”<sup>97</sup> In many ways, transcultural flows captures the perspective of several scholars throughout the second wave but he escapes “the debates over

<sup>94</sup> According to Melissa Castillo-Garsow and Jason Nichols, Hispanic “is a term created by the US government” and Latino refers to those who “stresses Latin America as the ancestral homeland” *La Verdad: An International Dialogue on Hip Hop Latinidades* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2016), 10.

<sup>95</sup> Castillo-Garsow and Nichols, *La Verdad: An International Dialogue on Hip Hop Latinidades*, 10.

<sup>96</sup> This perspective provides them space to discuss and include works on Brazil and Haiti even though, as the editors contend, they are not usually included in the parameters of Latin America.

<sup>97</sup> Alastair Pennycook, *Global Englishes and Transcultural Flows* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), 6.

globalization versus localization, or neologisms such as glocalization” due to the fact that it elides “the two polarities” and “flatten the dynamics of what is occurring here.”

*Global Linguistic Flows* provides a thorough explanation of Hip Hop cultures, which redefines our scholarly understanding of Hip Hop. Alim had first introduced the notion of Hip Hop cultures in *The Global Caph: Hip Hop Culture and Consciousness* (Spady et. al 2006) and then again in the special issue “Glocal Linguistic Flows: Hip-Hop Culture(s), Identities, and the Politics of Language Education” (2007). In this edited collection, Alim explains: “While ‘Hip Hop Culture’ is still valuable in its broad usage (at a particular level of abstraction), engagement with specific sites of Hip Hop cultural practice, production, and performance demands a perspective that favors the plurality of Hip Hop Cultures over the singular and monolithic ‘Hip Hop Culture’.” He holds conceptual room for the “Global Hip Hop Nation (GHHN),” and wants to ensure that scholars do not lose sight of the diverse ways varying communities are Hip Hop.

In addition to having that “Hip Hop” feel, *Global Linguistic Flows* “represents what I would call the first book-length, global intellectual capha of what I have referred to as ‘Hip Hop Linguistics (HHLx)’.”<sup>98</sup> Through building on Pennycook’s notion of “transcultural flows,” and the centering of language in its analysis of Hip Hop around the world, *Global Linguistic Flows* presents a “sociolinguistics of globalization.” This volume conceptualizes language as a culture and elucidates the “specific forms, genres, styles, and forms of literacy practice” of local Hip Hop languages within global social and linguistic processes. In many ways, the perspective of Hip Hop language practices in *Global Linguistic Flows* reverberates throughout the discourse on language during the second wave.

This discourse on language centers language ideology.<sup>99</sup> Scholars detail the ways in which Hip Hoppas make language choices about its structure and usage based on a number of factors, including but not limited to, individual or communal preferences, socioeconomic status, socio-historical background, popular culture, desired identity, presentation of that identity and political stance.<sup>100</sup> The examination of these factors elucidates the ways in which language ideologies intertwine with the Hip Hoppas’ political identity, cultural values, performances in public and private spaces and ways of learning. As such, the scholarly discussions of language ideology directly tie into the authenticity debate, linguistic processes, decolonization and resistance. Several scholars,

<sup>98</sup> H. Samy Alim, Awad Ibrahim, and Alastair Pennycook, *Global Linguistic Flows: Hip Hop Cultures, Youth Identities, and the Politics of Language* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), 10.

<sup>99</sup> The oft quoted definition of language ideology is from Michael Silverstein: “a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use” - Quentin E. Williams, “Multilingual Activism in South African Hip Hop,” *Journal of World Popular Music*, 5(1): (2018): 32.

<sup>100</sup> Alex Perullo and John Fenn “Language Ideologies, Choices, and Practices in Eastern African Hip Hop,” 2003; Angela Williams, “‘We Ain’t Terrorists, but we Droppin’ Bombs’: Language Use and Localization of Hip Hop in Egypt,” 2010; Elina Westinen, “Rapping the ‘Better folk’: Ideological and Scalar Negotiations of Past and Present,” 2017; Quentin E. Williams, “Multilingual Activism in South African Hip Hop,” 2018.

including Sandra Clarke and Philip Hiscock in “Hip-Hop in a Post-Insular Community” (2009), contend that during the indigenization process “hybrid identities via language mixing and code switching from migrant languages,”<sup>101</sup> contribute to the creation of an authentic Hip Hop to that location. This process of localizing Hip Hop languages entails the remixing of African American culture and an engagement with African American English.<sup>102</sup> Therefore, Hip Hop scholars of linguistics highlight the importance of language ideologies in the indigenization of Hip Hop in response to global flows.

Several scholars go into detail about the lexical items being used in Hip Hop around the world that illustrates the both/and relationship between the local and global—there are general characteristics of Hip Hop language and localized differences. Jannis Androutsopoulos and Arno Scholz analyze this phenomenon in “On the Recontextualization of Hip-Hop in European Speech Communities: A Contrastive Analysis of Rap Lyric” (2002) through a linguistic analysis of fifty randomly selected songs from five different countries.<sup>103</sup> Their findings present seven speech act patterns, intertextuality, multilingualism, and colloquial speech. The commonalities they had discovered are the use of English in sixty percent of the German, French and Italian songs; “actionality,” which is talking about the action of rapping; and intertextuality involving popular culture references. The local distinctions entail place references, local or regional dialects and usage of the dominant language of the society rappers live in. I highlight these characteristics because several other studies present very similar results.

One important linguistic process emphasized by scholars is code-switching. Emmanuel Taiwo Babalola and Rotimi Taiwo, in “Code-Switching in Contemporary Nigerian Hip-Hop Music” (2009) examination of five Nigerian rappers: Sunny Nneji, Weird MC, D’Banj, P Square and Styl Plus, reveals two types of code-switching. They are: inter-sentential code switching - “ones in which chunks of ideas in different languages feature in turns, thereby producing switches at discourse boundaries,” and intra-sentential code switching - “ones in which expressions from other languages are sandwiched between those of a dominant language.”<sup>104</sup> They have discovered that Nigerian rappers code-switch between three languages, English, Nigerian Pidgin and Yoruba. A Nigerian rapper rapping in Nigerian Pidgin, English and then Nigerian Pidgin in the same line exemplifies intra-sentential code switching. Millicent Quarcoo, Evershed Kwasi Amuzu, and Augustina Pokua Owusu’s study of code switching in Ghanaian

<sup>101</sup> Sandra Clarke and Philip Hiscock, “Hip-Hop in a Post-Insular Community: Hybridity, Local Language, and Authenticity in an Online Newfoundland Rap Group,” *Journal of English Linguistics* 37, no. 3, (2009): 241–261.

<sup>102</sup> Therefore, speakers can be seen as fashioning selves through language by styling themselves as the other in order to achieve a particular local identity.

<sup>103</sup> Jannis Androutsopoulos and Arno Scholz, “On the Recontextualization of Hip-Hop in European Speech Communities: A Contrastive Analysis of Rap Lyrics,” *PhiN – Philologie im Netz* 19 (2002): 1–42. <http://web.fu-berlin.de/phin/phin19/p19t1.htm>.

<sup>104</sup> Emmanuel Taiwo Babalola and Rotimi Taiwo, “Code-Switching in Contemporary Nigerian Hip-Hop Music,” *Itupale Online Journal of African Studies* 1, no. 1.26 (2009).

Hiplife music in “Codeswitching as a Means and a Message in Hiplife Music in Ghana” illustrates the aesthetic effects of code-switching.<sup>105</sup>

In addition to code-switching, an important topic within the discourse on Hip Hop language is decolonization and resistance. Chiara Minestrelli, in *Australian Indigenous Hip Hop the Politics of Culture, Identity, and Spirituality* (2017) posits: “Through linguistic acts (of supremacy), such as the abolishment of Indigenous languages and the imposition of a unified ‘national’ idiom, colonizers created a distance between ‘Themselves’ and ‘Others,’ the colonizer and colonized.”<sup>106</sup> As a result of this form of colonization, Hip Hop offers a particular voice and space to decolonize language in Hip Hop communities around the world. This important point within the discussion on language is another major theme of the second wave – resistance.

#### *Politics/Resistance/Decolonization*

In addition to the discourse on language, an overwhelming number of second wave scholars discuss politics in both the traditional sense of nation sovereignty and of power struggles. Along with the overall perspective of global Hip Hop studies, it is imperative to account for the local factors in conceptualizing politics because each area contains a unique set of issues. As Daniel Hammett indicates, scholars must account for “local socio-political history, individual agency and global influence” and “the development of context-specific understandings of power, resistance, ideology and agency.”<sup>107</sup> While there are context-specific struggles, scholars discussing resistance provide a lot of attention to hegemonic Whites, continuing the argument from the first wave on the economic processes associated with globalization and this notion of “coloniality.” They discuss the fundamental ideas of periphery and citizenship; consequently, based on their conceptualization of the modalities of oppression, scholars during the second wave present the variety of ways in which Hip Hoppas decolonize and resist.

A common term used throughout the second wave is “hegemonic whiteness,” which captures the fluid ways in which, socially, sonically, linguistically, and others, Whiteness normalizes and pushes Blackness to the periphery.<sup>108</sup> Along those lines, scholars discuss the legacy of slavery and settler colonialism and how Europeans aim to maintain power after decolonization. Pancho McFarland, Marco Antonio Cervantes and

<sup>105</sup> Millicent Quarcoo, Evershed Kwasi Amuzu, and Augustina Pokua Owusu, “Codeswitching as a Means and a Message in Hiplife Music in Ghana,” *Contemporary Journal of African Studies* 2 no. 2 (2014): 1 – 32.

<sup>106</sup> Chiara Minestrelli, *Australian Indigenous Hip Hop the Politics of Culture, Identity, and Spirituality* (New York: Routledge, 2017) 15.

<sup>107</sup> Daniel Hammett, “Reworking and Resisting Globalising Influences: Cape Town Hip-Hop,” *GeoJournal* 77, no. 3 (2012): 417.

<sup>108</sup> Adam Haupt, Quentin E. Williams, and H. Samy Alim, “Hip Hop Activism and Representational Politics” 2018; Paul Khalil Saucier and Kumarini Silva, “Keeping It Real in the Global South” 2014; Christopher Dennis, *Afro-Colombian Hip-Hop: Globalization, Transcultural Music, and Ethnic Identities*, 2011.

Lilliana Patricia Saldaña call this “coloniality.” Cervantes and Saldaña share Walter Mignolo translation of Anibal Quijano (2000) “el patrón colonial del poder,” which is the “colonial matrix of power.”<sup>109</sup> The colonial matrix of power is a “model of power that is globally hegemonic today and ‘presupposes an element of coloniality’ tied to sixteenth century colonialism and Eurocentrism.”<sup>110</sup> Based on this understanding Cervantes and Saldaña contend “coloniality is the underlying web of relations that was maintained in the U.S., South American, Central America, and the Caribbean after independence from European imperial powers.”<sup>111</sup> Scholars of the second wave bear witness to this same concept of coloniality in areas around the world in which Europe has colonized.

Hegemonic Whiteness drives “Blackness” to the periphery, leading to another trope within the conversation on politics during the second wave, “periferia.”<sup>112</sup> Periferia is the Spanish word for periphery and Hip Hop scholars posit that it is more than a geographical position in relation to the center of town. Charlie Hankin identifies periferia as a “geopolitical position of the Global South,”<sup>113</sup> and Derek Pardue says it is an epistemology that is “rooted in the artistic expressions of the ‘marginal’.”<sup>114</sup> Both Pardue in “Brazilian Hip-Hop Material and Ideology: A Case of Cultural Design” and Jennifer Roth-Gordon in “Conversational Sampling, Race Trafficking, and the Invocation of the Gueto in Brazilian Hip Hop” analyze Racionais MC’s song “Periferia é Periferia” (Periphery is Periphery). They reveal, through Racionais MC as theorist, how the periferia is not limited to Brazil, but present in other marginalized places around the world and as a result, attempts to unite “the youth of Brazil’s socially and geographically marginalized communities through a refrain of solidarity” with those in other periferias. The evidence of this idea of a periferia is so widespread that Peter Barrer cites it among Whites in Slovakia, Koe Stroeken describes it in Tanzania and Caroline Mose details its role in

<sup>109</sup> Marco Antonio Cervantes and Lilliana Patricia Saldaña, “Hip Hop and Nueva Canción as Decolonial Pedagogies,” *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society* 4 no. 1 (2015): 87.

<sup>110</sup> Cervantes and Saldaña, “Hip Hop and Nueva Canción as Decolonial Pedagogies,” 87.

<sup>111</sup> Cervantes and Saldaña, “Hip Hop and Nueva Canción as Decolonial Pedagogies,” 87.

<sup>112</sup> Derek Pardue, “Hip Hop as Pedagogy: A Look into ‘Heaven’ and ‘Soul’ in São Paulo, Brazil,” *Anthropological Quarterly*, 80 no. 3 (2007): 673-709; Derek Pardue, “Making Territorial Claims: Brazilian Hip Hop and the Socio-Geographical Dynamics of Periferia,” *City & Society* 22, no. 1 (June 7, 2010): 48-71; Andreia Moassab, “Brasil Periferia(s): A Comunicacao Insurgente do Hip-Hop,” *Sao Paulo: EDUC*, 2011; Alexandre Bárbara-Soares, Rabello-de Castro Lucia, “Música Underground e Resistência Cultural nas Periferias do Rio de Janeiro-um Estudo de Caso,” *Revista Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales, Niñez y Juventud* 2014 and S. Leppänen and E. Westinen, “Migrant Rap in the Periphery: Performing Politics of Belonging,” *AILA Review* 30 (2017): 1-26.

<sup>113</sup> Charlie Hankin, “The (Latin) American Underground: Havana and Marginocentric Hip Hop” *Atlantic Studies* 14, no. 1 (2017): 83.

<sup>114</sup> Jennifer Roth-Gordon “Conversational Sampling, Race Trafficking, and the Invocation of the Gueto in Brazilian Hip Hop,” in *Global Linguistic Flows: Hip Hop Cultures, Youth Identities, and the Politics of Language* edited by H. Samy Alim, Awad Ibrahim, and Alastair Pennycook (London and New York: Routledge, 2006) 63-77.



Nairobi, Kenya.<sup>115</sup> Mose' example points to those periferia artists who are physically located in Eastlands, which is not in the geographical margins of Nairobi.

Hip Hop addresses hegemonic Whiteness in a number of ways, scholars redefine concepts such as citizenship and highlight how Hip Hoppas on the ground resist and decolonize. Derek Pardue, in *Cape Verde, Let's Go: Creole Rappers and Citizenship in Portugal* (2015), contends that citizenship is not just a status ascribed to members of a state; rather, it is a "condition of rights, status, belonging, and participation which changes based on contextual factors, such as political and legal histories, as well as the realities of labor chances and cultural expressions."<sup>116</sup> This perspective of citizenship opens the door to thinking about how many Hip Hoppas are not citizens in their own country and the ways in which Hip Hop provides citizenship.<sup>117</sup> Mumia Abu Jamal says it best in the special issue on Afrikan Hiphop Caravan, "I am a citizen of a country that does not yet exist."<sup>118</sup>

The lack of citizenship status directly relates to the ways in which Hip Hop identity construction resists the oppressive identities appointed to those in Hip Hop cultures. Two strands run through this construction throughout the second wave, alignment to the Black freedom struggle and more attention to feminist and LGBTQI identities. In addition to the connection with the freedom struggle during the 1960s, Hip Hop communities connect with Toussaint L'Ouverture, Phillis Wheatley, Harriet Tubman and Sojourner Truth.<sup>119</sup> Scholars illustrate Hip Hop's greater emphasis on those involved in the freedom struggle other than Malcolm and outside the US such as the parallel movement in Brazil - Movimento Negro Unificado and Amadou Diallo.<sup>120</sup> Nietzsche's article highlights the significance of focusing on women, wherein the particular set of heroes and ways in which White Supremacy functions as a villain are not usually covered when focusing on men.

Adam Haupt, in "Hip-Hop, Gender and Agency in the Age of Empire" (2003), examines Godessa, the first women South African Hip Hop group to sign a deal, and reveals how women in Hip Hop can have some level of agency through "self-

<sup>115</sup> Peter Barrer, "'My White, Blue, and Red Heart': Constructing a Slovak Identity in Rap Music," 2009; Koen Stroeken, "Immunizing Strategies: Hip-Hop and Critique in Tanzania Africa," 2005; Caroline Mose, "'Swag' and 'Cred': Representing Hip-Hop in the African City," 2013.

<sup>116</sup> Derek Pardue, *Cape Verde, Let's Go: Creole Rappers and Citizenship in Portugal* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2015).

<sup>117</sup> Sonya Donaldson, "After the Berlin Wall: Hip-Hop and the Politics of German Reunification," *African and Black Diaspora: An International Journal* 8, no. 2 (2015): 190-201; Lisa Weems, "Refuting 'Refugee Chic': Transnational Girl(Hood)s and the Guerilla Pedagogy of M.I.A.," *Feminist Formations* 26, no. 1 (2014): 115-42.

<sup>118</sup> Hip-hop Activist Networks "Afrikan Hiphop Caravan Special Issue," *Journal of Hip Hop Studies* 1, no. 2 (2014): 161 - 231.

<sup>119</sup> Marc Perry, *Negro Soy Yo*, 2015; Sina A. Nietzsche "Slavery's Consequences Still Affect Us," 2018.

<sup>120</sup> Niyi Afolabi, "Brazilian New Wave: Hip Hop and the Politics of Intervention," 2007; Sonya Donaldson "After the Berlin Wall: Hip-Hop and the Politics of German Reunification, 2015. There is also the fascinating study *From Toussaint to Tupac the Black International since the Age of Revolution* (2009) edited by Michael O. West, William G. Martin, & Fanon Che Wilkins, which lays out the freedom struggle from the 18th century to the 21st century and across geographical boundaries.

definition.”<sup>121</sup> Haupt identifies their ability to define themselves as a “political act that challenges how patriarchy and capitalism define women” and reveals that “gangsta rap’s gender politics, are a reflection of the prevailing values in society, which are created and sustained by white supremacist capitalist patriarchy.”<sup>122</sup> Maria Natália Matias-Rodrigues and Jaileila de Araújo-Menezes also highlights the importance of the presence of women in Hip Hop to addressing hegemonic gender inequalities. Their journal article, “Jovens Mulheres: Reflexões Sobre Juventude e Gênero a Partir do Movimento Hip Hop (Young Women: Reflections on Youth and Gender from the Hip Hop Movement)” (2014), highlight women rappers, graffiti and Bgirls in Recife-Northeast of Brazil who point to the gender inequalities in Hip Hop in their area.

P. Khalil Saucier and Kumarini Silva, in “Keeping It Real in the Global South: Hip-Hop Comes to Sri Lanka” (2014), shifts from African and African diasporic people to “Blacks” in Southeast Asia. They make an argument for a politicized Blackness along the same lines as Marc Perry. Saucier and Silva analysis of Hip Hop in Sri Lanka brings forth that Sri Lanka has experienced “several centuries of continued colonization – by the Portuguese, the Dutch and finally the British from whom the country finally gained independence in 1948.”<sup>123</sup> This hegemonic Whiteness has contributed to civil war and hybrid identities.<sup>124</sup> Lisa Weems, in “Refuting ‘Refugee Chic’: Transnational Girl(Hood)s and the Guerilla Pedagogy of M.I.A.” (2014) brings a transnational feminist framework to her examination of Sri Lanka and focuses on the Sri Lankan-British rap artist M.I.A. Weems argues that M.I.A. “makes use of refugee chic to reframe the issues of sexualization, silence, victimization, and violence that are the results of (trans)national systems of domination.”<sup>125</sup> Weems points to the additional forms of hegemonic Whiteness that a gendered analysis reveals. Therefore, M.I.A. positions herself with a transnational citizenship due to the lack of citizenship she has in her own country plus the racialized and gendered forms of oppression Brown and Black women endure. Her music brings the “digital ruckus” which “provides an important space for critical sociopolitical debate.”

Whereas scholars thus far have provided a gendered analysis, Shanté Smalls article on the woman rapper Jean Grae in the special issue “Hip-Hop Culture in a Global Context: Interdisciplinary and Cross-Categorical Investigation” and Pancho McFarland, in *Toward a Chican@ Hip Hop Anti-Colonialism* (2017) pays attention to gender and

<sup>121</sup> Adam Haupt, “Hip-Hop, Gender and Agency in the Age of Empire,” *Agenda: Empowering Women for Gender Equity*, no. 57 (2003): 21-29. doi:10.2307/4066380

<sup>122</sup> Maria Natália Matias-Rodrigues and Jaileila de Araújo-Menezes, “Jovens Mulheres: Reflexões Sobre Juventude e Gênero a Partir do Movimento Hip Hop,” *Revista Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales, Niñez y Juventud*, 12, no. 2 (2014): 703-715.

<sup>123</sup> P. Khalil Saucier and Kumarini Silva, “Keeping It Real in the Global South: Hip-Hop Comes to Sri Lanka.” *Critical Sociology* 40, no. 2 (2014): 295-300.

<sup>124</sup> Saucier and Silva, “Keeping It Real in the Global South.”

<sup>125</sup> Lisa Weems, “Refuting ‘Refugee Chic’: Transnational Girl(Hood)s and the Guerilla Pedagogy of M.I.A.,” *Feminist Formations* 26, no. 1 (2014):

sexuality.<sup>126</sup> Smalls gives attention to Grae because her artistry is queer relative to heteronormativity and she challenges the “supposed ‘naturalness’ of heteronormative expectations (rigid masculinity, acquiescent femininity, racial hegemony, nationalism, ‘compulsory heterosexuality,’ etc.) as a learned set of performances.<sup>127</sup> McFarland’s discourse on anti-colonialism theorizes and provides the justification for the ideological battle Hip Hop fights. He centers a two-spirited analysis in the anti-colonial projects because coloniality undermines “all people of Mexican descent by attacking women, la jotería and gays, lesbians, bisexuals, transgenders, queers, and two-spirited (GLBTQ2).”<sup>128</sup> He explicates the ways in which colonizers have to ideologically dehumanize natives and Chican@s in order to continue exploiting and dispossessing them. Therefore, an anti-colonial project can use Hip Hop in the same way Jean Grae does to challenge the violent notions of heteronormativity.

### *New Fields of Study*

The growth during the second wave results in more scholarly attention to fields of study that had not been thoroughly reviewed or not researched at all during the first. The fields of study that the second wave of global Hip Hop studies provide a greater emphasis on are religion and education. Then, there are small number of scholarly works on law, business, and theater.<sup>129</sup>

### *Religion*

The main two religions that are discussed are Islam and Christianity with the theme being the ways in which both religions contributed to identity. The pieces on Christianity both locate youth in the periferia and present the ways in which being a Christian aids in their struggles.<sup>130</sup> Angela Maria de Souza and Deise Lucy Oliveira Montardo, in “Music and Musicalities in the Hip Hop Movement: Gospel Rap,” provides a more in depth look into “gospel rap” in Florianópolis and Lisboa. They trace the growth of the genre, from those who originally had thought that gospel and rap could not mix,

<sup>126</sup> Kalle Berggren also examines gender and sexuality in “‘No Homo’: Straight Inoculations and the Queering of Masculinity in Swedish Hip Hop,” *Norma* 7 no. 1 (2012): 50–66.

<sup>127</sup> Shanté Smalls, “‘The Rain Comes Down’: Jean Grae and Hip Hop Heteronormativity,” *American Behavioral Scientist* 55 no. 1 (2010): 3.

<sup>128</sup> Pancho McFarland, *Toward a Chican@ Hip Hop Anti-Colonialism*, (London: Taylor and Francis, 2017) 2.

<sup>129</sup> Dominique Bluher, “Hip-Hop Cinema in France,” *Camera Obscura* 16, no. 1 (2001): 77-96; Carol M. Motley and Geraldine Rosa Henderson, “The Global Hip-Hop Diaspora: Understanding the Culture,” *Journal of Business Research* 61, no. 3 (2008): 243-253; Stacey Prickett, “Hip-Hop Dance Theatre in London: Legitimising an Art Form,” *Dance Research* 31, no. 2 (2013): 174-90; James Cox, “Copyrighting the Hip Hop Blueprint: Lyrical Referencing in the Experience of Australian Hip Hop Artists,” In *Hip Hop and the Law: The Key Writings that Formed the Movement* edited by P. Bridgewater, D. Tibbs, and A. D. P. Cummings, (Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press, 2015).

<sup>130</sup> Tâmara Lis Reis Umbelino, “Rappers do Senhor: Em Busca De Visibilidade” *Estação Científica Online*, no. 2 (2007): 53–68 and Angela Maria de Souza and Deise Lucy Oliveira Montardo, “Music and Musicalities in the Hip Hop Movement: Gospel Rap,” *Vibrant: Virtual Brazilian Anthropology* 8, no. 1 (2011): 7–38.

to this mixture being common, detail the relationship between life in the periferia and how that life is reflected in the music and describes how Hip Hop can be used as an evangelizing tool.

Islam and Hip Hop have received more attention in global Hip Hop studies. The oft cited essay is H. Samy Alim's "A New Research Agenda: Exploring the Transglobal Hip Hop Umma in Muslim Networks from Hajj to Hip Hop" (2005). Monica Miller and Anthony Pinn reprinted this essay in *The Hip Hop and Religion Reader* (2015) illustrating the importance of this essay. In it, Alim lays out the "transglobal hip hop umma" which is "a borderless Islamic nation," where "citizenship is based on faith" rather than nation-state or colonizing cartographers and "Islamic knowledge, values, teachings, ideas and ideals" spread through this community. He highlights the importance of Hip Hop to the transglobal Muslim community because of its capacity to educate and disseminated information. Alim also discusses "nation-building" activities through which Hip Hoppas study their faith, apply their faith and then go out and operationalize Islam through a variety of activities. Several scholars build on Alim, such as David Drissel and Anders Ackfeldt. Drissel examines the transglobal Hip Hop umma in France in "Hip-Hop Hybridity for a Glocalized World: African and Muslim Diasporic Discourses in French Rap Music." Ackfeldt, in "Imma March 'Toward Ka'ba': Islam in Swedish Hip-Hop," explains how Muslims in Sweden use Hip Hop "to promote and perform what is understood as 'Islamic values,' such as ethics, peace, social responsibility, and a strong personal belief."<sup>131</sup>

### Education

The increased attention on education has provided more attention but not a large volume of pieces. I could only find one book, Bradley J. Porfilio's and Michael J. Viola's edited collection *Hip-Hop(e): The Cultural Practice and Critical Pedagogy of International Hip-Hop* (2012). This volume provides a good representation of global Hip Hop Studies second wave scholarship on education. *Hip-Hop(e)* further theorizes "the emerging field of global hip-hop-its conditions, contradictions, and cultures-as well as its use value for radical social transformation in the classroom and in the streets."<sup>132</sup> *Hip-Hop(e)* is divided into two parts alongside its purpose. The first part focuses on the usage of Hip Hop pedagogy to fight coloniality. The second part of the book examines Hip-Hop-Based-Education (HHBE) and identifies:

Global hip-hop's effectiveness for conscientization-or the ability to develop a critical awareness of social realities, promoting democratic and humanizing education as well as celebrating the lived experiences of those historically marginalized from the mainstream educational institutions.<sup>133</sup>

<sup>131</sup> Anders Ackfeldt, "Imma March 'Toward Ka'ba': Islam in Swedish Hip-Hop," *Contemporary Islam* 6, no. 3 (2012): 1.

<sup>132</sup> Bradley J. Porfilio and Michael J. Viola, *Hip-Hop(e): The Cultural Practice and Critical Pedagogy of International Hip-Hop*, (New York: Peter Lang, 2012) 1.

<sup>133</sup> Porfilio and Viola, *Hip-Hop(e)*, 11.

The majority of the work outside of the classroom elucidates the ways in which Hip Hop pedagogy is used to combat hegemonic Whiteness. For example: Derek Pardue describes the Casa de Cultura Hip Hop in Diadema, Brazil which is a “point of convergence between community and the state, performance and education, popular culture and agentic citizenship.”<sup>134</sup> Also, Rebecca Cains discusses the effectiveness of improvisatory pedagogical practice based on an Australian Museum sponsored workshop tour of two artists, Many Rhymes and One Rhythm, in 2005. H. Samy Alim, in “Global ill-literacies: Hip hop Cultures, Youth Identities, and the Politics of Literacy” (2011), advances the subfield of global Hip Hop studies by bringing together the scholarship of global Hip Hop studies and critical Hip Hop pedagogies. Alim focuses on the classroom and argues against pedagogical approaches that clearly illustrate the educators’ distance from Hip Hop culture. He thus contends for ill-literacies - “agentive, progressive, linguistic acts of identification and social transformation in that youth’s spoken, rhymed, and written texts challenge prescriptive, restrictive, and antidemocratic notions of culture, citizenship, language, literacy, and education.”<sup>135</sup>

### Third Wave 2019: Beginning of the End of Global Hip Hop Studies

I argue that this special issue “If I Ruled the World,” commences the third wave of global Hip Hop studies. The defining characteristic that I envision for the third wave is a shift from global Hip Hop studies to Hip Hop studies. This conception of Hip Hop studies recognizes Hip Hop studies as Hip Hop, thereby aligning Hip Hop studies with Hip Hop’s global identity. Additionally, moving forward from and building off of the expansive body of literature on Hip Hop, the aim is to produce academic work from a global perspective. Before I lay out how I consider Hip Hop studies can move forward, I first provide my response to the scholarship of the first two waves.

The first two waves present several key themes that I will respond to: the lack of focus on particular elements of Hip Hop and engagement with academic fields, the debate on Hip Hop’s origins, the focus on glocalization and the conversation on authenticity. Early Hip Hop studies and the second wave only scratch the surface when it comes to deejaying, graffiti and breakin’. Some regional histories of Hip Hop in mention these elements. Acknowledging a small number of journal articles, I contend that this is a significant gap in Hip Hop studies that requires attention.<sup>136</sup> Additionally,

<sup>134</sup> Derek Pardue, “Hip Hop as Pedagogy: A Look into ‘Heaven’ and ‘Soul’ in São Paulo, Brazil,” *Anthropological Quarterly*, 80 no. 3 (2007): 673-709.

<sup>135</sup> H. Samy Alim, in “Global Ill-Literacies: Hip Hop Cultures, Youth Identities, and the Politics of Literacy” *Review of Research in Education* 35, (2011): 131.

<sup>136</sup> During the second phase, Mary Fogarty has published numerous essays on breakin’ and Imani Johnson has a book forthcoming on this element. The one book that I could find on djing is Claudia Assef’s *Todo DJ ja Sambu: A Historia do Disc-Joquei no Brasil* (Sao Paulo: Conrad Livros, 2003).

there is a significant gap in research on gender and sexuality in Hip Hop. It is imperative that the third wave does not focus solely on rap music and rappers.

### *Hip Hop Origins*

One point of the first two waves that I did not cover in the literature review of the second wave and is important to moving forward is the origin of Hip Hop. Whereas many scholars throughout the first wave identify Hip Hop as having roots in Africa, H. Samy Alim, Awad Abraham and Alastair Pennycook's edited collection, *Global Linguistic Flows: Hip Hop Cultures, Youth Identities, and the Politics of Language* (2009), presents alternative origins of Hip Hop. In Alastair Pennycook and Tony Mitchell's "Hip Hop as Dusty Foot Philosophy: Engaging Locality" chapter in particular, they argue for an understanding of Hip Hop that "has always been local."<sup>137</sup> I highlight their argument because they bring up the various scholarly perspectives on Hip Hop's origin. On one hand, they point to Somali-Canadian MC K'Naan who posits that Hip Hop is African and has been Americanized in the US. They then cite Senegalese Hip Hop group Daara J song "Boomerang."<sup>138</sup> The "Boomerang Hypothesis" is that Hip Hop had been "born in Africa, brought up in America," and then "come full circle" back to Africa.<sup>139</sup> But Pennycook and Mitchell do not stop there, rather they bring in Australian Indigenous artist Wire MC who expresses that they have long been expressing their "stories, our beliefs, our fears, our superstitions through song and dance."<sup>140</sup> As a result, if Hip Hop comes out of the indigenous local Australian culture and MC K'Naan indicates that Hip Hop comes out of the local African cultures then "it is not fruitful to pursue the true origins of Hip Hop."<sup>141</sup> Rather, they argue that Hip Hop "is a continuation of Indigenous traditions; it draws people into a new relationship with cultural practices that have a history far longer than those of current popular music."<sup>142</sup>

While I recognize the desire to ensure that local cultures' roles are not lost after Hip Hop has indigenized in a particular area, I posit that we can provide a more nuanced understanding of Hip Hop origins. First, their linguistics and popular music studies background shape their analysis. They examine language, and the artists they cite focus on the aesthetics of Hip Hop. It is widely accepted that Hip Hop has four elements and this analysis does not account for deejaying and graffiti. Also, as I explained in the introduction, my multifaceted conception of Hip Hop considers the collective consciousness of the people and Hip Hop as a way of life. I posit that Hip Hop is an

<sup>137</sup> Alastair Pennycook and Tony Mitchell, "Hip Hop as Dusty Foot Philosophy: Engaging Locality," in *Global Linguistic Flows: Hip Hop Cultures, Youth Identities, and the Politics of Language* edited by H. Samy Alim, Awad Ibrahim, and Alastair Pennycook (London: Routledge, 2008), 35.

<sup>138</sup> This same song and ideology are cited by several other scholars such Halifu Osumare's *The Hiplife in Ghana West African Indigenization of Hip-Hop* (2012) and Msia Clark *Hip Hop in Africa: Prophets of the City and Dustyfoot Philosophers* (2018)

<sup>139</sup> Pennycook and Mitchell, "Hip Hop as Dusty Foot Philosophy: Engaging Locality," 34.

<sup>140</sup> Pennycook and Mitchell, "Hip Hop as Dusty Foot Philosophy: Engaging Locality," 35.

<sup>141</sup> Pennycook and Mitchell, "Hip Hop as Dusty Foot Philosophy: Engaging Locality," 35.

<sup>142</sup> Pennycook and Mitchell, "Hip Hop as Dusty Foot Philosophy: Engaging Locality," 35.

African diasporic phenomenon. Although scholars throughout the first wave lay out the landscape of the Bronx in the 1960s and 1970s, they do not take that into account. Pennycook, Mitchell and a plethora of scholars refer to Hip Hop as an African American culture. It is this myopic perspective that contributes to the inadequate arguments against Hip Hop.<sup>143</sup>

In order to begin to fully grasp Hip Hop's origin, we must move away from the conception of African roots and towards an African diasporic phenomenon. Influenced by Jeffrey Decker's "The State of Rap: Time and Place in Hip Hop Nationalism" and KRS' *The Gospel of Hip Hop: First Instrument* (2009), I assert that Hip Hop is uniquely interconnected with Africa and African people. Decker indicates that nation conscious rappers find their cultural heritage in Egypt and KRS says that between 1968 and 1974 "Hip Hop (sic) introduced itself to the world."<sup>144</sup> The implication of KRS' introduction is that Hip Hop had already existed before 1968. The commencement of Hip Hop in Africa is challenging to explain because ideas such as roots and origins do not accurately depict my conception of Hip Hop's ontology. Based on the idea of collective consciousness, Hip Hop is not confined to space or time. Therefore, choosing a beginning or origin is problematic.

To address the conundrum of defining Hip Hop's temporal identity, I turn to Cheryl Keyes' excellent work, *Rap Music and Street Consciousness* (2004). Keyes contends that rap's origins can be found in Africa, specifically the African bards who had "played as purveyors of the past, recorders and guardians of history, and scholars of African culture."<sup>145</sup> Keyes explains that when a bard performs, they release a powerful force called nyama, which is "the energy of action."<sup>146</sup> Nyama contains transmutational power to change humans and the material. While I am arguing against Hip Hop's origins, Keyes description of nyama is useful, especially since it has materialized in Africa. I contend that the elements and materials that make up Hip Hop come out of this nyama. Since energy can never be created or destroyed, rather it can only be transferred, this *African* transformational energy that exists outside of space and time eventually manifested in the Bronx in the early 1970s.

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<sup>143</sup> The inadequate arguments against Hip Hop I am referring to here are those such as Hip Hop is misogynistic, hurting the Black community, and promotes negative stereotypes of the Black community. These arguments can stand when identifying Hip Hop solely as an African American culture and the rap music that is played in popular culture. As this essay has shown, the move towards an African diasporic and global phenomenon reveal the inadequacies of these arguments because we need to consider the many Hip Hop cultures, identities, and elements that are so much more than popular rap music.

<sup>144</sup> Lawrence "KRS-One" Parker, *The Gospel of Hip Hop: First Instrument* (Brooklyn: Power House, 2009), 198.

<sup>145</sup> Cheryl Lynette Keyes, *Rap Music and Street Consciousness* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004), 18.

<sup>146</sup> Keyes, *Rap Music and Street Consciousness*, 20.

*Ciphos and Flows*

In addition to this immaterial understanding of Hip Hop, I move away from the idea of “African roots” and origins through the work of Edouard Glissant and Gerhard Kubik to Relations, ciphos and transcultural flows.<sup>147</sup> I problematize the notion of African roots for several reasons: the connection between the concept of roots and European enslavement and colonization lends itself toward a linear progression from Africa to New York. As a result, it can potentially lead to a belittling of Africa where Africa is only good to provide the resources of the culture; it therefore paints a static and abstract picture of Africa that does not address the vibrancy of African cultures. As previously discussed, Cheryl Sterling identifies Hip Hop as a rhizomatic root, building off the work of Edouard Glissant. I refer back to Glissant as well, who explains how rootedness is connected to European expansion. A component of Glissant’s overall argument in *Poetics of Relations* (1997) is to challenge his notion of a totalitarian root.<sup>148</sup> Glissant states that root identity “is preserved by being projected onto other territories, making their conquest legitimate—and through the project of a discursive knowledge.”<sup>149</sup> After colonization, he posits that nations accept the European discourse of power, “the totalitarian drive of a single, unique root.”<sup>150</sup> Moreover, specifically focusing on Africa, Stuart Hall states: “The original ‘Africa’ is no longer there.”<sup>151</sup>

In addition to Glissant’s contention with roots, Gerhard Kubik also highlights other concerns with using this conception. In his book *Africa and the Blues* (1999) he moves away from searching for the “African roots” of the blues, which initially he had been interested in and noticed in African American Studies. His problem with the search for African roots is the vagueness of the perspective and the connotations it carries of thinking about centuries-old traditions of Africa.<sup>152</sup> He shares in an interview: “The concept insinuates that one continent is a provider of musical raw material to be processed somewhere else. Now to us in Africa, this is not acceptable. We are not roots to anyone.”<sup>153</sup>

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<sup>147</sup> I am primarily using these concepts of Relations, ciphos and transcultural flows to provide the language to begin to account for the historical specificities that contribute to Hip Hop’s creation. My usage of theory is informed by history. In the translated text of Edouard Glissant’s *Poetics of Relations* (1999), Relations is capitalized throughout the text.

<sup>148</sup> He explains that during European expansion, as Europeans had taken over a land, they uprooted indigenous people and literally transformed the identity of the land. The land no longer had belonged to the indigenous people and raises the question of who does it belong to: the first inhabitants or deported Africans? European domination has changed Indigenous land to the point where it is no longer “a rooted absolute,” while implementing a discourse of power and fixation (rootedness).

<sup>149</sup> Edouard Glissant, *Poetics of Relations* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997), 144.

<sup>150</sup> This root identity does not aim and strive for relationships with others.

<sup>151</sup> Stuart Hall, “Cultural Identity and Diaspora,” in *Theorizing Diaspora* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2003), 231.

<sup>152</sup> Gerhard Kubik, *Africa and the Blues* (Mississippi: University of Mississippi Press, 1999).

<sup>153</sup> Stuart Hall also goes against the stagnant perspective of Africa, “We must not conclude with the West which, precisely, normalises and appropriates Africa by freezing it into some timeless zone of the primitive, unchanging past” (“Cultural Identity and Diaspora,” 231). Banning Eyre, “Africa and The Blues:



Instead of roots, both Glissant and Kubik are in favor of a multiplicity of factors influencing identity and culture that cannot be traced back to a specific point in time. This is where nyama is useful in contextualizing Hip Hop's ontology. Using Hip Hop language, we can identify the transcultural interaction that comes out of nyama as ciphias and flows. Flows and ciphias happen when two peoples (nations, communities etc.) interact with each other and there is some level of exchange, ranging from the introduction of a musical instrument to the libraries in Islamic Spain.<sup>154</sup> Flows go any direction between cultures and when flows go back and forth, they create a cipa. Kubik describes the cipa like this:

Like any other innovative development, the nineteenth- and twentieth-century genre to be called blues was the result of a chain of determinants linked by cause and effect that can be traced to various other times and places until the traces vanish in the anonymity of sourceless history.<sup>155</sup>

Kubik gets at the many links that flows between African cultures and throughout the continent. Glissant makes a similar argument in making his case for the poetics of Relations instead of the colonizing roots concepts.<sup>156</sup> He explains the "Poetics of Relations" in this way: "each and every identity is extended through a relationship with the Other."<sup>157</sup> His relational perspective opposes the solitary root and "strives to know the totality of the world yet already knows he will never accomplish this-and knows that is precisely where the threatened beauty of the world resides."<sup>158</sup> Glissant's relational theory entails that there are close to an infinite number of interactions that connects people around the world and elucidates the ways in which interactions between different peoples leads to the expansion of energy and cultural creativity.<sup>159</sup> This chaos, unbounded by time and space, recognizes that Relations "senses, assumes, opens,

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An Interview with Gerhard Kubik," *Afropop Worldwide*, April 9, 2007. Accessed on May 20, 2017 <https://afropop.org/articles/africa-and-the-blues-an-interview-with-gerhard-kubik>.

<sup>154</sup> David Levering Lewis, *God's Crucible: Islam and the Making of Europe, 570-1215* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2009).

<sup>155</sup> Gerhard Kubik, *Africa and the Blues* (Mississippi: University of Mississippi Press, 1999), 4.

<sup>156</sup> In relating Glissant's theory to Hip Hop, it is interesting that he uses the idea of poetics to describe his relational theory. The translation of his work makes the word choice even more poignant. There are two definitions for poetics, according to Merriam-Webster "written in verse" and according to Cambridge dictionary "very beautiful or expressing emotion." The lyrical qualities of Hip Hop can be described the same way and verses are actual components of a song. Also, when I spoke with Tasha Iglesias about *Poetics of Relations*, she indicated that Glissant sounds like a spoken word artist.

<sup>157</sup> Edouard Glissant, *Poetics of Relations* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997), 11,

<sup>158</sup> Glissant, *Poetics of Relations*, 20.

<sup>159</sup> He explains it this way: "How have cultures-Chinese or Basque, Indian or Inuit, Polynesian or Alpine-made their way to us, and how have we reached them? What remains to us of all the vanished cultures, collapsed or exterminated, and in what form is our experience, even now, of the pressure of dominant cultures? Through, what fantastic accumulations of how many existences, both individual and collective? Let us try to calculate the result of all that. We will be incapable of doing so. Our experience of this confluence will forever be only one part of its totality" (*Poetics of Relations*, 153-154).

gathers, scatters, continues, and transforms the thought of these elements, these forms, and this motion."<sup>160</sup> This "chaos is not chaotic," rather it is a cipa.

From this Glissantian perspective of Relations, we can attempt to trace the cultural flows and ciphas throughout the continent of Africa that contribute to the manifestation of Hip Hop. Numerous scholars have already traced the ciphas with Africans other Africans and between Africans with Europeans and Asians. Stuart Hall indicates that culture in Africa is "always-already fused, syncretised, with other cultural elements."<sup>161</sup> Here is a small example of scholarly documentation that scratches that surface of Glissant's Relations and highlights the cultural flows and ciphas with African peoples. Michael Gomez discusses the extensive history of Egyptians with other Africans, Europeans and Asians and Hebrews in particular; Africans from Egypt, Nubia, the Sahara desert and West Africa relationship with Greeks, Phoenicians and Romans during ancient Graeco-Roman world; trades of goods during the 15th century between Portuguese, Italians and Africans; the transatlantic slave trade between Africans and several European nations;<sup>162</sup> and the relationships between African peoples such as the Fulbe, Bambara, Mande, and Berber within Africa.<sup>163</sup> Malawian historian Paul Tiyambe Zeleza posits that there are "four dominant dimensions of the global African diasporas, namely, the intra-Africa, Indian Ocean, Mediterranean, and Atlantic diasporas" and provide specific examples such as Ethiopia trading with Sri Lanka since the 5th century.<sup>164</sup>

Drawing upon the extensive cultural flows leading up to the transatlantic slave trade and with Asia, scholars also reveal the tremendous amount of Relations or ciphas throughout the transatlantic and what eventually becomes the Americas. Although the slave trade legally ended in 1808, Gomez highlights that Europeans continued to bring Africans over after this date.<sup>165</sup> He also brings forth the relationships with Africans throughout the transatlantic, from Negroes in North America, to the negritude of francophone areas to *negrismo* in Spanish-speaking locales.<sup>166</sup> Additionally diasporic Africans continue the cipa by traveling to the continent and pan-African conferences

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<sup>160</sup> I capitalized the R in relations to point to Glissant's identification of the poetics of Relation and not the generally understood conception of relationships. Glissant proclaims that since identities are extended through relations with others "we no longer need to add: relation between what and what? This is why the French word Relation, which functions somewhat like an intransitive verb, could not correspond, for example, to the English term relationship" (*Poetics of Relations*, 27).

<sup>161</sup> Stuart Hall, "Cultural Identity and Cinematic Representation," *Framework: The Journal of Cinema and Media*, no. 36 (1989): 78. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/44111666>.

<sup>162</sup> Michael Angelo Gomez, *Reversing Sail: A History of the African Diaspora* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

<sup>163</sup> Michael Angelo Gomez, *Exchanging Our Country Marks: The Transformation of African Identities in the Colonial and Antebellum South* (Chapel Hill, NC: UNC Press, 1998), 46.

<sup>164</sup> Paul Tiyambe Zeleza, "Rewriting the African Diaspora: Beyond the Black Atlantic," *African Affairs* 104, no. 414 (2005), 35.

<sup>165</sup> Michael Angelo Gomez, *Reversing Sail: A History of the African Diaspora* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005) 142.

<sup>166</sup> Gomez, *Reversing Sail: A History of the African Diaspora*, 189.

such as the first one held in London.<sup>167</sup> Moreover, the Europeans carrying of Africans to First Nation land west of the Atlantic that creates the cipa between varying European nations, African peoples and Indigenous peoples. Furthermore, there is the cultural flow along with movement throughout the Americas, the slave trade between the Caribbean and British colonies;<sup>168</sup> the domestic slave trade within the British Colonies; the self-emancipations to Canada, Spanish Florida, Caribbean, North and out West. Alongside the well-known Great Migration, there is the movement from the Caribbean to North America during the 20th century with some going to New York.

This brief and incomplete account of African Relations with others highlight significant cultural exchanges throughout time and space, including an immeasurable number of flows and ciphas that collide with the Bronx community in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Glissant's description of memory explains how griots are ciphering with teenagers on Sedgwick Ave. He states: "Memory in our works is not a calendar memory; our experience of time does not keep company with the rhythms of month and year alone."<sup>169</sup> As a result "our generations are caught up within an extended family in which our root stocks have diffused and everyone had two names, an official one and an essential one-the nickname given by his community."<sup>170</sup> Cheryl Sterling describes memory, cultural practices and African family when discussing how the spiritual exist in the body this way: "These oral-kinetic inscriptions on the body, the formulaic chants, songs, calls, prayers, and divination sequences are integral to the African matrix that traversed traumatic space and lives because of the 'praxis of embodiment' that keeps memory refreshed."<sup>171</sup> Sterling's description brings together our understanding of the ways in which African diasporic peoples living in the Bronx join into the ciphas and flows by carrying rhythm, knowledge, memory and cultural creativity in their bodies. Glissant and Sterling help us to go beyond the limits of time and space, by re-envisioning African bodies as portals to every cultural flow and cipa.

While I am not attempting to make an argument for the spiritual, these scholars point to the necessity of creating space for the unseen forces acting on Africans in the Bronx and provide a perspective that can help us to make sense of Hip Hop as an African diasporic phenomenon. As many of the scholars have explained throughout the first wave, the Bronx not only included Africans from several diasporas, which elucidates Glissant's desire for community and not a domineering solitary group, but, also, the actual challenging of hegemonic Whites, the mixing of cultural aesthetics, and a desire to be identified as African people.<sup>172</sup> Hip Hoppas Doug E. Fresh and Prof. X articulate Hip

<sup>167</sup> Gomez, *Reversing Sail*, 180.

<sup>168</sup> Hilary Beckles, "'An Unfeeling Traffick': The Intercolonial Movement of Slaves in the British Caribbean, 1807-1833," In *The Chattel Principle: Internal Slave Trades in the Americas*, edited by Walter Johnson and Davis David Brion, 256-74. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004.

<sup>169</sup> Glissant, *Poetics of Relations*, 72.

<sup>170</sup> Glissant, *Poetics of Relations*, 72.

<sup>171</sup> Sterling, *African Roots, Brazilian Rites: Cultural and National Identity in Brazil*, 42.

<sup>172</sup> Carolyn Cooper discusses the relationship between reggae and rap and highlights several rap songs that are Jamaican origin in "Ragamuffin Sounds Crossing Over from Reggae to Rap and Back," 1998.

Hop's African identity. Doug E. Fresh shares in an interview: "And when I went to Africa some of the brothers over there told me that they think that it's African, tribal. I never looked at it like that. And it was *embedded* in me, and it just came out."<sup>173</sup> Doug E also says that Hip Hop is "very spiritual" and "very tribal."<sup>174</sup> Prof. X claims: "Because, via the drum it connects our African genes whether we are conscious of our connections or not."<sup>175</sup> The words of Doug E and Prof. X can be easily understood in light of Glissant and Sterling notions of memory, spirituality, the body and the African network of ciphaz and flows.

One question that a recognition of Hip Hop as an African diasporic phenomenon manifesting in the Bronx may raise is how do we reconcile the importance of the Bronx and the presence of Hip Hop in regions around the world? Glissant is adamant about diasporic spaces not becoming rooted territories. Actually, this perspective goes along with not recognizing American culture as imperialist. Again, Africans in America have a contested relationship with America where some do not claim the American nationality. Also, the Bronx is not a root just like Africa is not a root. The Bronx, North America and South America are "produced in the chaotic network of Relation"<sup>176</sup> and offers a clearer depiction of relational networks on a particular land due the numerous peoples who have contacted this land for a clearly identifiable five hundred years. Therefore, I posit, in the same way we have followed the ciphaz and flows that lead to the Bronx, we can now connect them to the Hip Hop network of relations in the Americas. Moving forward, I contend that we attempt to trace the flows and ciphaz between peoples along with Hip Hop's growth.

### *Black Internationalism - Reconsidering Glocalization*

The identification of Hip Hop as an African diasporic phenomenon can address several of the other key discussions through the first two waves, glocalization, authenticity and language. Since scholars have provided enough time analyzing Hip Hop based on Robertson's glocal perspective, we should shift towards focusing on Hip Hop across regional boundaries. From an African diasporic perspective, there is a long history of "Black internationalism." In addition to the great work done by scholars connecting Hip Hop in particular regions to the Black freedom struggle, Michael O. West's, William G. Martin's, and Fanon Che Wilkins' edited collection *From Toussaint to Tupac: The Black International since the Age of Revolution* (2009) does an exceptional job of conveying the Black freedom struggle focusing on a time period between the late 1700s to the 21st century and on both sides of the Atlantic. They define "Black internationalism" as

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David Toop explains how Bambaataa got the name of Zulu nation from a 1960s film where the Zulus overpowered the British in *The Rap Attack: African Jive to New York Hip Hop* (1984).

<sup>173</sup> Joseph D. Eure and James G Spady, *Nation Conscious Rap: The Hip Hop Vision*, (New York: PC International Press, 1991) 5.

<sup>174</sup> Eure and Spady, *Nation Conscious Rap*, 5.

<sup>175</sup> Eure and Spady, *Nation Conscious Rap*, 191.

<sup>176</sup> Glissant, *Poetics of Relation*, 144.

[A] product of consciousness, that is, the conscious interconnection and interlocution of black struggles across man-made and natural boundaries including the boundaries of nations, empires, continents, oceans, and seas. From the outset, black internationalism envisioned a circle of universal emancipation, unbroken in space and time.<sup>177</sup>

The key component of their depiction of Black internationalism is the connection they make of Black internationals across space and time. The book elucidates “how local struggles intersected with one another across diverse boundaries to form, loosely and informally, a black international that was greater than the sum total of its constituent parts.”<sup>178</sup> Whereas scholars have used glocalization to account for the processes of globalization while recognizing the ways in which the local creates its own Hip Hop, Black internationalism pushes scholars of global Hip Hop studies to think about the spatial and temporal boundaries of the local. Moreover, West and Martin spotlight non-Blacks who supported Black internationalism such as the Comintern. The Comintern had been “perhaps, the era’s sole international white-led movement to adopt an avowedly antiracist platform, and certainly the only one formally dedicated to a revolutionary transformation of the global political and racial order.”<sup>179</sup>

As a result, I propose that in reconsidering the local boundaries of time and space, we draw attention to the ciphaz and flows of Hip Hop. Technological advancements greatly factor into contemporary analysis of Hip Hop. A good example that accounts for technology and transcends boundaries is Jessica Pabón-Colón’s interview with the Ladies Destroying Crew (LDC) of Nicaragua and Costa Rica “Daring to Be ‘Mujeres Libres, Lindas, Locas.’” Pabón-Colón explain how these women “do feminism” through their graffiti and document their work on Facebook, Tumblr and blogs. Her informal research had occurred through a private Facebook group “Female International Graffiti” where she had first discovered LDC art. In the interview, LDC share that they had met first on Facebook and then in person. In addition to women from two different regions coming together and using technology to network, they explicitly express why they use the Internet, LA KYD says “It’s a way of spreading my art without borders.”<sup>180</sup> The transcultural flows between Nicaragua and Costa Rica, expands over the Internet to the point where the cipa continues around the world, even Pabón-Colón joins the cipa. As more Hip Hoppas read her work, check out LDC graffiti and discover more graffiti artists the cipa keeps going. Furthermore, all of the socio-historical and cultural elements that influence Nicaraguan women graffiti artists collide with those of Costa Rica bringing together multiple ciphaz and flows.

<sup>177</sup> Michael O. West, William G. Martin, and Fanon Che Wilkin, *From Toussaint to Tupac: The Black International since the Age of Revolution* (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 2009) 1.

<sup>178</sup> West, Martin and Wilkin, *From Toussaint to Tupac*, 1.

<sup>179</sup> West, Martin and Wilkin, *From Toussaint to Tupac*, 16.

<sup>180</sup> Jessica Pabón-Colón, “Daring to Be ‘Mujeres Libres, Lindas, Locas,’” in *La Verdad: An International Dialogue on Hip Hop Latinidades*, edited by Melissa Castillo-Garsow and Jason Nichols (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2016) 211.

*Appropriation/Authenticity Discussion*

The perspective of Hip Hop as an African diasporic phenomenon that is inclusive of multiple flows and ciphaz is relevant to the appropriation and authenticity discussion as well. I claim that the best approach to this appropriation and authenticity discussion is to think about Hip Hop on a spectrum. On one end of the spectrum, that I believe Hip Hop can agree on, is hegemonic Whiteness. As discussed, this is the hegemonic Whiteness in which Whites maintain a position of power while non-Whites are subjugated. This position of power is maintained through a variety of ways. While we can all agree on one end of the spectrum, the other end is where Hip Hop can discuss further. I believe that a critical understanding of the Bronx is opposite of hegemonic Whiteness. I choose the change of the decade, from the late 1960s into the early 1970s as the historical time. During this moment, the many flows and ciphaz of African cultures, worldviews, politics, languages, and way of existing in the world reveals itself to and through a community of diverse African diasporic peoples in many of the same ways that the flows and ciphaz interacted with Africans and those experiencing dispossession. Therefore, I conceptualize this spectrum to have a thriving and vibrant African and African diasporic community coming together against oppression on one side and hegemonic Whiteness aiming to keep control on the other.

This reframing of the appropriation and authenticity discussion does not ask how people outside of the US appropriate African American popular culture. Rather, it questions where that community or individual who claims Hip Hop is on the scale? In many ways, this brings together components of all the scholarly contributions to discovering “real Hip Hop.” Yvonne Bynoe almost described the space on the scale close to African diasporic phenomenon by identifying the specialized identity of Blackness and tell their story. Glissant’s and Sterling’s description of memory reveals the embodied nature of Hip Hop as an African diasporic phenomenon. As already mentioned, Alastair Pennycook and Tony Mitchell point to Somalian MC K’Naan and Australian Indigenous Wire MC to situate the origins of Hip Hop within indigenous traditions, but I would like to point out that it is not a coincidence that they choose two Africans to make their argument.<sup>181</sup> The “Boomerang” hypothesis is incorrect because it creates boundaries that do not exist between Africans and African diasporic peoples. The flows and ciphaz that make up Hip Hop never stops, and the ancestors are present in New York and Africa and Australia because those are all the places Africans have been. As a result, I argue that only those who can embody the African flows and ciphaz can fully inhabit that space on the spectrum.

In between the two boundaries of the spectrum, we can locate Osumare’s connective marginalities, Speer’s “living out” cultures, and Maxwell’s notion of location of self to the world. Additionally, West’s and Martin’s description of the Comintern provides the ideal model for Whites to engage with Hip Hop. My spectrum model also helps us better understand the concerns surrounding appropriation. The dangers of

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<sup>181</sup> Scholars argue that the Indigenous inhabitants of Australia have migrated from Africa.

moving away from the African diasporic identity to Whiteness are the ways in which Hip Hop perpetuates White Supremacy. In examining African and African diasporic communities, many of the elements of Hip Hop are found throughout the community. There is a rhythm to African communities, communal dances are normal, girls pick up on double dutching and hula hooping quite easily, it is not unusual to see a circle form to rap or just talk, and do not be surprised if members of a community are “making beats” on a lunchroom table. My concern with many of the scholarly works on Hip Hop is that scholars have found particular individuals or groups to make their argument but the majority of that city, region or country do not hold the same views on Hip Hop or treat people justly. Additionally, while Hip Hop maybe beneficial in some way to that particular individual or community, they still play a role in supporting oppression.

Picking up on the scholarly discussion of Hip Hop in Japan, Japanese Hip Hop provides an example of how Hip Hop can provide a voice for the youth yet still perpetuate racism. I already shared Ian Condry’s response to Yvonne Bynoe about Hip Hop in Japan. The next scholar to respond to Condry is Dexter Thomas in “Niggers and Japs: The Formula Behind Japanese Hip-Hop’s Racism,” where he argues “one aspect of Japanese hip-hop that appears to have largely escaped academic attention is the fact that while hip-hop culture is generally assumed to be anti-establishment, Japanese hip-hop is at times explicitly nationalist, or even racist.”<sup>182</sup> Thomas says directly to Condry (and Osumare because Condry uses connective marginalities) “‘connectivity’ between blacks and Japanese can be manufactured, ‘marginalities’ can be imagined, and borrowed ‘oppression’ can be in turn wielded against the oppressed.”<sup>183</sup> He drives his very strong argument home by sharing and analyzing Japanese rapper K Dub Shine remarks at an event celebrating the translation of Condry’s *Hip Hop Japan*. At this event, Shine answer a question about using the term “Jap” by making “a fictive ‘connective marginality’” between Jap and the N word.<sup>184</sup> Thomas explains that Jap does not even come close to carrying the weight and history of the trauma associated with the N word. The only reason Shine makes this comparison is to address his own anxiety and desire to affiliate with Blackness. More importantly, Shine’s answer does not acknowledge Japan’s colonization of other countries. While some Japanese Hip Hop can have an appreciation for Blacks and the culture, just like Shine, their involvement can play a crucial role in propagating imperialism.

### *The N Word and Bias*

Thomas’ analysis of Japanese Hip Hop using the N word also applies to non-Black scholars using the N word. Non-Black scholars’ usage of the N word points to a bigger question of scholar’s position in relation to Hip Hop and the people they are writing about. In the special issue “Hip Hop and Religion And,” I wrote a statement after the

<sup>182</sup> Dexter Thomas, “Niggers and Japs: The Formula Behind Japanese Hip-Hop’s Racism,” *Social Identities* 22 no. 2 (2016): 210-211.

<sup>183</sup> Thomas, “Niggers and Japs,” 211.

<sup>184</sup> Thomas, “Niggers and Japs,” 216.

article of a White scholar specific to him not typing it out.<sup>185</sup> Some scholars may not be aware but there is a longstanding debate on who can even say the N word and along those lines, who can type it out.<sup>186</sup> I am on the side of not even wanting Blacks to call each other by that name. Being Hip Hop means taking accountability for one's actions. I challenge Hip Hop scholars to be accountable to Hip Hop.

There is a necessity of bringing up accountability in this particular situation because scholars are blind to their own racism, cis-sexism, ableism and other ways in which they perpetuate oppression. Thomas is a Black male and Ian Condry is a White male, it is not a coincidence that Condry (who types out the N word) did not home in on its usage in his analysis. There are several scholarly works by non-Blacks in which it is typed out.<sup>187</sup> Being a scholar in the academy does not provide a license to use it or spell it out. White scholars who have spelled out the N word are not aware of their own racism and the current publishing system does not catch these biases. In most cases, White scholars are writing to Whites other Whites, the pieces are being sent to publishers with mostly White reviewers and they are all talking about an African diasporic culture. Along those same lines, while writing about Hip Hop may be an academic exercise, the experiences of colonization, coloniality, hegemonic Whiteness, dispossession and other oppressive events that have destroyed African diasporic lives raises the stakes and brings a heaviness to this subject. As a result, non-Black scholars and especially White scholars need to recognize their position when studying, researching and writing about Hip Hop.<sup>188</sup>

### Moving Forward

Following up on my analysis of the first two waves, here I put forward conceptions for moving global Hip Hop studies to Hip Hop studies while maintaining a global outlook. I recommend that Hip Hop studies privilege African and African diasporic scholars, that we implement performance studies into our examination of Hip Hop and that we look at Hip Hop as truly global.

#### *Privilege African and African diasporic scholars*

Since Hip Hop is an African diasporic phenomenon and Africans embody memories that connect them to generations of African peoples, African and African diasporic scholars have a unique relationship to Hip Hop. I choose to use Glissant to

<sup>185</sup> Travis Harris, "Hip Hop and Religion And," *Journal of Hip Hop Studies* 5 no. 1 (2018): 151.

<sup>186</sup> Jacquelyn Rahman, "The N Word: Its History and Use in the African American Community," *Journal of English Linguistics* 40, no. 2 (2012): 137-171.

<sup>187</sup> Elina Westinen, "'Still Alive, Nigga': Multi-Semiotic Constructions of Self as Other in Finnish Rap Music Videos," In *Social Media Discourse, (Dis)identifications and Diversities* edited by S. Leppänen, E. Westinen, and S. Kytölä (London: Routledge, 2017) 335-360.

<sup>188</sup> White people have no space to tell Black people about the morality and acceptability of using the N word.



understand ciphaz and flows and KRS One to identify Hip Hop. Whereas KRS postulates that the “collective consciousness” of Hip Hop gets the closest to what Hip Hop truly is, the translated text of Glissant’s *Poetics of Relations* also uses the term “collective consciousness,” and in one instance, to discuss the quality of relationships.<sup>189</sup> One possibility is that KRS could have read Glissant. Another option, which I am leaning towards, is that they are a part of the “African matrix” that Sterling mentions in describing the ways in which Africans bear memories and ways of being and knowing the world in their bodies.

Paul Gilroy has been heavily referenced in the first and second waves, but I argue that Hip Hop studies should move away from Gilroy. He is most often cited for his notion of the Black Atlantic but several scholars have highlighted the shortcomings of this ideology such as Malawian historian Paul Tiyambe Zeleza’s groundbreaking article “Rewriting the African Diaspora: Beyond the Black Atlantic” (2005), and Sohail Daulatzai’s article “War at 33 1/3: Hip Hop, the Language of the Unheard, and the Afro-Asian Atlantic,” and Annalisa Oboe and Anna Scacchi’s edited volume *Recharting the Black Atlantic* (2008).<sup>190</sup> All of these scholars agree that Gilroy is too myopic in his scope, both theoretically and geographically. They push for expanding the investigations “between Africa and Europe, between the Atlantic and the Mediterranean, across the Pacific and the Indian Oceans, and within the Americas.”<sup>191</sup> Ideologically, they point to similar arguments that Glissant make about Relations and what I am calling flows and ciphaz. Oboe and Scacchi state: “There is a sense of dispersion, caused by the infinite possibilities of such a fluid landscape.”<sup>192</sup> Since I am not advocating for Gilroy, an African diasporic scholar, who do I recommend? In addition to the African and African diasporic scholars I have used in my analysis,<sup>193</sup> the few that I will point out are, John Miller Chernoff, Vincent Harding, John Baugh, Jenny Mbaye, Imani Johnson, Marcyliena Morgan, Sujatha Fernandes and Don C. Ohadike.<sup>194</sup>

### *Performance Theory*

This shift that I am hoping for in focusing on African and African diasporic scholars aims to move the academic conversation in a different direction. Surprisingly, global Hip Hop studies and Hip Hop studies as a whole has not received enough scholarly attention from a performance studies framework. This lack of attention contributes to the heavy focus on lyrical analysis and the misrepresentation of Hip Hop.

<sup>189</sup> Glissant, *Poetics of Relation*, 162

<sup>190</sup> Interestingly, Oboe and Scacchi claim about the Black Atlantic is similar to Kubik’s concern about roots: “Locating a black counterculture of modernity in the Atlantic and finding its genealogy in the slave trade, in fact, is complicit with the familiar stereotyping of Africa as the primitive ‘dark continent’” Annalisa Oboe and Anna Scacchi, *Recharting the Black Atlantic: Modern Cultures, Local Communities, Global Connections* (New York and London: Routledge, 2008) 5.

<sup>191</sup> Oboe and Scacchi, *Recharting the Black Atlantic*, 5.

<sup>192</sup> Oboe and Scacchi, *Recharting the Black Atlantic*, 5.

<sup>193</sup> I have only used African and African diasporic scholars in my analysis.

<sup>194</sup> I created this short list of African and African diasporic scholars based on those who research Hip Hop already from a global perspective or have written about African aesthetics.

Performance studies every aspect of “performing,” how people perform in everyday life, how they perform at the job or in school, how they perform on the stage and, in focusing on Hip Hop, how rappers perform on the track, the variety of performances in music videos, television shows, movies and on stage. For example, from a performance studies perspective, there is a tension between what is “real?” At times, performance allows for full expression of realness and at other times, performances are intentionally staged. Therefore, if the rapper is performing a “staged” performance but academics analyze their lyrics as if they are keeping it real, then they are missing the point of the song that they claim to understand.

In recommending performance studies, it may appear that I am moving away from African and African diasporic scholars. Richard Schechner explicates that the “philosophical antecedents to performance studies” are the philosophies of Plato and his student Aristotle.<sup>195</sup> Samuel T. Livingston, in “Speech is My Hammer, It’s Time to Build: Hip Hop, Cultural Semiosis and the Africana Intellectual Heritage” (2014), reveals “Plato, who pioneered the theory of forms, ideal and manifest, studied at Memphis with the priest Khnuphis and at Heliopolis with Sekhnuphis.”<sup>196</sup> As such, while many of the performance studies scholars are influenced by Plato, they are still learning from Africans. Some of the African diasporic scholars I suggest for using performance studies in examining Hip Hop are E. Patrick Johnson, D. Soyini Madison, Thomas DeFrantz, Anita Gonzalez, and Harvey Young.

### *Truly Global*

My third recommendation for moving global Hip Hop studies to Hip Hop studies with a global view is to not lose sight of the global while examining the local. Due to the influence of glocalization, the desire to ensure that unique local Hip Hop cultures and identities are not lost in the midst of the processes of globalization, I postulate that scholars have focused too heavily on the local at the expense of the global. While this has happened in the observation of regional Hip Hop cultures, moving forward, we can prevent this from happening in the scholarly conversation. My desire for scholars to be aware of the work of other scholars is the reason why I provide the names of scholarly works throughout this article and why we include the bibliography in this special issue. I am motivated to publish this bibliography in order to bring the academic Hip Hop studies community together.

By having access to this bibliography, scholars can now quickly reference work in their particular area. While scholars have noted that certain methods and theoretical approaches have not been conducted in research in their particular location, it has been done in other locations. Therefore, Hip Hop scholars who may be examining a region that has had a small amount of scholarship completed in that area can derive tools from other

<sup>195</sup> Richard Schechner, *Performance Studies: An Introduction* (New York and London: Routledge, 2012) 15.

<sup>196</sup> Samuel T. Livingston, “Speech is My Hammer, It’s Time to Build: Hip Hop, Cultural Semiosis and the Africana Intellectual Heritage.” *Journal of Hip Hop Studies*, Vol. 1, No. 1, (2014):41.

areas that studies have been completed. This can be done not only regionally, but for scholars examining language, gender, sexuality, education and all of the subjects in which Hip Hop scholars are interested in. Moreover, since Hip Hop scholarship is interdisciplinary, Hip Hop scholars can look at other disciplines and acquire new methodological and theoretical approaches. This cross-discipline, cross-fields, methodological, theoretical and globally connected approach to Hip Hop studies will move the field forward.

### Conclusion - From Global Hip Hop Back to Hip Hop

Hip Hop's flows and ciphars from the African interchanges with Asians to diasporic Africans in the favelas in Brazil to Whites in Sydney, Australia, to "Blacks" in Sri Lanka to producers, bgirls, gender non-conforming rappers, queer identified deejays, to Hip Hop cinemas in France, Chican@s on the West Coast, and Blacks in the Global South Relational identity bringing them all together into one network makes it very difficult to proclaim "It's bigger than Hip Hop." The challenge for scholars of Hip Hop studies is to make sense of the vast phenomenon while working along with those in the culture and translating Hip Hop to the academy in the classroom and at conferences. I argue that the best way to understand this multifaceted global entity is to collapse our current subfield of global Hip Hop studies into Hip Hop studies with a global perspective.

The conception of Hip Hop as an African diasporic phenomenon made up of flows and ciphars combined with approach Hip Hop studies globally opens up new possibilities to imagine what Hip Hop could look like in the future. African diasporic scholar Tanya Saunders' research journey in Cuba helps us to begin to envision the full potential of Hip Hop (Studies).<sup>197</sup> Saunders shares her journey in *Cuban Underground Hip Hop: Black Thoughts, Black Revolution, Black Modernity* (2015), a semilongitudinal study of the first generation of the Cuban Underground Hip Hop Movement (CUHHM).<sup>198</sup> She started her research in Cuba as an undergrad in 1998 and was interested in race, gender and sexuality. She continued her research in Cuba at the graduate level and initially joined the underground Hip Hop community just to socialize. After conducting research in Cuba on race, gender and sexuality for several years, she became frustrated. She attended the University of Michigan and the school required that Saunders had a formal research affiliation in Cuba in order to complete her doctoral work. It was difficult for her to maintain one because "in Cuba if you want to focus on 'contentious issues' you have to frame it as a historical project, before 1959, or as a cultural project."<sup>199</sup> In the midst of her

<sup>197</sup> I place studies in () to say that if we truly reach what Hip Hop studies could be, there is a no separation between the academy and the culture.

<sup>198</sup> Tanya Saunders, *Cuban Underground Hip Hop: Black Thoughts, Black Revolution, Black Modernity* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2015) 2.

<sup>199</sup> Her other problem was: "Until approximately 2005 it was illegal for Cubans, specifically Black people, to interact with 'tourists'" (*Cuban Underground Hip Hop*, 4). She could not cause trouble by talking about tough topics that would bring attention to her.

frustration, anxiety about finishing her research project and feeling lost, Cuban scholar and poet Víctor Fowler-Calzada said these few words: “Culture. Focus on culture.”<sup>200</sup> Although it did not click when Fowler-Calzada first said it, when Saunders went to sleep that night:

I woke up in the middle of the night and thought: “Hip hop! The cultural sphere!” I realized that my friends and the circles in which I was roaming all centered around the hip hop movement. Everyone in the movement was talking about the issues that I was interested in, from the artists on the stage to the people who formed the movement’s public. I understood that by focusing on the group Las Krudas CUBENSI and female rappers and MCs such as Magia MC, La Yula, DJ Leydis, and others I could learn about feminism, gender, and sexuality in Cuba. All this time I had been attending underground lesbian parties, hip hop after-parties, concerts, conversations, symposia – I had a wealth of ethnographic data about everyday life in Cuba. Most importantly, I became aware that I had been talking to activists working for social change all along.<sup>201</sup>

While it is not clear how she resolved her research affiliation requirement, what is clear is that Hip Hop had allowed her to study “contentious issues” in a country where she had to be careful of her identity, not be limited to a particular time period and make connections outside of Cuba. Additionally, she examines topics and events such as “feminism, gender, and sexuality” and “underground lesbian parties” that receive scholars have not paid enough attention to.

In her particular situation, Hip Hop appears to be the only field she could analyze in order to understand activism and revolutionary change. If that is true, then that elevates the importance of Hip Hop and propels us into thinking about its potential. One component of Saunders’ story it highlights about Hip Hop and Hip Hop studies is its adaptability and flexibility. None of the barriers, including but not limited to: institutional (Michigan requirements), legal (talking to tourists), governmental (no research post 1959), research interest (feminism, gender, sexuality and activism), temporal (allows her to focus on contemporary issues) or spatial (she is not bound by Cuba), could prevent Hip Hop or the study of it. While studying Hip Hop allows her to overcome these barriers, she had not been able to study race, gender and sexuality because of them. At the same time, this points to the inability of other fields to complete this study such as history.

The government, the University or the topic could not hold Hip Hop or Hip Hop studies down. What then can we imagine Hip Hop studies to do and be? Hip Hop is feminism. Hip Hop studies is cultural studies. Hip Hop is history. Hip Hop studies is the study of race and ethnicity. Hip Hop is queer. Hip Hop studies is the study of the law and business. Hip Hop is hood. Hip Hop studies is linguistics. Hip Hop is education. Hip Hop studies has no boundaries, but it has a framework. Therefore, I proclaim, this flexible, adaptable, boundaryless phenomenon - Hip Hop studies - is interdisciplinary,

<sup>200</sup> Saunders, *Cuban Underground Hip Hop*, 4.

<sup>201</sup> Saunders, *Cuban Underground Hip Hop*, 4-5.

multidisciplinary, cross-disciplinary and transdisciplinary all at the same time.<sup>202</sup> Hip Hop transcends disciplinary boundaries but still has the ability to be an academic discipline. Moving forward, I challenge all of us, from the classroom to the corner, to tap into our “collective consciousness” and reveal what truly is Hip Hop.

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<sup>202</sup> To see an explanation of each, see <https://medium.com/we-learn-we-grow/what-is-transdisciplinary-13c16eacf57d>.

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<sup>203</sup> I referenced the complete (Global) Hip Hop Studies bibliography throughout this essay. This bibliography is included in the special issue as an individual article. This selected bibliography highlights the works of Africana scholars that can be used in moving the field forward.

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