
Hip Hop and Race

ANTHONY KWAME HARRISON

Hip hop, as a form of music and popular culture, has become one of the foremost arenas in which discussions of race, racial injustices and the transformation of racial meanings occur. Through song and celebrity, hip-hop voices offer immediate commentaries on newsworthy racial events as well as critical observations on historical and ongoing patterns of race-based inequality. Some scholars of hip-hop music have hailed it as a postmodern multicultural form that reflects the fluidity and malleability through which young people today fashion their identities; still others view it as perpetuating some of the most damaging ideologies of race and models of racialized behavior in contemporary society.

In this chapter, I survey how sociological researchers and commentators have examined and understood hip hop in relation to race.¹ My discussion is primarily set within the United States. I do this with the awareness that hip hop is a global phenomenon and that racial issues are not unique to the United States. Nevertheless, most conventional treatments situate hip hop's crystallization within a US context. Furthermore, the racial dynamics that saturate US society—historically and contemporarily—are among the most dynamic and globally consequential. Indeed, some have suggested that hip hop's worldwide spread has contributed to exporting US notions of race to a generation of global youth.

Conceptually, this chapter is organized around two central dyads as well as four related core questions. Where the first dyad is concerned, I separate the music's production from its consumption in considering hip hop as a cultural product. Second, in considering race—and given the canonical scholarly treatment of rap as black music—I distinguish between hip hop's relationship to black people (individuals and communities) and non-black people.² In terms of the latter, most attention and scrutiny have customarily been given to white hip-hop fans (see Allinson 1994, Roediger 1998, Tate 2003, Hess 2005). Finally, where I have previously used a chronological framework to outline hip-hop scholarship's treatment of race (Harrison 2008), here I de-emphasize the timeline approach largely to show the consistency and resiliency of key debates.

In the late 1980s, Chuck D of the group Public Enemy famously referred to rap music as black America's CNN—suggesting that it functioned as “an alternative, youth-controlled media network” (Chang 2005: 251) that narrated the experiences of being young and black in the urban United States. In the ensuing “culture wars” that accompanied hip hop's rise to mainstream prominence, numerous advocates would adopt this perspective in response to conservative critics, who were quick to blame the music for inspiring a host of social ills (Lipsitz 1998). The sociological studies on rap that first appeared within this context by and large sought to defend hip hop and the artists/communities that created it. Rose (1994: 184), for example, located hip hop's emergence within

the shifting capitalist structures and rising inequality of post-industrial New York, adding that “although rappers are some of the most prominent social critics in contemporary culture, they remain some of the most institutionally policed and stigmatized.”

These pivotal years were marked by a shift in music industry structure that saw many small independent hip-hop record companies being bought up or bought out by large corporate labels (Henderson 1996, Basu 2005). Concurrently, rap’s foremost authenticating tropes were transformed from *Afrocentric* bases to *ghettocentric* ones (Smith 1997)—that is, the politically conscious rap of the late 1980s gave way to images of violence, drugs and sexuality associated with “gansta” lifestyles. To some this change continued the well-worn US practice of fetishizing racial differences in order to appeal to white audiences (Quinn 2005, Heaggans 2009). Out of this conflation one of the most salient debates surrounding hip-hop music as it relates to blackness and black performance emerged.

Question 1: Do hip-hop songs and by extension video representations—which are mediated through historically white-controlled, profit-driven entertainment industries—offer genuine windows into black-US experiences and perspectives or are they carefully engineered racial representations designed to appeal to mainstream consumer tastes?

Sociologists of popular music are typically suspicious of the distance between a music style’s community-based origins and the music industry corridors that produce it as a commodified product. Yet many sociological studies of rap music understand it as a form of *hidden transcript* (Scott 1990), which follows from a tradition of subversive black aesthetics (McDonnell 1992, Lusane 1993, Stapleton 1998, Neff 2009, Gosa 2011).³ One of the principle proponents of this view, Rose (1994: 99), elaborates: “Under social conditions in which sustained frontal attacks on powerful groups are strategically unwise or unsuccessfully contained, oppressed people use language, dance, and music to mock those in power, express rage, and produce fantasies of subversion.”

Whereas much of this scholarship appears to be inspired by some allegiance to hip hop, sociologists who are seemingly less allied question the authenticity of rap’s dominant images and consider the various interests such images serve. This is particularly relevant since, according to Jeffries (2011), most hip-hop listeners make little to no connection between the operations of the cultural industries that stand behind the proliferation of certain rap songs and their commercial success.

Two astute and influential sociological commentaries on the importance of white culture-brokers in rap music’s formative years came from non-academic writers Samuels (1991) and George (1998). Neal historicized these developments by illustrating how the post-civil-rights entertainment industries sought to supplant black culture as a legitimate community resource and recast it as a commodity that could be bought and sold. He concluded that “Hip-Hop emerge[d] as the first black popular music form to develop largely unmediated by communal critique from the formal and informal structures of the traditional Black Public Sphere” (Neal 1997: 133–134). Negus (1999) similarly drew attention to the disjuncture between music industry organizational structures and the cultural practices through which rap music is made, emphasizing the constraints imposed by an industry culture that is itself part of a wider society that harbors racial anxieties about rap music and the people who make it.

The correspondence between rap’s popular ascendance and prevailing imagery that conformed to stereotypes about dangerous black bodies (Sharpley-Whitney 2007, White 2011)—later augmented by visions of extravagant consumerism (Quinn 1996, Pattillo-McCoy 1999)—strongly suggested that the one-time youth-controlled information network had fallen under the jurisdiction of the corporate United States. Reflecting on this, De Genova (1995: 130) asked, “how is it that the commodification

of hip-hop in the mass media so obviously prioritized its blackness, at the expense of its distinctive Latino attributes?" De Genova's query introduces a second crucial issue that surrounds hip-hop "originalism" (Perry 2004) and race.

Question 2: Should rap music's community of origin be understood as solely black and in doing so are hip-hop historians ignoring the cultural contributions of Latinos, particularly Puerto Ricans?

Several early treatments of hip hop uncritically described its community of origin as exclusively black (Toop 1984, Henderson 1996). Yet almost as soon as definitive sociological scholarship on rap began appearing, a handful of works sought to address the omission of Latinos as founders. As Flores explained, "Puerto Ricans from the South Bronx and El Barrio have been involved in . . . rap music since the beginnings of hip hop" (Flores 1996: 85, see also del Barco 1996). At times, this issue has been settled through a hip-hop division of labor that emphasizes African Americans' prominence in musical endeavors while highlighting Puerto Ricans' contributions to dancing and graffiti (Harrison 2008). Yet, more commonly, scholars call attention to the intercultural hybridity reflected in the percussive rhythms and musical aesthetics that were popular in New York City at the time of hip hop's formation (Perkins 1996, Chang 2005). Rivera (2003) pointedly argues that, as fellow African-diasporic racial subjects, Puerto Ricans' racial location—which has a bearing on their connection to hip hop—stands between blackness and *Latinidad* (see also Ogbar 2007).

Despite the importance of highlighting these cultural dynamics, most efforts to champion the creative and resilient power of rap locate it within definitively black oral traditions. Keyes (1996), for example, presents rapping as part of an African-diasporic expressive practice of achieving meaning through tones, rhythms and the creative fluidities of oral texts. In her ethnography of emceeing in the Mississippi Delta, Neff (2009) understands distinct rap styles as emerging through combinations and ongoing conversations between various black expressive traditions rather than singular precise pathways. Neff furthermore draws attention to the generative and transformative power of speech and musical aesthetics. Similarly, in describing hip hop as "trickster music," Perry (2004: 31, see also Stapleton 1998) focuses on the oral textures through which hip-hop songs offer a "subtextual critique of society, and particularly white supremacy." Gosa (2011: 191) builds on this idea by exploring hip hop's potential as counterknowledge—defined as "an alternative knowledge system intended to entertain while challenging white dominated knowledge industries such as academia or the mainstream press." Where colorblind ideology and notions of a post-racial society have served to obscure racial inequities, Gosa (2011: 200) argues that counterknowledge seeks to "expose the architecture of stratification." Other works in this tradition pivot to examine how hip hop's formation within contexts of social subjugation enables its intercultural mobility. Morgan (2009: 14, 189), for instance, locates the lyrical performances of Los Angeles underground emcees within a tradition of "African American cultural, political, social, and artistic expression," which she argues makes itself available to other marginalized groups as a global symbol of resistance to "bigotry, stereotypes, and injustices of many kinds."

Rap's diffusion across race, social class and geographic spaces raises questions about the legitimacy of its various non-black manifestations. Concerns regarding cultural appropriation, that is, "the taking—from a culture that is not one's own—of intellectual property, cultural expressions or artifacts, history and ways of knowledge" (Ziff and Rao 1997: 1), saturate the history of scholarship on black music in the United States (Hall 1997). In a context in which the boundaries between cultural, if not racial, groups appear to be increasingly blurred, many hip-hop scholars seek to investigate the nature of this appropriation.

Question 3: Should non-black hip-hop artists—and especially white artists—be interpreted through traditional cultural appropriation frameworks or is something notably different going on?

In examining hip hop as black oppositional expression, Martinez (1997) allowed for the possibility that it could speak to other groups facing similar systematic injustices within the dominant social order. Delgado (1998) took this a step further by presenting early-1990s Chicano rappers as examples of Gramscian *organic intellectuals* who (re)articulated Chicano ideology and galvanized Mexican-American communities. Likewise, Irving (1993: 112) saw rap music as attempting to “overcome . . . exclusionary tactics and construct a multi-subjectivized position” across race and gender. Regarding race, she writes: “it is thus no contradiction that thriving Mexican and Asian hip hop cultures have sprung up, as the discourse of rap constructs an equivalence between the subject position of Blacks and other ethnic groups on the basis of their mutual oppression and desire for self determination” (113). A more comprehensive treatment is offered by Ogbar (2007), who interrogates the salience of race among emcees identifying as black, Latino, Asian-American and white. Through discussing instances of figurative passing, cultural appropriation and cultural melding among non-black rappers, Ogbar argues for the ability to simultaneously affirm non-black identity and appropriate black cultural styles.

Recently, sociologists have focused on hip-hop production within specific Asian-American communities. Sharma (2010), for example, looks at hip-hop Desi (South-Asian US) artists who use music as a way to identify *with* rather than as black people. Sharma (2010: 279) sees these artists as atypical South-Asian Americans whose critical consciousness enables them to “exert agency by pushing back on imposed identities and narrow expectations.” Similarly, Harrison (2012) describes how west coast Filipino-American youths’ recognition of their historically racialized social location inspires them to embrace hip hop as a mode of politically conscious knowledge building. By examining Asian-American rappers’ use of “strategic ‘preemptive strike[s]’” to anticipate critiques of their racial identity, Wang (2007: 38) complicates such readings. Wang (2006: 159) is hesitant to characterize cross-racial participation in hip hop as inherently liberating, arguing that “despite its long-standing cross-cultural appeal, [hip hop] is not an ideal space in which AfroAsian relations should be forged and developed.” Such concerns become even more contentious when applied to white hip-hop artists.

Authenticity has emerged as the primary conceptual framework through which debates over white artists’ appropriation of rap are discussed. The seminal piece of scholarship addressing hip-hop authenticity was authored by McLeod (1999: 139) who, through an analysis of how artists, fans and the press talk about rap, offered a binary model of “realness” and “fakeness.” Not surprisingly, with regard to race, McLeod found that “real” hip hop was associated with blackness while “fake” hip hop was associated with whiteness.⁴

Some of the most notable applications of racial authenticity within hip-hop studies have specifically focused on the white rapper Eminem. Hess (2005), for example, examined Eminem’s authentic rap performance against the backdrop of earlier white artists including the Beastie Boys and Vanilla Ice. He specifically cites the latter’s crucial role in setting the terms through which all white rappers who came after him negotiated their authenticity claims.⁵ Post-Vanilla-Ice white rappers were compelled to foreground their whiteness as a way of critically reflecting on their place within a black music tradition (see also Armstrong 2004). This reading parallels Wang’s observations about Asian-American artists’ preemptive efforts, thus raising questions about the extent to which these authenticating practices should be historically contextualized rather than attributed to Vanilla Ice’s signature influence. Kajikawa (2009) considers Eminem’s racialized performance within the context of evolving meanings of whiteness in US society. Kajikawa offers several potential readings

of Eminem; yet rather than deciding on one, he advocates continuing to look to popular culture as an important space in which changing racial meanings play out.

Shifting the focus from popular stardom to localized music scenes, Harkness's (2011) exploration of the processes through which white rappers in Chicago pursue authenticity rests on a conceptual division between gangsta-oriented (street) and backpacker-oriented (suburban) rappers. Presenting the gangsta and backpacker as ideal types, Harkness illustrates how both groups situationally prioritize being perceived as genuine and aspire to transgress black-white racial boundaries. In his ethnographic study of Bay Area underground hip hop, Harrison (2009) similarly discusses the way hip hoppers of various races and ethnicities deploy situational processes of racialization to assert their claims to and/or affiliations with hip-hop culture.

Several of the aforementioned works spotlight non-black rappers' efforts to foreground their racial identities; studies that specifically focus on the lyrical strategies used in emcee battling shed light on this practice. Cutler (2009), for example, describes how white rappers' double-consciousness—of how they are being perceived by black people—impacts their performative stances during battles. Alim, Lee and Carris (2010) extend Cutler's analysis by exploring how, in the context of battling, emcees perform and are performed—through parody and stylization—into racial and ethnic otherness. Although acknowledging black rappers' abilities to temporarily invert racial hierarchies in these performative spaces, the authors are reluctant to view this as a legitimate challenge to society's existing racial order.

Taken collectively these studies showcase the increased racial visibility of non-black rappers either as an effort to anticipate and stave off potential criticism and/or to secure a particular market. At the same time, more critical attention is paid to the representations of blackness, especially when they conform to stereotypical themes. There is also ambivalence regarding the political possibilities of a racially integrated hip-hop performance sphere, with the most hope lying where the music is pointedly political and attempts to speak foremost to a particular ethno-racial experience as opposed to across experiences.

Philosopher Paul C. Taylor and anthropologist John L. Jackson, respectively, have authored two of the most important pieces that seek to critically explore theories of culture and authenticity as they relate to hip hop, appropriation and race. In an essay entitled "Does Hip Hop Belong to Me?" Taylor questions which communities and, by extension, which individuals have a right to claim hip hop as theirs. By challenging the nature of authenticity as applied to culture, arguing that the concept obscures more than it reveals, Taylor presents hip hop as an ongoing process rather than a static thing. He concludes that "once we start to attend to the complexities of history, to the details of cultural borrowings and cross-fertilizations, it becomes hard to say when a culture really belongs to any single group" (Taylor 2005: 91). Jackson (2005: 182), in turn, outlines hip hop's cultural project as "constructing and deconstructing the social, cultural, and political boundaries placed around black bodies . . . in situation-specific ways." In critiquing how the meanings associated with blackness have been fabricated and propagated, Jackson (175) develops a notion of hip-hop sincerity that can potentially subvert the power connected to authenticity.

Question 4: What impact does rap music have on those who listen to it and in what ways does it work to support or undermine existing structures of racial inequality?

Justifiably or not, for many in the United States, hip hop is viewed as a window into the lives and lifestyles of urban black youth. This is certainly true for many white hip-hop consumers who are far removed from sizable communities of black people (Chideya 1999); yet it also holds true for black youth whose lives hip hop is purported to represent (Pattillo-McCoy 1999), as well as many hip-hop listeners situated between these two racial poles. Forman (2002: 9) discusses how the spatial

discourses surrounding hip hop have provided young people of all races with “a distinctive understanding of the social terrains and conditions under which ‘real’ black cultural identities are formed and experienced.” Although Forman (344) is critical of the problematic implications of “realness,” he concludes that hip hop serves as a site “for social debate on the contemporary convergences of youth, race, space, and place.”

In the early 1990s, statistics began to show that upwards of 70 percent of rap consumers were white teenagers.⁶ Such figures undoubtedly contributed to the public outcry regarding hip hop’s damaging influence. Examining media representations during the late 1980s, Binder (1993) argued that rap’s dangerous image was directly connected to the music’s association with blackness. In surveying Toronto high school students, Tanner, Ashbridge and Wortley (2009) found that rap listeners who were black appreciated the music’s resistant representations and were comparatively skeptical of its claims to gangsta authenticity; white and Asian youth who listened to rap, on the other hand, were more likely to be involved in criminal or delinquent activities.⁷ Likewise, Jeffries (2011) noted that black hip-hop listeners used the music as a form of identity development and consciousness-raising, and were therefore critically engaged and invested in evaluating its images of blackness, whereas white listeners were not.

A number of sociological studies explore rap music’s impacts on black gender relations and gender identities. Hutchinson’s (1999) ethnographic study of African-American male-female relations in a Houston gangsta rap nightclub, and Sharpley-Whitney’s (2007) examination of sexualized and misogynistic imagery in commercial hip hop both emphasize the more damaging effects that rap music can have on young black women. White (2011) looks comparatively at portrayals of black masculinity in the US racial imaginary, and how hip hop continues a legacy from earlier malevolent representational forms (see also Delaney 1997, Heaggans 2009). Kubrin (2005), in turn, argues that gangsta rap offers an interpretive resource through which young black men make sense of their lives that renders masculinity, violence, danger and unpredictability as normative.

Scholars have varied interpretations of white rap consumption. Whereas several view it as signaling shifting implications of race, with white youth seemingly rejecting the privileges of their status (Chideya 1999, see also Stephens 1991, Potter 1995), others see it as “a more complex expression of racism” that involves vicariously experiencing the perceived adventures of black urbanity (Watkins 2005: 97, see also Allinson 1994).⁸ Roediger (1998) grapples with these different understandings, ultimately concluding that white hip-hop fans are a “work in progress.” He notably sees them as different from previous generations of “white negroes” in the extent to which they essentialize views of black culture as “male, hard, sexual, and violent” (1998: 362). This issue is even more pointedly tackled by Yousman (2003) who, emphasizing the fine line between fascination and fear, discusses the similarities between gangsta rap and imagery used by the far right to promote anxieties around racial difference.

Fernandes (2011: 105), in her exploration of hip hop’s global appeal, encountered a predominantly Asian-American hip-hop scene in Chicago, which she viewed as a rather pedestrian effort by middle-class Asian youth to rebel against the conformities of suburban life. Maira similarly described how second-generation South Asians in New York have drawn on hip hop as a cultural idiom to address tensions surrounding the politics of their ambiguous position in the existing racial order. Maira (2000: 360) sees such cultural borrowing as an assertive act of positioning South-Asian identities within the US racial order; yet, like Fernandes and Wang, she concludes that this orientation toward black urban styles “fails to materialize a politics of alliance-building.” Two ethnographic studies both centered in seemingly progressive college-town venues take differing perspectives on this issue. Dowdy (2007) suggests that local hip-hop shows serve as interactive political spaces that, through coordinated actions between performers and audiences, engender collective agency and identity across racial lines. In contrast, Rodriguez (2006) argues that the white show-goers he

interviewed adopted a colorblind ideology that allowed them to position themselves as hip-hop insiders. Rodriguez ultimately reads this as an illustration of how white privilege works to neutralize racially coded forms of expression.

In conclusion, there is no question that hip-hop music offers an important platform for examining and discussing racial issues in contemporary US society. Yet, throughout the history of sociological scholarship on hip hop and race, several key debates have been recycled. These center around questions over what hip hop represents, who controls its representation, the social impacts of such representations, and how to interpret hip hop's appeal across cultural and racial lines. Over the years, more races have joined the discussion, yet the central issues, by and large, continue to be framed through orientations away from whiteness and toward blackness. Although this chapter has not focused on methodology, I believe the recent appearance of ethnographic studies on hip hop and race (see Harrison 2009, Morgan 2009, Neff 2009, Sharma 2010, Harkness 2011) offers great promise in terms of extending well-worn cycles, developing more nuanced understandings of existing readings, and pointing toward new directions of inquiry.

Notes

- 1 Recognizing that there are disagreements surrounding the use of the terms "hip hop" and "rap," for the purposes of this chapter I use them interchangeably. Although hip hop is generally thought to include the expressive practices of graffiti-writing, b-boying/b-girling and deejaying, I focus on hip hop as a music commodity.
- 2 I present these organizing structures as either/or options largely in the practical interest of framing my discussion. They are in fact much more blurred than this model suggests.
- 3 Perkins (1996) locates rap as the most recent in a line of black US oral traditions.
- 4 Harrison (2008) builds on McLeod's study by examining applications and understandings of racial authenticity over fifteen-plus years of hip-hop scholarship.
- 5 Specifically, Ice's feigned claim to cultural immersion within a predominantly black hip-hop world.
- 6 Remarkably little sociological attention has been given to actual statistics on rap sales by race.
- 7 Recognizing that this study is outside my stated US focus, I nevertheless believe its relevance warrants inclusion.
- 8 Delaney (1997) suggests that when white hip-hop consumers enter adulthood many of them abandon their hip-hop fandom in favor of more mainstream interests.

References

- Alim, H.S., J. Lee and L.M. Carris. 2010. "Short Fried-Rice Eating Chinese MCs' and 'Good-Hair-Havin Uncle Tom Niggas': Performing Race and Ethnicity in Freestyle Rap Battles." *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 20(1): 116-133.
- Allinson, E. 1994. "It's a Black Thing: Hearing How Whites Can't." *Cultural Studies* 8(3): 438-456.
- Armstrong, E.G. 2004. "Eminem's Construction of Authenticity." *Popular Music and Society* 27(3): 335-355.
- Basu, D. 2005. "A Critical Examination of the Political Economy of the Hip-Hop Industry." In *African Americans in the U.S. Economy*, eds. C.A. Conrad, J. Whitehead, P. Mason and J. Stewart, 258-270. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Binder, A. 1993. "Constructions of Racial Rhetoric: Media Depictions of Harm in Heavy Metal and Rap Music." *American Sociological Review* 58(6): 753-67.
- Chang, J. 2005. *Can't Stop Won't Stop: A History of the Hip-Hop Generation*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Chideya, F. 1999. *The Color of Our Future*. New York: William and Morrow Company.
- Cutler, C. 2009. "'You Shouldn't be Rappin', You Should be Skateboardin' the X-Games': The Coconstruction of Whiteness in an MC Battle." In *Global Linguistic Flows: Hip Hop Cultures, Youth Identities, and the Politics of Language*, eds. H.S. Alim, A. Ibrahim and A. Pennycook, 79-94. New York: Routledge.
- De Genova, N. 1995. "Check Your Head: The Cultural Politics of Rap Music." *Transition* 67: 123-137.
- Delaney, P. 1997. "Pop Culture, 'Gangsta Rap' and the 'New Vaudeville'." In *The Media in Black and White*, eds. E.E. Dennis and E.C. Pease, 83-88. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers.
- del Barco, M. 1996. "Rap's Latino Sabor." In *Droppin' Science: Critical Essays on Rap Music and Hip Hop Culture*, ed. W.E. Perkins, 63-84. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

- Delgado, F.P. 1998. "Chicano Ideology Revisited: Rap Music and the (Re)articulation of Chicanismo." *Western Journal of Communication* 62(2): 95–113.
- Dowdy, M. 2007. "Live Hip Hop, Collective Agency, and 'Acting in Concert.'" *Popular Music and Society* 30(1): 75–91.
- Fernandes, S. 2011. *Close to the Edge: In Search of the Global Hip Hop Generation*. New York: Verso.
- Flores, J. 1996. "Puerto Rocks: New York Ricans Stake Their Claim." In *Droppin' Science: Critical Essays on Rap Music and Hip Hop Culture*, ed. W.E. Perkins, 85–115. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Forman, M. 2002. *The Hood Comes First: Race, Space, and Place in Rap and Hip Hop*. Middletown: Wesleyan University Press.
- George, N. 1998. *Hip Hop America*. New York: Viking Penguin.
- Gosa, T.L. 2011. "Counterknowledge, Racial Paranoia, and the Cultic Milieu: Decoding Hip Hop Conspiracy Theory." *Poetics* 39(3): 187–204.
- Hall, P.A. 1997. "African-American Music: Dynamics of Appropriation and Innovation." In *Borrowed Power: Essays on Cultural Appropriation*, eds. B. Ziff and P.V. Rao, 31–51. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.
- Harkness, G. 2011. "Backpackers and Gangstas: Chicago's White Rappers Strive for Authenticity." *American Behavioral Scientist* 55(1): 57–85.
- Harrison, A.K. 2008. "Racial Authenticity in Rap Music and Hip Hop." *Sociology Compass* 2(6): 1783–1800.
- _____. 2009. *Hip Hop Underground: The Integrity and Ethics of Racial Identification*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- _____. 2012. "Post-Colonial Consciousness, Knowledge Production, and Identity Inscription within Filipino American Hip Hop Music." *Perfect Beat* 13(1): 29–48.
- Heaggans, R. 2009. *The 21st Century Hip-Hop Minstrel Show: Are We Continuing the Blackface Tradition*. San Diego: University Readers.
- Henderson, E.A. 1996. "Black Nationalism and Rap Music." *Journal of Black Studies* 26(3): 308–339.
- Hess, M. 2005. "Hip-Hop Realness and the White Performer." *Critical Studies in Media Communication* 22(5): 372–389.
- Hutchinson, J.F. 1999. "The Hip Hop Generation: African American Male-Female Relationships in a Nightclub Setting." *Journal of Black Studies* 30(1): 62–84.
- Irving, K. 1993. "'I Want Your Hands On Me': Building Equivalences through Rap Music." *Popular Music* 12(2): 105–121.
- Jackson Jr., J.L. 2005. *Real Black: Adventures of Racial Sincerity*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Jeffries, M.P. 2011. *Thug Life: Race, Gender, and the Meaning of Hip Hop*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Kajikawa, L. 2009. "Eminem's 'My Name Is': Signifying Whiteness, Rearticulating Race." *Journal of the Society for American Music* 3(3): 241–363.
- Keyes, C. 1996. "At the Crossroads: Rap Music and Its African Nexus." *Ethnomusicology* 40(2): 223–248.
- Kubrin, C.E. 2005. "Gangstas, Thugs, and Hustlas: Identity and the Code of the Street in Rap Music." *Social Problems* 52(3): 360–378.
- Lipsitz, G. 1998. "The Hip Hop Hearings: Censorship, Social Memory, and Intergenerational Tensions among African Americans." In *Generations of Youth: Youth Cultures and History in Twentieth-Century America*, eds. J. Austin and M.N. Willard, 395–411. New York: New York University Press.
- Lusane, C. 1993. "Rap, Race, and Politics." *Race and Class* 35(1): 41–56.
- Maira, S. 2000. "Henna and Hip Hop: the Politics of Cultural Production and the Work of Cultural Studies." *Journal of Asian American Studies* 3(3): 329–369.
- Martinez, T.A. 1997. "Popular Culture as Oppositional Culture: Rap as Resistance." *Sociological Perspectives* 40(2): 265–286.
- McDonnell, J. 1992. "Rap Music: Its Role as an Agent of Change." *Popular Music and Society* 16(3): 89–107.
- McLeod, K. 1999. "Authenticity within Hip Hop and Other Cultures Threatened with Assimilation." *Journal of Communication* 49(4): 134–150.
- Morgan, M. 2009. *The Real Hip-hop: Battling for Knowledge, Power, and Respect in the LA Underground*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Neal, M.A. 1997. "Sold Out on Soul: The Corporate Annexation of Black Popular Music." *Popular Music and Society* 21(3): 117–135.
- Neff, A.C. 2009. *Let the World Listen Right: The Mississippi Delta Hip-hop Story*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi.
- Negus, K. 1999. "The Music Business and Rap: Between the Street and the Executive Suite." *Cultural Studies* 13(3): 488–508.
- Ogbar, J.O.G. 2007. *Hip-Hop Revolution: The Culture and Politics of Rap*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas.
- Pattillo-McCoy, M. 1999. *Black Picket Fences: Privilege and Peril among the Black Middle Class*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- Perkins, W.E. 1996. "The Rap Attack: An Introduction." In *Droppin' Science: Critical Essays on Rap Music and Hip Hop Culture*, ed. W.E. Perkins, 1-45. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Perry, I. 2004. *Prophets of the Hood: Politics and Poetics in Hip Hop*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Potter, R.A. 1995. *Spectacular Vernaculars: Hip-Hop and the Politics of Postmodernism*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Quinn, E. 2005. *Nuthin' but a 'G' Thang: The Culture and Commerce of Gangsta Rap*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Quinn, M. 1996. "Never Shoulda Been Let Out The Penitentiary: Gangsta Rap and the Struggle over Racial Identity." *Cultural Critique* 34: 65-89.
- Rivera, R.Z. 2003. *New York Ricans from the Hip-Hop Zone*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Rodriguez, J. 2006. "Color-Blind Ideology and Cultural Appropriation in Hip-Hop." *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 35(6): 645-668.
- Roediger, D. 1998. "What to Make of Wiggers: A Work in Progress." In *Generations of Youth: Youth Cultures and History in Twentieth-Century America*, eds. J. Austin and M.N. Willard, 358-366. New York: New York University Press.
- Rose, T. 1994. *Black Noise: Rap Music and Black Culture in Contemporary America*. Middletown: Wesleyan University Press.
- Samuels, D. 1991. "The Rap on Rap: The Black Music That Isn't Either." *New Republic* 205(20): 24-29.
- Scott, J.C. 1990. *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Sharma, N.T. 2010. *Hip Hop Desis: South Asian Americans, Blackness, and Global Race Consciousness*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Sharpley-Whitney, T.D. 2007. *Pimps Up, Hoes Down: Hip Hop's Hold on Young Black Women*. New York: New York University Press.
- Smith, C.H. 1997. "Method in the Madness: Exploring the Boundaries of Identity in Hip Hop Performativity." *Social Identities* 3(3): 345-374.
- Stapleton, K.R. 1998. "From the Margins to Mainstream: the Political Power of Hip Hop." *Media, Culture and Society* 20(2): 219-234.
- Stephens, G. 1991. "Rap Music's Double-Voiced Discourse: A Crossroads for Interracial Communication." *Journal of Communication Inquiry* 15(2): 70-91.
- Tanner, J., M. Asbridge and S. Wortley. 2009. "Listening to Rap: Cultures of Crime, Cultures of Resistance." *Social Forces* 88(2): 693-722.
- Tate, G. 2003. *Everything but the Burden: What White People Are Taking from Black Culture*. New York: Broadway Books.
- Taylor, P.C. 2005. "Does Hip Hop Belong to Me? The Philosophy of Race and Culture." In *Hip Hop and Philosophy: Rhyme 2 Reason*, eds. D. Darby and T. Shelby, 79-91. Chicago: Open Court.
- Toop, D. 1984. *Rap Attack: African Jive to New York Hip Hop*. London: Pluto Press.
- Wang, O. 2006. "These Are The Breaks: Hip-Hop and AfroAsian Cultural (Dis)Connections." In *AfroAsian Encounters: Culture, History, Politics*, eds. H. Raphael-Hernandez and S. Steen, 146-166. New York: New York University Press.
- _____. 2007. "Rapping and Repping Asian: Race, Authenticity, and the Asian American MC." In *Alien Encounters: Popular Culture and Asian America*, eds. M.T. Nguyen and T.L. Nguyen Tu, 35-68. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Watkins, S.C. 2005. *Hip Hop Matters: Politics, Pop Culture, and the Struggle for the Soul of a Movement*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- White, M. 2011. *From Jim Crow to Jay-Z: Race, Rap and the Performance of Black Masculinity*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Yousman, B. 2003. "Blackophilia and Blackophobia: White Youth, the Consumption of Rap Music, and White Supremacy." *Communication Theory* 13(4): 366-391.
- Ziff, B. and P.V. Rao. 1997. "Introduction to Cultural Appropriation: A Framework for Analysis." In *Borrowed Power: Essays on Cultural Appropriation*, eds. B. Ziff and P.V. Rao, 1-27. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

**THE
ROUTLEDGE READER
ON THE SOCIOLOGY
OF MUSIC**

edited by
**John Shepherd and
Kyle Devine**